

## University of Groningen

### Memoria as mirror

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# ***Memoria as Mirror***

The Shifting Self-Image  
of the Hospitaller Order of Malta  
over the Ages





university of  
 groningen

# ***Memoria as Mirror***

The Shifting Self-Image  
of the Hospitaller Order of Malta  
over the Ages

## **PhD thesis**

to obtain the degree of PhD at the  
University of Groningen  
on the authority of the  
Rector Magnificus Prof. C. Wijmenga  
and in accordance with  
the decision by the College of Deans.

This thesis will be defended in public on  
14<sup>th</sup> November 2019 at 12.45 hours

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*To Doris and Duncan*

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## ***Abbreviations***

A.O.M.	Archives of the Order of Malta
BB	Boxler Bibliotheca, Bannholz
FXKA	Franz Xaver Graf zu Königsegg-Aulendorf,
GKK	Gräfllich Königsegg'sches Archive at Königseggwald
Lib.	Library manuscript at the National Library of Malta, Valletta
MMM	Malta Maritime Museum
PMKL	Piaristen archive, at Budapest, Hungary
Rep. KR	Repertorium der Herrschaft Königsegg-Rothenfels, Landgericht Immenstadt und Herrschaft Oberstaufen, Staatsarchiv Augsburg
Sta Abg	Staatsarchiv Augsburg

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Image 1: *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The interior of St John's around 1820, with a view of the *corpus* of sepulchral slabs and other memorial art in the nave. Watercolours by Charles von Brockdorff. At the National Library, Valletta. Photo: Author, with permission

## Part I

### 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 *Memoria as Mirror*

As the title suggests, in *Memoria as Mirror*, the topic under investigation is the *memoria* culture of the Hospitaller Order of Malta and how this *memoria* was mirrored, following the shifts of the Order's self-image over the ages.

Central in this work is one particular feature of Hospitaller *memoria* in Malta, found in the Conventual church of St John,<sup>1</sup> better known at present as St John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta (hereinafter referred to as St John's). This feature concerns a *corpus* of polychrome intarsia marble sepulchral slabs and monuments, with their inscribed texts and iconography. This *corpus* can be considered as a primary written and iconographical source of Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image. At present, the interior of St John's has, as a consequence of placing those memorials, probably the most beautiful floor in the world, a collection of about 383 sepulchral slabs of its European, aristocratic members. There are also 24 sepulchral monuments, the majority of which are dedicated to the Grand Masters of the Order.<sup>2</sup> Ranging from the early sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century,<sup>3</sup> these sepulchres are a subjective and dedicated form of *memoria*, reflecting on the Hospitaller being in the past, present and hereafter. The *corpus* in Malta is also the final phase of Hospitaller *memoria*, where it became a true phenomenon. Over time, it shifted from a dynamic, 'live' floor where things were happening, to a dead floor, part of the cultural heritage the Order had left behind.

Why does this *corpus* matter and why is it relevant for Hospitaller studies? First of all, there is very little knowledge about the *corpus* outside Malta. Then, it is worthwhile knowing how the *memoria* of the Order, as portrayed in the *corpus*, fits into the body of research regarding the Order's image and self-image, as conducted by scholars, mostly from outside of Malta.

The main question of this book: 'What is the essence of the *corpus*?', is being answered by the *corpus* itself, both implicitly and explicitly. From an obviously very subjective approach in the *corpus*, the subject matters found in the *corpus* are analysed and modern,



<sup>1</sup> Burgtorf, 2008, 3. The Convent means those places where all the Hospitaller institutions were together, both a location and a community.

<sup>2</sup> Munro, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 358 and 182. Grand Master Philip de Villiers l'Isle-Adam died in 1534, four years after the Order arrived in Malta. His sepulchral slab was placed in St John's in 1577, the year the first mass was held in the new Conventual Church. The last slab was placed in 1875, for Giuseppe Nicola Zamitt who died in 1823, who was a knight of the British Order of Saint Michael and Saint George.



objective historical perspectives are used to ascertain their aberrations and deviations. The rationale of the *corpus* is that the past informs the present, by effecting the Order's *memoria* and by preserving its memory and propagating its self-image. Given the re-assessment and re-appraisal of the philosophy of Erwin Panofsky by Robert Marcoux, Panofsky's dual concepts of 'prospective' and 'retrospective' are fully applicable to the context of the *corpus*. According to this view, *prospective* may refer to an imagined future, *i.e.* both in the sense of a successful continuation on earth of the Hospitaller task, and a future in Heaven, concerning life beyond death. *Retrospective* organises the lived past of the commemorated Hospitallers at St John's, *i.e.* representing the deceased through biographical aspects and representing them by means of post-mortem idealism of what a Religious (a knight) of the Order should be in life and after death.<sup>4</sup> Panofsky's thoughts are based on medieval habits to celebrate the memory of a founder or ancestor of a closed group (here St John the Baptist and the Order's founder, Blessed Gerard), establishing its collective identity (the corporate image of the Order) and the application of intercessory prayers, alms, good deeds etc., to reduce a soul's time in Purgatory. In this manner, the souls of the living, who are caring for the souls of the dead, will similarly benefit in the afterlife. This circular argument is one of the building blocks of the religious, secular and sepulchral art at St John's, presented as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a total work of art, where all the individual aspects of *memoria* are both distinguishable and inseparable (see chapter 6.4 and 6.6). Hospitaller-centred *memoria* by means of sepulchres started in Jerusalem with Blessed Gerard (d. 1120), see chapters 4.9 and 5.6, started maturing during the period the Order settled in Rhodes (1310-1523) and came to full bloom in the Malta period (1530-1798).

*Memoria as Mirror* is about old mirrors and it is expected that these often had aberrations in its glass, deforming the reflection of the self-image at every turn of the mirror. Since we cannot hope that the past can look into the flawless mirrors of today, the Hospitaller self-image, including its constituent elements of *memoria*, remembrance, cohesion, corporate image, collective and individual memory and identity, needs to be examined from various angles. Modern historians have a different aim when mirroring the past, for instance, to create as much as possible an objective image of the Hospitaller Order, which is very much different than the Order's impression of its perceived self. Since history and its interpretation is not an exact science, objectivity often remains a matter of judgment.

This brings to mind Peter Burke's statement 'who wants whom to remember what and why?'<sup>5</sup> The 'who' is in this work the 'Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta,' wanting the 'whom', the Order's stakeholders (including friend and foe), to remember the 'what'. The 'what' is the Order's *raison d'être*, inevitably a collection of very subjective concepts, in this case not only the Hospitaller Order's deeds and achievements in war and peace, but also its service to God, Christendom and humanity over the centuries. The 'what' would also include the Order's

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<sup>4</sup> Marcoux, 2016, 49-67, here 49.

<sup>5</sup> Burke, 1997, 56.

drive, its dual motto of *Tuitio Fidei et Obsequium Pauperum*.<sup>6</sup> In order to immortalise the memory and *memoria*, the 'what' became monumentalised through an externalisation using the visual art, architecture, liturgy and literature. I may add a 'when (to remember)' to this equation, which is, in the case of the Hospitallers, seemingly at every opportune moment. Also, I would like to argue that when the 'good' is remembered, it might have been hoped that the Order's critics could forget the 'bad'. Out of sight is out of mind, is a simple and true adagio, and the very thing one wants to avoid when in the business of *memoria*. In order not to be forgotten, one ought to have the remembrance of the dead always in front of one's eyes, *habere memoriam mortis semper prae oculis*.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, those knights, who were eminently forgettable, were best soonest forgotten. Once a knight had his slab on the floor, his presence was there for 'eternity,' just as Oexle understood it: the Hospitaller dead, once named and their presence confirmed, stayed in the present,<sup>8</sup> to take care of their commemoration, to honour their noble genealogy,<sup>9</sup> and their Order. In this sense, the deceased Hospitallers kept on serving God and their Order from the other dimension, while their living confrères were encouraged to learn from them and to continue their good work. They might also be encouraged to start thinking of a sepulchre for themselves, since *tempus fugit*, time flies. The 'why' is to retain the construct of self-image and memory of the Order and its members through everything they represented for secular eternity, trying to escape oblivion, while there was also a Christian eternity involved, regarding Purgatory, Damnation, Salvation and Resurrection.<sup>10</sup> The liturgy of the dead firmly remained focussed on Purgatory, as the Enlightenment and Reformation did not influence the Order in this respect, while, on the other hand, the Counter-Reformation had a tremendous impact.<sup>11</sup>

Secular eternity was directed at the Order's friends and foes, while the attempt for Christian eternity was directed at God, the saints and the angels. This kind of collective memory and communal *memoria* may also be classified as 'existential' memory, as it is physically preserved into historical-material objects,<sup>12</sup> such as the *corpus* in the widest possible Hospitaller context at St John's. The collectivity of this Hospitaller memory, a.k.a. the corporate identity of the Order, would have had a certain restricting influence on the expression of the personal memory of the Knights Hospitaller, limiting the memorial capacity of the *corpus*,<sup>13</sup> as the message of the greater good of the Order would prevail over individual opinions not in line with its ethos and pathos. Interpretation of history

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<sup>6</sup> *Tuitio fidei* and *Obsequium Pauperum*, respectively their struggle against the enemies of the Religion (*i.e.* the Christian faith in general) and care for the sick and the poor, their charitable enterprises.

<sup>7</sup> Burke, 1997, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Oexle, 1984, 394.

<sup>9</sup> [https://memo.hum.uu.nl/database/pdf/LR9789087042875\\_JMG14\\_TruusvanBueren-KimRagetli-Arnoud-JanBijsterveld.pdf](https://memo.hum.uu.nl/database/pdf/LR9789087042875_JMG14_TruusvanBueren-KimRagetli-Arnoud-JanBijsterveld.pdf) > Accessed on 21/09/18. See: Part III, Appendix II, no. 316: In the *corpus* there is only one anonymous slab, found in the Chapel of Italy. It possibly belongs to Antonio de Gesualdo who died in Malta in 1635.

<sup>10</sup> Knöll, 2003, 14-61.

<sup>11</sup> Frequently appearing themes in the *corpus* are indeed the concern for the here and the hereafter, for instance by means of charity, donations, good work and attention for the intricacies regarding Purgatory.

<sup>12</sup> Bornemark *et al*, 2014, 3-12, here 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

and subsequently the memory derived of that in the *corpus*, is not always a case of ‘*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*,’ the factual past, but more of a ‘perspectival discourse’ to accommodate the past and to make it relevant for the present and future. On balance, the memories which the Order kept and exhibited, show its self-image,<sup>14</sup> as the self is here a product of memory-shaping experiences over the centuries.

This posterity consciousness, says Keppie, comes from a very ancient need of humankind to record specific messages or events on durable materials, to fulfil and ‘epigraphically conscious need’ to keep for eternity one’s *cursus honorum* (course of offices) and *res gestae* (achievements).<sup>15</sup> For such everlasting *memoria* to be perpetually effective, it must be both embedded in durable media to withstand the wreckage of time and it must be publicly accessible, such as buildings, monuments, iconography, symbols, archives, feasts and rituals, retaining memory as a useful and ‘reliable’ utility. Sepulchres in particular offer a wide range of possibilities as tangible carriers of memory, ideals and nostalgia, and revive knowledge of the recent and remote past. After all, the dead need an audience to keep their memory alive with the living. *Memoria* might also be understood among the knights as a hope for their everlasting friendships (after Cicero: *Amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore*).<sup>16</sup> Since maintaining a self-image is a delicate task, it can be said that the Order’s memory was a curated memory, where selections of memory were kept while others were discarded, just the right amount of the past was anchored to navigate the Hospitaller identity into future.

Research into the self-image has been introduced in the 1950s when German medieval scholars applied the concept of *Selbstverständnis* to medieval historiography. Definitions were not given, since it was still new territory. From the 1970s onwards, enquiries into the self-image became common in the studies of nobility, gilds and orders.<sup>17</sup> *Memoria* has been around for a longer time. The Latin word *memoria* had various meanings in Antiquity which cover several modern values, such as the faculty of remembering, memory, remembrance, a historical account, a narrative, memoir and finally, the goddess of memory a.k.a *Mnemosyne*.<sup>18</sup> *Memoria*, in the modern research paradigm the commemoration of the deceased way beyond the liturgical commemoration,<sup>19</sup> is an

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<sup>14</sup> Schüssler Fiorenza, 2014, 145-162, here 145-6.

<sup>15</sup> Keppie, 2001, 80.

<sup>16</sup> Cicero, 1923, p. 124, l. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Czaja, 2005, 7.

<sup>18</sup> See Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

<sup>19</sup> Oexle, 1984, 385 adds to the Latin meaning that remembering also included the consciousness to contemplate on the those who have gone or are absent, *Vergegenwärtigung des Gewesenen oder Abwesenden*; Raaijmakers, 2003, 303, note 5: *Memoria* usually means more than memory alone, including the corpse, burial place or site, possible relics of saints, their shrines and their altars, as well as the acts performed in their honour, the offerings, prayers and masses; see also the MeMO website, <https://memo.hum.uu.nl> See also Van Bueren et al. 2011, 188-9: ‘Die Memoria des Mittelalters ist ein Phänomen, dem man mit einer Reduktion auf nur einen Aspekt, etwa den religiösen, nicht gerecht wurde. Gerade das soziale Handeln der Menschen orientierte sich vielfach an der Notwendigkeit und den Möglichkeiten der Memoria.’

instrument which rules the mutual well-being of the living and the dead, connecting their two communities. This is also valid for the Order.<sup>20</sup>

Although there is no precise definition of *memoria* as such, allowing some flexibility in the approach, the description provided by Oexle applies to the Hospitaller Order in general and to the *corpus* in particular:

*Für die Memoria war grundlegend, daß sie soziales Handeln bedeutete, das Lebende und Tote verband. Dabei wurde eine Vielzahl religiöser, politischer, rechtlicher und ökonomischer Gegebenheiten berührt und integriert. Memoria war somit nicht nur ein religiöses Phänomen, sondern umfaßte auch das Moment der Rechtssicherung und Besitzsicherung, das Moment der Historiographie, der historischen Erinnerung, aber auch wie in diesem Fall - das Moment der Sicherung politischer Legitimität. Memoria war also, um einen Begriff von Marcel Mauss zu verwenden, ein „totales soziales Phänomen“. Diese ‚Totalität‘ kommt stets auch in den bildlichen darstellungen zum Ausdruck, die der Memoria dienen. Der Begriff des ‚Memorialbildes‘ ist deshalb in diesem ‚totalen‘ Sinn zu verstehen.<sup>21</sup>*

At St John's, the dead and the living are connected and their *memoria* curated according to a social, liturgical, religious, political, juridical and economic calculus. The *corpus* is indeed not only a religious phenomenon, but certainly also a secular one, encompassing both the rights and duties of the dead. Here historiography and memory fuse in a predetermined way, always balancing the self-image with the intended impact on the target groups to create a public image. In the sense of the above, the *corpus*, as a total, could be attributed to a category, *Gesamtmemorialbilder*.<sup>22</sup> St John's became the ultimate receptacle for art, not only related to their Roman Catholic faith, but also to the Order's mission in life. Hence, this church carries many of its driving forces linked to the dual motto mentioned before. These two mottos also integrate the normative Hospitaller ethos and pathos, widely exhibited at St John's. At the same time, the church may also be regarded as their *aula heroum*, their hall of fame,<sup>23</sup> to keep alive the commemoration and remembrance of their heroic dead. On a good number of sepulchres, both in word and image, wars and sea battles are commemorated. When the city of Valletta was taking shape in the late 1560s and early 1570s, the Hospitaller society was still recovering from the Great Siege of 1565. Although it was a victory in the ultimate battle between the Ottoman besiegers and the defending Order in Malta, it scarred them for life. This war then just needed to be at the centre of attention, in order to be processed and to get closure. As a consequence, those knights who had shown the utmost heroism, had the

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<sup>20</sup> Van Bueren *et al.* 2011, 191: *Memoria* in the definition of the MeMO project is the creation and expression of a community of the living and the dead who look after each other's interests to secure eternal Salvation.

<sup>21</sup> Oexle, 1984, 394.

<sup>22</sup> Inspired by Oexle's article title *Memoria und Memorialbild*, 1984.

<sup>23</sup> Munro, 2005.

best character and exceptional piety, were selected to be commemorated, to serve as a sample to be emulated by the public and the next generation of knights.

Hospitaller memory, a central element of the Order's corporate identity and self-image, has faced many challenges over the centuries, but kept informing the individual members both of their place in the world and their identity.<sup>24</sup> To summarise this self-image, Freller states that, till the day Napoleon Bonaparte evicted the Order from Malta in 1798, this was based on two principles, in confirmation with nobiliary and chivalric notions, namely as perpetual defenders of Christendom against the inroads of the infidel and as a permanent watchdog of Catholic Europe, guarding its religion, ideology and feudal organisation.<sup>25</sup> Although the Hospitaller Order had turned into a predominantly military force, and even when at times 'the poor and sick were no longer of paramount concern, the maintenance of its medical and charitable tradition was still of spiritual and moral significance, especially for maintaining a positive public opinion in the West.'<sup>26</sup> Over the centuries, the Hospitaller Order, and for that matter, all the military religious orders, have been severely criticised for such perceived shortcomings. Although this work acknowledges this criticism, at the same time it does not want to deny the Hospitaller Order its self-image, based on how it dealt with its *memoria*.

In the Mediterranean Sea, conflict was never far away. These tensions ran between the political and commercial ambitions of the major stakeholders. On the one hand, there were the Ottomans with their expansionist ambitions, the North African pirates and slave traders, and the ambitions of the Italian maritime city-states and the modern states developing in Europe. On the other hand, there were, in the centre of the sea, the Hospitaller Order, its fleet of galleys and corsairs and, finally, the Maltese themselves, although the latter did not play any role of importance in the self-image or collective identity of the Order. The Maltese, without whom the Great Siege of 1565 could not have been won,<sup>27</sup> did not share in the Hospitaller cult of heroism but were mainly the recipients of local charity by the Order. The *corpus* then recounts mostly the ups and downs of the Order and the personal tragedies and victories of its knights. Also, on the spiritual aspect, the Hospitallers were occupied with the opposing forces of charity and chivalry, life and death, piety and profit, and the question of how to maintain the goodness of an upright character and to preserve one's soul while engaging in the sin of violence with Purgatory, Salvation and Heavenly eternal life in mind.

In this book, the *corpus* and the entire collection of artistic externalisations found at St John's and elsewhere in Malta, form part of the whole Hospitaller *memoria* construction and self-image shaping exercise, due to the Hospitallers' very well

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<sup>24</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17-28, here 17. A similar dynamic was used by the Teutonic Order, in their *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, composed in the early fourteenth century, covering the period 1180 to 1343. It was used to inspire the Teutonic Knights and to justify their crusades of north-east Europe. See Meyer, 1876 and Smith & Urban, 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Freller, 2003, 2-11, here 2.

<sup>26</sup> Luttrell, 1994, here 64-81, 64.

<sup>27</sup> Williams, 1994, 97-102, here 98. For instance, during the Great Siege, the facilities were insufficient inadequate, and private houses were taken over, to be used both by the knight and the Maltese. Winning the siege brought mutual respect between the knights and the Maltese.



developed posterity consciousness.<sup>28</sup> In particular, at St John's, each slab or monument adds to the overall body of Hospitaller *memoria*,<sup>29</sup> of which there is no shortage. Moreover, the *corpus* may be regarded as an embodiment of the Hospitaller self-image and *memoria*, which may have shifted, altered, criticised, appeared or disappeared over time. With the self-image here is meant an organised set of internal processes and structures which may achieve the desired results according to its own principles in order to strengthen internal cohesion and influence public opinion.<sup>30</sup> Some modern perceptions of the Hospitallers may be quite different from their original intent, while other perceptions may have gained mythological or even miraculous proportions.

Regarding this work, primary written and artistic sources will be used, such as the *corpus* itself, archives, works of art commissioned by the Hospitaller Order, which will be analysed and interpreted. In addition, the works of contemporary historians, critics, chroniclers and diarists are included, as are the secondary written sources of modern historical, art-historical interpretations and academic output regarding the Hospitallers and other military orders. All these sources will inform us how the Hospitallers presented themselves to the world over time, *i.e.* how they applied memory, offering an emic view. The corresponding outside view, the etic one, informs us what the public opinion of the Order was, arriving in the form of criticism from contemporaries, such as popes, clerics, sovereigns, allies and enemies. However, in this study, the emic objective is being addressed first and foremost, and not the actual reputation of the Hospitallers in the public eye, since the emic view is also the purpose of the *corpus* and the whole fabric of St John's. In the paragraphs on methodology, the issue of emic and etic aspects will be discussed further.

## 1.2 The corpus as a collection of vignettes

The sepulchral slabs and monuments at St John's can be considered as one, although a very diverse, oeuvre, were script and image form the primary epigraphical, pictorial and symbolical sources of the *corpus*. Each slab or monument may be considered as a vignette, providing an impressionistic image of the character and achievements of the person commemorated. The beauty of it is that each slab or monument is at the same time a *pars pro toto* of the Order's self-image, with the understanding that such slabs or monuments are intelligible in their own right. This approach created a *monumental body*,<sup>31</sup> constructing a collective identity of the knights and funnelling this into a corporate

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<sup>28</sup> Fortunately for the modern visitor and scholar, much is preserved and protected, creating a living memory museum in Malta.

<sup>29</sup> Each sepulchral has various layers of perception, such as the narrative (and within each narrative there would be internal layers of understanding and interpretations too) and iconography. Within the iconography, representing particular artistic tastes, such as medieval, Mannerism, Baroque and Neo-Classical expressions, one may find the deceased's coat of arms, heraldic devices, depictions of historical events and numerous symbols. Also, colours of the marble used, size and the placing of the slab or monument at the desired place all played a significant role in understanding and appreciating the deceased, its mission within the Order and the prestige of his family and the Order itself.

<sup>30</sup> Burke and Stets, 2009, 9-12.

<sup>31</sup> Knöll, 2003, 14-61, here 22.

identity of the Order itself, encapsulated within the monument of St John's. Foreign visitors to the Conventual church of St John left their impression in writing, such as Patrick Brydone:

St John's is a very magnificent church. The pavement, particular, is reckoned the richest in the world. It is entirely composed of sepulchral monuments of the finest marbles, porphyry, lapis lazuli, and a variety of other valuable stones, admirably joined together, and at the most incredible expense; representing in a kind of mosaic, the arms, insignia etc. of the persons whose names they are intended to commemorate. In the magnificence of these monuments, the heirs of the Grand Masters and Commanders have long vied with each other.<sup>32</sup>

In Ecclesiastical Latin, *memoria* means a 'monument', especially a Christian church as a memorial to a saint or monument to a martyr. This led to naming the dead, as it was thought more effective to pray for individual souls than for a whole community. In this respect, Oexle writes *dass Ausprechen des Namens schafft Gegenwart des Genannten* so that naming the dead was indispensable as it enabled the living to identify the deceased and call them into the world of the living (God, of course, did not need this naming, as He presumably would already know who was who).<sup>33</sup> At St John's, a *modus operandi* was developed to receive as many as intercessory prayers for one's soul as possible through designing an attractive and competitive sepulchral slab or monument. In this respect, Oexle writes that the presence of the dead among the living makes them equals with mutual obligations regarding Salvation.<sup>34</sup> For the benefit of the living, the self-image of an exemplary knight is presented, chiselled in marble for an endearing and enduring impression.

In a contemporary view of Weever, published in 1631, a monument was a 'thing erected, made or written for a memorial of some remarkable action, fit to be transferred to future posterities.' This definition includes 'all religious foundations and sumptuous and magnificent structures', such as 'cities, towns, towers, castles, pillars, pyramids, crosses, obelisks, amphitheatres, statues, tombs and sepulchres,' but also funeral monuments and books or writings.<sup>35</sup> Weever compared the state of decay of many sepulchral monuments in the British Isles with the worthy treatment sepulchres received in Italy, France, Germany and elsewhere. This inspired him to make a first inventory ever of as many sepulchres as he could find in England and some parts of Scotland. His publication, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* of 1631, became an influential standard work. Weever expresses shame at the ruinous state of many fine monuments, through which the 'honourable memory of many virtuous and noble persons deceased is extinguished.' He is saddened by this insufferable injury, both on behalf of the dead and the living.

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<sup>32</sup> Brydone, 1773, vol. I, 319-20.

<sup>33</sup> Oexle, 1983, 31.

<sup>34</sup> *Idem*, 1984, 394.

<sup>35</sup> Weever, 1631, 1.

Further motivation to complete his work was the respect he had for Antiquity and the 'due regard to continue the remembrance of the defunct to future posterity'.<sup>36</sup> The Order had already started to place sepulchres at St John's in Rhodes in the fourteenth century and in Malta in the late sixteenth/seventeenth century, before Weever published his work.

Lewis & Short Latin Dictionary refers to *moneo* and *monumentum*, the latter deriving from the former. The verb *moneo* has a broad spectrum of meanings, such as to remind, put in the mind of, bring to one's recollection, to admonish, to advise, warn, instruct, teach, tell, inform, to announce, predict and foretell, while *monumentum* means that which preserves the remembrance of anything, a memorial, a monument, especially related to building, statues, galleries, sepulchral monuments and tombs 'erected to perpetuate the remembrance of a person or thing,' or written works, records, chronicles, books of history and memoirs.<sup>37</sup> In this context must also be mentioned White's theory of monumentalisation, *i.e.* monumentalising, the act of creating an enduring memorial or record. Monuments play a particular role maintaining the organisational image and power, albeit in a symbolic manner. In analogy to this theory, a political power, such as the Order, may attempt to justify and legitimise its claim of sovereignty through monumentalisation as a tool to physically embed themselves into history. This may happen through re-writing history by the victor, erecting of monuments and commissioning monumental sepulchral art. There is also an element present of re-appropriating monuments, either tangible or intangible, of previous powers after a change of government.<sup>38</sup>

### *Body natural and body politic*

Death involved a set of rituals and ceremonies, such as the funeral mass and the actual internment. If the deceased was privileged and entitled enough, a slab or monument was created and placed at St John's during a ceremony. After that, the deceased would live on through the slab or monument, which represented him. Placing the slab over the body belongs to religious ritual, celebrating the *body natural*, while the design of the slab or monument, consisting of the inscribed text and iconography, takes care of the *body politic*, forming part of the commemorative and communicative processes. A large part of the interior decoration of St John's is thus dedicated to the aspect of the *body politic*, to Christ, Our Lady, St John the Baptist and all other saints, blessed, martyrs and other members of the Order and what they mean for the dead and the living.<sup>39</sup>

### *Communicating between the realm of the dead and the living*

The iconography and the inscribed texts have within them various narratives, functioning as perceptual layers of meaning. With regard to the iconography, several styles and tastes appear, ranging from simple sepulchral slabs to elaborate monuments of a Mannerist, Baroque, Rococo or Neo-Classical interpretation, mostly executed in

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> See the respective entries in Lewis & Short Latin Dictionary.

<sup>38</sup> White, 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Knöll, 2003, 14-61.



polychrome intarsia marble, while bronze is also used in some sepulchral monuments. The iconography communicates a story in a once mutually understood visual language, which may or may not be related to the inscribed text. There are, at times, bewildering amounts of details, emblems, mottos, coats of arms, allegories, personifications, symbols and colours condensed on a sepulchre, which unfortunately are no longer understood by most modern visitors. In analogy to Assman, as noted by Volmert, the memory of Latin and visual signs rendering the Hospitaller *memoria* is not a sealed container to preserve its contents from rot. Remembering and forgetting matters related to the person commemorated will eventually fuse and memory will become fuzzy. Also the viewer's loss of skills of the linguistic and visual instruments with which the slabs and monuments are designed to play a role in forgetting, leading to a slowly leaking away of the memory into oblivion.<sup>40</sup> On some slabs in the *corpus*, this fear of being forgotten is acknowledged, for instance, the nephew of Frà Giovanni Francesco Abela placed a sepulchral slab in honour of his uncle, 'put forth as a curse to oblivion.'<sup>41</sup> Investing and re-investing in a slab or monument could keep obscurity at bay, at least for some hundreds of years.

Regarding those visual signs, Knöll holds that all such signs can be put under the denominator of 'symbols', as these broadcast concepts, objects and ideas to the living, representing the dead and act on their behalf. Symbolism in this sepulchral context would thus comprise all meaning beyond the inscribed narrative. For this book, the resulting self-image and *memoria* are of great significance, although particularly the self-image is an edited version and construct of the real person. Selectivity is a useful tool (the *Organon*) to communicate the corporate image of the Order and the standing in life of its members. The *Organon model* of Karl Bühler provides a theoretical model of these commemorative and communicative processes. According to Bühler,<sup>42</sup> linguistic signs have three perspectives, namely what is expressed, who the sender is and to whom they are directed, the receiver, in this case the visitor to St John's whom in the *corpus* is often addressed as the *viator*.<sup>43</sup> The receivers are always juxtaposed between their own experiences and opinions brought to the *corpus* and those experiences and opinions presented on the slabs and monuments, blending the receivers' reality with the redacted realities of the *corpus*. The receivers thus redefine their relationship to the deceased as contemporaries, friends and survivors of the same battle or event, mourners, relatives or merely passers-by.<sup>44</sup>

The purpose of the *corpus* falls within these parameters, coinciding with Burke's view aforementioned. The expressive function is Burke's 'what', the *raison d'être* of the Order, while the representation function is the 'why', the insider's perspective of both the

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<sup>40</sup> Volmert, 137-64, here 140. Assmann interprets the subject-oriented paradigms as proposed by John Locke.

<sup>41</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 160.

<sup>42</sup> Innis, 2010, 287-96, respectively the expressive function (*Ausdrucksfunktion*), the representation function (*Darstellungsfunktion*) and the conative or appellative function (*Appellfunktion*).

<sup>43</sup> Munro, 2005. In view of the *corpus*, the concept of *viator* denotes that every living Christian is actually a pilgrim, on the way from life on earth to eternal life in Heaven, a way fraught with dangers to the soul. At St John's, directions to a safe passage could be discovered by studying the *corpus* and the art at St John, while prayer and reflection were a prerequisite too.

<sup>44</sup> Erasmo, 2008, 10.

person commemorated and the *Fama*, the managed reputation of the Order, on whose behalf an impression is sent to the 'whom,' the friend and foe of the Order, the receiver. This construct includes a cognate scenario with qualities such as *sympathy*, *empathy* and *compassion*. Innis remarks that sympathy is not a matter which is 'done' or 'achieved.'<sup>45</sup> With regard empathy, *having* empathy is a frequent expression in the *corpus* directed at the receiver rather than *feeling* empathy; the Knights Hospitaller showed that they had empathy themselves to the poor and the sick and through this they wanted to elicit sympathy from the *viator*, which may lead to prayers for the soul and support for the Order in one form or the other. Strategically and tactically, the *corpus* seems to operate in a not dissimilar manner as the modern 'tear-jerker' advertisements produced by the 'pity-industry,' hoping to positively influence opinion, create a bond and to elicit funds, in line with the organisational image management theory,<sup>46</sup> and the Aristotelian principles of ethos, pathos and logos.<sup>47</sup> Compassion was a matter which the deceased had to demonstrate through the pleasantness of their character and decisiveness of their deeds before they could earn it. Innis calls this the framing of sympathy,<sup>48</sup> and when applied to the sepulchral slabs and monuments, this becomes a literal occasion.

A few trump cards were played here, to influence the image and the self-image of the Order:

*Sympathy card:* Quite often in the *corpus*, a Religious' prowess was softened by adding great humanity to one's personality, 'Charles de Cremaulx was prominent without bounds by his military prowess no less than by the pleasantness of his character,' to distinguish them from their opponents, *TETRE OTHOMANE MILITIE*, the hideous Ottoman militia.<sup>49</sup> It was said of Vincenzo dal Pozzo that he was 'dear to all for his pleasantness of character, innocence of life, most meritorious with regard to his Religion, for his military prowess and resourcefulness of the mind.'<sup>50</sup> Frà Henri de Chastelet Moyencourt, 'here lies he who always elevated the downtrodden with his deeds, observance, counsels,'<sup>51</sup> or in the case of Frà François de Panisse: 'Distinguished for his chastity, piety and honesty of character.'<sup>52</sup> One may find qualifications such as *MORUM CANDORE*, *kindness of character*, *ANIMI PRAESTANTIA*, *excellence of character* or *ANIMI MODERATIO*, *moderation of character*, or *INTEMERATAM MORUM INNOCENTIAM*, *innocence of his character*. Other characters are called noble, splendid or courteous, but *MORUM SUAVITATE*, *pleasantness of character*, seems to be most welcomed and appreciated in a Religious.

*Empathy card:* Frà Jean de Vintimille d'Ollières: 'In the time of the siege he received a glorious wound for defending his Malta and displayed the valour and other gifts of a man distinguished with military glory.'<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Innis, 2010, 287-96.

<sup>46</sup> Massey, 2003, 1-29.

<sup>47</sup> Rhys, 1924, vol. II.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 179.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, no. 286.

<sup>51</sup> *Idem*, no. 331.

<sup>52</sup> *Idem*, no. 164.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, no. 207.

*Compassion card*: 'Frà Louis de la Salle, crowned in the tender blossom of his youth with the mature reward of his beneficence, who, although patient with his very own misfortune was impatient of others', concerned himself personally with those suffering from the plague, soothingly compassionate should they perish from want and pestilence.'<sup>54</sup> The conative function, relating to the effects of the message, was of great importance for the Order. The addressee, or receiver, was not a passive onlooker but needed to be an active participant to obtain the maximum benefit.<sup>55</sup> Frà Anselme de Cais' inscribed text reads: *QUI ME CALCAS, CALCABERIS, ET TU, ID COGITA ET ORA PRO ME* (You who tread on me, will be trodden upon. You, both reflect on this and cast a prayer for me).<sup>56</sup>

From these samples, one may also conclude that the personalities embedded in marble had acquired a fixed position, a *monumental identity*, from which no further development was possible, unless an inscribed text was added by extending the slab. This was also the case of Frà Anselme de Cais mentioned earlier, whereby his cousin took some liberties to extend the *monumental identity* of his uncle by adding to the upper register of the slab the following:

Whosoever treads upon these unknown remains, venerate the memory of Frà Anselme de Cais of Nice, Bailiff of Manosque, who wished to be buried at the threshold of this church in order to be trodden upon by everyone's feet. This marble was intended, while he was alive, to be a slab without a name, without a coat of arms. You have from this one proof of humility how much the splendour of virtues illuminated him. If you are looking for more important matters, examine his reputation, to which his publicly stated silence does not object. He died on 17th June 1710, at the age of 86. In case so much virtue is left buried with his remains, Frà Amadée de Cais, Commander of the Cavalry, placed this slab not to tread underfoot the orders of his uncle, but as an example for generations to come.

Once convinced that no more additions were needed to one's *cursus honorum* or one's *res gestae*, only then it was considered appropriate to prepare one's slab before dying, so that influence could be exercised to the very end. Frà Giovanni Deodati of Lucca, 'by no means forgetful of immortality, prepared, while alive, this sepulchre for himself in the year 1664, at the age of 81.'<sup>57</sup> It was presumably cautious to prepare one's epitaph when still *compos mentis*. We do not know how his mental health was when he died twelve years later, on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of April 1676, at the age of 93. Some prepared in a timely fashion for his earthly departure: Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, who had 'carefully prepared his grave in 1755, seventeen years prior to his death' in 1772.<sup>58</sup> Others prepared at the last

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<sup>54</sup> *Idem*, no. 42.

<sup>55</sup> Serban, 2012, 838-47. Serban discusses the Roman Jakobson's linguistic model of communication.

<sup>56</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 289.

<sup>57</sup> *Idem*, no. 165.

<sup>58</sup> *Idem*, no. 74.

moment, Frà Boniface de Puget Chiastuel reasoned that ‘should he rely on posterity, he prepared this tomb for himself on his deathbed in the Year of the Lord 1614, at the age of 70.’<sup>59</sup> Frà Juan Pablo de Arriaga was of the opinion that ‘surrounded by so many excellent marks of honours he prepared, both timely for himself and Death this solemn sepulchre for his remains, while hoping for a sufficiently spacious abode for his soul provided by divine munificence. He died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of April, in the year 1756, at the age of 71.’<sup>60</sup>

### *The inscribed texts of the corpus*

An epitaph is then further defined by Weever and placed within the realm of gravestones and tombs with engraved writing, ‘to continue the remembrance of the parties deceased to succeeding ages’.<sup>61</sup> Although some erudite members of the Order might have been acquainted with Weever’s theory, in practice it was probably more driven by historically grown customs, as the practice of sepulchral slabs at St John’s, at least for those of the rank of Grand Cross, came from initially from Messina, Palermo, Genoa or Florence.<sup>62</sup>

Weever also explains to his seventeenth-century readership that an epitaph is an inscribed text

in verse or prose, engraved upon the tomb, grave, or sepulchre of the defunct, briefly declaring (and that sometimes with a kind of commiseration) the name, the age, the deserts, the dignities, the state, the praises both of body and mind, the good or bad fortunes in the life, and the manner and time of the death of the person therein interred.<sup>63</sup>

The inscribed texts of the *corpus* follow in many respects the canon of the Roman traditions in sepulchral inscriptions as observed by Weever, while at the same time the *corpus* has developed its distinctive character. One very noticeable difference would be that, as mentioned before, all the deceased are identifiable. In the *corpus* there is no shred of doubt who the deceased is, while in Roman epitaphs deciphering the name and identity of the deceased can be a challenging exercise,<sup>64</sup> as eternity and oblivion were not such impressing matters yet as they were for the Hospitallers, since the Classical world lacked the Salvation/Damnation dichotomy of Roman Catholicism. However, what was similar was the desire to leave an impact of the surrounding landscape after death to establish the last remaining footprint of the *sepulti* (those interred or commemorated within a sepulchre) through monuments, graves surrounded by trellised fences or religious buildings, all to accommodate their commemoration.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> *Idem*, no. 166.

<sup>60</sup> *Idem*, no. 382.

<sup>61</sup> Weever, 1631, 8.

<sup>62</sup> *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence (BLF), *Archivio Buonarroti*, ser. 106, fol. 323, with thanks to Prof. Keith Scibberas for providing this information.

<sup>63</sup> Weever, 1631, 8.

<sup>64</sup> Erasmo, 2008, 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Idem*, 3.

Further to Roman tradition, one's accomplishments in politics or a military career were noted, while the *res gestae* and *cursus honorum* described one's character and further achievements. These would be important for the interpretation of one's life and death and at the same time form the basis for emulation by later generations. A great post-mortem achievement is that one indeed became an *exemplum* and that one's reach would be extended to a broader audience through images or writings.<sup>66</sup>

It was well understood by the Hospitallers that, for the sepulchres to be effective, there should be a certain amount of repetition included in order to fulfil the expectations of the viewers. Even in the iconography, there are many references to the Classical era, in the form of armour, military paraphernalia, depictions of mythological figures (the head of *Medusa* for instance). Each sepulchre tells its own story and conveys its own message. Classical features in Baroque art are, after all, the result of a fusion caused by Humanist philosophers, as a reaction of the only institution of the Roman times, the Catholic Church, to the Reformation.<sup>67</sup>

Inscribed texts had to be intelligible for the anticipated audiences and were written in Latin rather than vernacular, also because the Order was a union of many European regions. When the *corpus* would have been written in all kinds of vernacular, the Order would not be able to manage its reputation or to bring about a global corporate image.

Many stock phrases were used, available from a vast repertoire of the Classical heritage, Renaissance and contemporaries. In the generally Latin inscribed texts, a further number of layers of meaning can be found and some general pattern can be distinguished. Regularly, an inscribed text starts with a dedication to God, *D.O.M.*, *Deo Optimo Maximo*, to God Supreme and Almighty, or with *A Ω*, from the Beginning to Eternity or a likewise address. Then the deceased is introduced, mostly in the dative, which may include his date and place of birth or date of entering the Order. Information about his genealogy and his rank follows, and after this, a description of his character, his career, *cursus honorum*, and achievements, *res gestae*. Then a citation of a line or two from a Classical Latin text (at times in a hexameter or pentameter) or reference to a Classical or mythological event may be inserted. Tidings about his death may contain information where, when and how he died, and at what age, and of course, the level of his heroism or martyrdom. There may also be some stress on how he employed his accumulated wealth in conformity with his vows and that these efforts are aiding the Order even after his death. Finally, there is nearly as much concern for the reputation of the deceased as for the ranks and reputation of those who placed and dedicated the sepulchre, since the dedicator is in the nominative case.

A few examples: *D.O.M.* replaces the Classical *D.M.*, *DIS MANIBUS*, a dedication to the spirits of the dead. Frequently found, also typical of the Classical era, is *SISTE VIATOR*, an imperative to halt the passer-by, and *QUISQUIS ES...VIATOR...*, whoever you are...passer-

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<sup>66</sup> *Idem*, 156.

<sup>67</sup> The Council of Trent (1545-1536) devised strategies to defend itself against the Reformation. This Counter-Reformation used for instance art as a vehicle to bring forward the values of the Roman Catholic Church under threat. For a detailed account of the development of Baroque art and architecture, see Gombrich, 1995, 387-411 and also Brisson, 2004.

by. *OSSA HEIC SUNT*, here are the remains of...is also a favourite stock phrase in the *corpus*.<sup>68</sup> *HIC JACET* is undoubtedly the most recurrent one of Classical phrases,<sup>69</sup> appearing over 40 times in the *corpus*. In contrast, there are single occurrences of citations too. In the inscribed text of Frà Louis de Fleurigny there is a single phrase which may be inspired by Valerius Maximus:<sup>70</sup> *flos ordinis equestris... Fabius Maximus Rullianus, flower of the equestrian order* which is echoed by *FLOS ILLE EQUITUM ILLUSTRISSIMUS FRATER LUDOVICUS DE FLEURIGNY, that flower of the Knights, Frà Louis de Fleurigny*.<sup>71</sup> I am sure that his surname added to the reasons to search for a pun and play on words.

### 1.3 Analytical and theoretical framework

The *corpus* is essentially a *fil rouge* running across this work, stitching various topics together in the fabric of the Hospitaller self-image and memory. Analysis of the *corpus* and the Hospitaller history, akin to a patchwork, shows some long-term and short-term trends and characteristics, such as the value of heroism, asceticism in knighthood or the use of *miracula* and patron saints.

#### *Analytical framework*

One needs a cross-disciplinary approach to appreciate the contributions of other disciplines on *memoria* and self-image, among others archaeology, epigraphy, theology, anthropology, the study of pilgrimage and the interpretation of art. The *corpus*, in the narrowest sense generated from one source, and in the widest sense part of the whole *memoria* fabric of the Order's Convent in Malta, crosses time and space and provides a series of snapshots about the state of the art of *memoria* during the Order's Malta period. Delving into the past of the Order is necessary to discover when and where their *memoria* and self-image took shape. Since there are no other comparable *corpora* available, it becomes difficult to measure the *corpus* at St John's with others. One may only make some observations regarding style, shape or outlook to arrive at an incomplete snapshot comparison. This work hopes to contribute to a future project, a kind of international MeMO project if you will, to become part of a pan-European grand inventory of *memoria* research and sites. I would love to see a project where sepulchres of all closed groups are being included, such as the monumental graves at St Denis in Paris, the Temple Church in London, the graves of Dutch sea heroes in the St Janskerk in Rotterdam and many more.

This book is divided into three major sections, Part I, Part II and Part III. Part I is an essential prelude to the understanding of the period in Malta and the development of the *corpus*. In Part I, aspects of the gradual formation of and shifts in the Hospitallers' *memoria*, memory and self-image building are traced, leading from Jerusalem to Rhodes (c. 1050 to 1523). Reference will be made to the *corpus* and other sources within the Convent in Malta, when relevant characteristics are encountered to this remote and not so remote past. This includes a discussion of the works of ancient and modern writers

<sup>68</sup> For a detailed account of Roman epitaphs, see Hunink, 2007.

<sup>69</sup> For another detailed account of Roman epitaphs, see Geist, 1969.

<sup>70</sup> Valerius Maximus, 2000, vol. 1, book III.2, p. 244.

<sup>71</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 94.



and historians who have researched and published on the early Hospitaller period. This work's intention is not to retell what is sufficiently known, but to use the historical context to identify essential issues within the *corpus* and at St John's and to bring out their stories. Such instances make the Conventual church a sounding board of the past, future and possibly, beyond.

Part II will follow the period in Malta between 1530 and 1798, analysing how *memoria* and self-image crystallised over these 268 years and how historical perceptions and assumed Hospitaller identity were mirrored in the *corpus* and related art in and outside St John's. A conceptual analysis of the *corpus* will bring to the fore what priorities the knights and the Order integrated into the self-image and culture of memory. My rendering of this self-image is necessarily balanced with the criticism embedded in the public image of the Order. Nonetheless, it seems to me that in the existing literature of modern researchers, the criticism of the Order prevails over knowledge of its self-image. My objectives are thus to describe and analyse, as much as possible, the coherence between the macro-perspective of history and the Hospitaller self-image, funnelling down to the micro-environment of memory as it is embedded in the *corpus* and art at St John's and other creations belonging to Hospitaller Malta.

Part III contains the appendices. Appendix I includes the floor plans of St John's, indices and all the transcriptions and translations into English of the *corpus*, to facilitate the readers' understanding of the self-image of the Order. Appendix II include a summarised version of the First Rule of the Order, Appendix III a detailed account of the *Miraculi*. The history of the Order, the basis from which *memoria*, memory and self-image are distilled, is vast. Although many readers will be acquainted with the Order's history, I have included in Appendix IV, besides a 'headline' version of the Order's history, also topics which are linked to the early hospital and later Order in Jerusalem, hospices, pilgrimage, hospitality and Crusades. Appendix V has a transcription of the minutes of the Delegates of the Province of Zeeland of the Dutch Republic, 1663, regarding a claim of the Order for compensation due to expropriation of their property in the Reformation period.

### *Theoretical framework*

The theoretical framework employs several models for researching and analysing the Hospitaller self-image. The concepts of the emic and etic approach, derived from anthropology, are employed in this book, because they offer an extra dimension outside the academic distance of the modern historians who are researching the Hospitaller phenomenon. Should there be any value in this etic/image-objective and emic/self-image-subjective dichotomy, it would be to satisfy one's curiosity how the Hospitallers saw themselves and how this fit in with the said academia. The term *etic* represents the scientific approach, generally used by modern historians to describe how they regard the Order's image. This method offers perspectives on how this cohesion and image came about in an academically detached manner. Furthermore, it allows one to discover more universal traits that overlap cultural divides, from which one possibly could discover new

insights.<sup>72</sup> In the corresponding *emic* approach, there is the aspect of attachment, an emotive charge of self-image, which can be found in primary sources such as some of the early historians of the Order, art and the *corpus*, *i.e.* How the Order saw itself. These *emic* sources, although subject to academic criticism because of their internal or narrational subjectivity, however, can be used to gain a different knowledge of the Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image. In this book, the *emic* point of view, *i.e.* looking into the mirror versus the *etic* view, looking from outside to the inside, is applied just as a cultural anthropologist would research living natives in remote parts of the world. Closer defined, the *emic* approach here represents the social point of view, the culture-specific aspects of a closed group such as the Hospitallers, which is not comparable with other groups or societies at large. In the *emic* understanding, a culture or group is examined in isolation, in this work for the purpose of discovering the Hospitaller self-image.<sup>73</sup>

This work engages in an interdisciplinary method and hopes, as a result, to have created new approaches to old issues with different results. In order to unravel the Hospitaller self-image, one needs to read also the Hospitaller contemporaries, who have produced more selective narratives, to filter out all the constituent elements and string them together. Both primary and secondary sources are used to obtain an idea of the historical development of the image of the Hospitallers. The primary sources, where and when available, are used to verify the historical setting. Among those primary sources, besides the archives found in Malta and in Germany, are the inscribed texts of the sepulchral monuments and slabs at St John's. The secondary sources were used to learn about the interpretation of identity by contemporary and modern writers, to gauge the *emic* and *etic* views.

I am making here a distinction between the image of the Order drafted by an outsider, *e.g.* a modern historian, who is writing from the *etic* perspective, in contrast to the self-image, written by an insider of the Order, who would render the *emic* perspective.

There are also primary written sources, such as manuscripts in archives and the *corpus*. Both manuscripts and the *corpus* represent views which can be regarded as biased, misinterpreted or incorrect. Then there are the artistic sources in the Convent, that is, where the Order had its home and all its institutions. These are also primary sources for mining memory and self-image.

#### **1.4 Personal involvement**

Remarkably, relatively few people outside the sphere of interest of history have any knowledge of this Order, notwithstanding that the Order has helped millions of people over this last near-millennium. Even when there is some knowledge of the Knights Hospitallers, there is often a cynical edge to it as the Order is regularly associated with the atrocities committed by those participating in the Crusades. Or when there is some opinion about the Order, it is dealt with the same sarcasm when judging modern Catholicism and its scandals, abuse of power and personality cults of Grand Masters. Very

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<sup>72</sup> Fukuyama, 1990, 6-17.

<sup>73</sup> Malinowski, [1922] 2005, 3.



few people remember that the Order has been a charitable institution for a near-millennium.

Over the last 25 years or so, I have been accustomed to this reaction very well, having worked as a tourist guide in Malta. It is a recurrent reaction and I was not much better informed myself before I moved to Malta, and I confess ignorance. Shortly after my arrival in the early 1990s, I stepped into St John's Co-Cathedral and was immediately taken by what I saw. The church was dark, mysterious, nearly void of visitors and in these pre-restoration days of the church, the whole mesmerising memorial floor of polychrome intarsia sepulchral slabs was accessible.<sup>74</sup> During the day, although light came in through the oval windows aligning the frieze of the nave, still, the church remained in a twilight atmosphere, supposedly as it was in the past. Standing on the floor, which is paved with these slabs from the main door to the altar, created a strange attraction.

So, who were these people and what was this Hospitaller Order, commemorated on the floor and through monuments, paintings, sculptures and architecture? Going through the bookshop of St John's, I learned that the last serious publication on the whole floor had been in the 1950s, by Sir Hannibal Scicluna. It had the transcriptions of the inscribed texts of the sepulchral slabs and monuments, but not the translations. I realised, as many people before me had done, that the floor represented a collective identity and memory of the Order, made up of all those personal eschatologies in marble, offering many stories, waiting to be told. In order to fill this unexpected void, I started a Masters' degree in the Classics at the University of Malta (2002),<sup>75</sup> transcribing the mainly Neo-Latin inscribed texts of all the 154 slabs and monuments found in the nave of St John's, and rendered a translation into English. After this, having matured further and acquiring the obligatory *Sitzfleisch*, literally and figuratively, I continued transcribing the rest of the inscribed texts and rendered the whole *corpus* in a strictly diplomatic edition, which respects the authenticity and rich diversity of the *corpus*, and the *usus scribendi*, the latter representing contemporaneous opinions and tastes in writing Latin. It follows the original spellings, and the word and line distribution as found *in situ*. A translation was rendered from those texts into English (all the transcriptions and translations can be found in Part III, Appendix I of this work. Whenever in this present work an inscribed text belonging to the *corpus* is quoted in English, it is my own translation).<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, a description of the artistic tastes and the iconography was offered while an extensive catalogue of all the symbols on the slabs and monuments was drawn up. The aspects of memory and *memoria* are prominently present throughout this work. With regard to these inscribed texts, through wear and tear of the floor slabs, a good number of slabs are

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<sup>74</sup> There are 153 slabs (of a total of 383) in the nave, and the rest is divided over the crypt of the Grand Masters, side chapels, walls and the oratory. For an account of the restoration process of the floor see: Munro, 2008, 100-21.

<sup>75</sup> Munro, Dane, *A re-edition and translation into English of the Latin monumental inscriptions found in the nave of St John's Co-Cathedral (Valletta, Malta), including introduction, full commentary and indices*. Unpublished MA dissertation. University of Malta, 2002.

<sup>76</sup> In addition, there are two inscribed texts written in French (nos. 204, 332) one in Catalan (no. 374), and one in Latin and Catalan (no. 404). Besides, many slabs have *A Ω* or *A ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ Ω*, while others have sentences in Greek (nos. 153, 202, 265, 313, 359).

no longer legible at present. To arrive at a completely legible *corpus*, some primary and secondary literary sources were consulted, as discussed below. By comparing the inscribed texts of the *corpus in situ* to such sources, all inscribed texts save one fragment were restored, albeit on paper, even if they were not legible *in situ*. This work was published in 2005 as *Memento Mori, a Companion to the Most Beautiful Floor in the World*.<sup>77</sup> Although I will refer to the *corpus* on numerous occasions throughout this work, I am, nonetheless, well aware of the danger of becoming too much involved and I have taken great care to keep the necessary scholarly distance. Reflexivity is a great tool to keep one aware of one's involvement.

### 1.5 Limitations of this work

Notwithstanding that the *corpus* is part and parcel of the *memoria* fabric of St John's, this work's main avenue of investigation remains the *corpus*. However, to illustrate a strand of thought or to emphasis particular points of a line of reasoning, occasionally reference will be made to other important *memoria* and image aspects at St John's or elsewhere within the Hospitaller Convent of Malta or abroad, such as the earliest traces of Hospitaller *memoria* at Jerusalem and the maturing culture of *memoria* at Hospitaller Rhodes. Furthermore, the allegories and virtues at the Grand Masters' Palace are also included in this work. There is enough art at St John's and within the Convent to fill many books to complement the numerous tomes already written about these topics. Moreover, there are many more places of Hospitaller memory in Malta, among others, the Our Lady of Victory Church and Fort St Elmo in Valletta, Fort St Angelo and the towns of Vittoriosa, Senglea, Bormla, and the old, noble city of Mdina. In Gozo, Malta's sister island, there are also traces of the Order in the city of Victoria and its Cittadella. All these externalisations have some meaning for *memoria*. However, these will neither significantly contribute nor greatly alter the Hospitaller *memoria* profile and self-image as presented in the *corpus* at St John's. For the same reasons, this work will give much less attention to other forms of *memoria*, such as testaments, funeraries, rituals and ceremonies, portraits, narratives, numismatics, church bells, cannons etc.

Although women played a significant role in the Order, the *corpus* contains only inscribed text of the Hospitaller Knights, an all-male convention. In some instances, reference is made to women in relation to the Order. In order to fill this vacuum, I am referring to a very informative article about the role and responsibilities of women in the Order, written by Helen Nicholson, 'The role of women in the Military Orders.'<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> See Munro, 2005.

<sup>78</sup> In: *Militiae Christi: Handelingen van de Vereniging voor de Studie over de Tempeliers en de Hospitaalridders* vzw, Jaargang 1 (2010), 210–19.

### **1.6 Conclusion**

Sepulchral art is very diverse and uses, among others, narratives, iconography and symbols, which can all be employed to underwrite these themes. I am rather convinced that the *corpus*, as a diverse medium, is very much an appropriate tool to be placed parallel to the history of the Order to explore the interface between the Hospitaller history and the *corpus*. The *corpus* may also complement the Order's artistic output to arrive at a compelling and comprehensive perspective of the shifts in treatment of the Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image over the centuries. In the following chapter, the theoretical basics of *memoria* and image, definitions and literary sources of present and past are discussed.

## 2 Memoria and self-image: theory, sources and definitions

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the origin and the relevance of the *corpus* is discussed and how it became a dynamic narrative, capturing the essence of the Hospitaller being. The theory behind *memoria* and self-image also will be reviewed, as well as several sources related to the Hospitaller side of the matter. These sources range from sepulchres, art, foundation miracles and legends, the Rule of the Order, their council minutes, printed propaganda 'press' releases and historiographers. Then, of course, there were other ancient sources, not produced by the Hospitallers themselves, such as medieval and early modern historiographers, together with the modern academic output regarding the Hospitaller Order and the other military orders. This discussion on sources is not meant as an exhaustive compilation; many other sources are mentioned during the course of this work and can be found in the reference section of this book. This chapter merely shows the headlines regarding the shifting self-image and image of the Order and the memory by which it is fed, while the following chapters concerning the Order's history will fill in the relevant and applicable details.



### 2.2 Origin of the *corpus* and historical records

Since the content and context of the *corpus* are the leading arguments of Hospitaller self-image in this book, it might be prudent first to trace the route how the *corpus* went from concept to paper to marble and back to paper and *memoria* concept. Of all the sieges the Hospitallers were involved in, the memory of the Great Siege of 1565 has become inerasable. Presumably, the trauma of war, the human loss and the financial disaster caused by the Great Siege of 1565 and the consequent costs and burdens to rebuild their society, had left the Order with psychological and pecuniary constraints. It took about 35 years after the Great Siege before the Order managed to regain confidence, through income generated from corsairing and the steady development of commanderies. Besides that, there was the income from financial services, recruitment and personal fortunes of knights or their families. Through increased recruitment, the more or less natural cultural and linguistical divisions within the Order, called *langues* or *tongues*, had increased in volume and therefore also the strength of their localised or national character. These *langues* had crystallised during the Order's stay in Cyprus (1291-1310). In 1301, a capitular decree established both the European unity of the Order and gave official standing to each *langue*, to acknowledge their cultural diversity. It is a form of profiling of geographical and linguistical characteristics, as local identities and sentiments played an important part in the dynamics of sub-cohesion, in which their native identity would arguably enhance the overall Hospitaller self-image. If all these groups could be given a measure of independence within the federation of the Hospitaller

Order, members would hopefully feel at home away from home.<sup>79</sup> Also, division of power through the *langue* system provided political equality and this egalitarian system provided balance in the dealings with the overseas priories and commanderies, assuring financial and ideological control over those distant properties.<sup>80</sup> The *langue* system was also very useful in acquiring new recruits. It was necessary for the Order to keep close contact with the local nobilities, whose sons, wealth and political influence formed a lifeline of the Order.

To give the *langues* more room to express themselves, Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, by means of the Chapter General of 13<sup>th</sup> March 1603, allotted each of the *langues* one of the (side) chapels at St John's, making them also responsible for the maintenance and embellishment. From then onwards, each *langue* was able to commission works of art purposely made for and dedicated to the patron saint of each *langue's* chapel.<sup>81</sup>

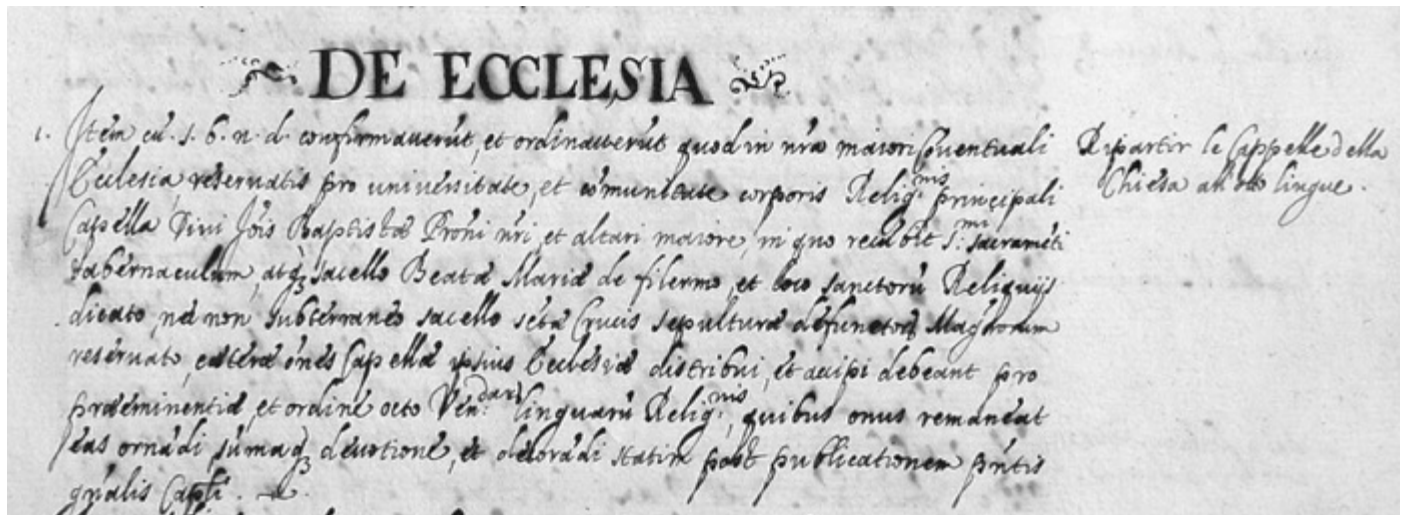


Image 2: Decree of Grand Master Wignacourt of 13<sup>th</sup> March 1603

At St John's, Grand Masters of the Order had the right to be buried at a place of their choice. Up to Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt (d. 1622), the usual place of interment was in the Crypt of the Grand Masters, beneath the High Altar and Choir. In this crypt, the oldest memorials are sixteenth-century carved slabs and *en-gisant* types of monuments of Grand Masters are found. Those who passed away before or just after the Great Siege,

<sup>79</sup> Sire, 1996, 32. After the fall of the Holy Land in 1291, the Hospitaller Order moved to Cyprus. In order of importance, the *langues* were: Provence, Auvergne, France, Spain, Italy, England and Germany. In Rhodes the division was: Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon (with Catalonia and Navarra), England (with Scotland and Ireland), Germany and Castile (with Portugal and Leon). In Malta, after the Dissolution by Henry VIII, the English knights were left with neither possessions nor a sense of belonging. The English *langue*, from now onwards, existed only on paper. The Bavarians knights had a slight issue to be associated with the German *langue*. This situation gave rise to the Anglo-Bavarian *langue* in Malta, and a distinct chapel (combined with the Chapel of Relics). At present, the Bavarians, although Germans, still have a very distinct identity. See also De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, Chapter XIII, 123-4, and A.O.M. 305 ff.87-88.

<sup>80</sup> Neuffer, 2008, 1-23.

<sup>81</sup> A.O.M. 305, ff. 87<sup>r</sup> to 88<sup>v</sup>. At St John's there are a number of chapels, of which eight are dedicated to a *langue*, namely, Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, Castile, Anglo-Bavarian.



had theirs in a medieval style, familiar to those in Rhodes.<sup>82</sup> In later stages, knights were usually buried in the Crypt of Bartholot, *in cantina Bartholot*, a set of underground chambers beneath the Oratory, for common burial.<sup>83</sup> The Crypt of Bartholot presumably served mainly as a resting place and less as a place of commemoration, veneration or as a pilgrimage site. A grave there would be a common affair and would make one invisible, as those underground chambers were not easily accessible for the public. A burial, or at least a cenotaph in the nave, *navi*, in a chapel, such as the *Cappella Trium Regum* (the German chapel) or *in porta cemeterij*, in the passage to the Churchyard, or elsewhere within the Conventual church, would make the deceased visible, and therefore, the culture of memory could kick in. The *corpus* illustrates this with the following eulogy, on the slab of Frà Fernando Contreras y Arellano (d. 1711), which contains a statement that 'he restored to light the ancient tombstones of knights, and arranged them, released from the darkness, in chronological order *QUO TEMPORE VETUSTA EQUITUM MONUMENTA / E TENEBRIS ERUTA LUCI RESTITUIT / AC CHRONOLOGICO INDICE EXORNAVIT*'.<sup>84</sup> This may suggest that some sepulchral slabs had been transferred from the Crypt of Bartholot to the above-ground spaces, visible to the public. As previously discussed, in order for *memoria* to take place, the dead need their audience. This above statement of slabs being shifted can be confirmed by at least one sample, a memorial tablet in *Marmo Bianco* of Pietro Varavalle de Gaeta, now in the nave of St John's.<sup>85</sup> Transfer must here be understood as the transfer of the inscribed text, not of a whole physical slab. Varavalle de Gaeta's original *manuscript tablet* was carved in limestone,<sup>86</sup> integrated in the north wall on the outside of the Crypt of Bartholot, beneath the Oratory, where it still is *in situ*. By stylistic comparison, some memorial slabs of knights may be identified as beneficiaries of the efforts of Fernando Contreras y Arellano.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Munro, 2005. It concerns Grand Masters Del Ponte, D'Omedes y Coscon and De la Sengle. The early artistic style for the Grand Masters' funerary art was medieval in orientation. The artistic style of earliest tombstones was Mannerist in orientation and came from Messina. See Debono 2005, 43ff.

<sup>83</sup> Scicluna, 1955, 173ff. The Crypt of Bartholot. Three of these chambers were briefly opened in 1948 but closed again soon afterwards.

<sup>84</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 219, ll. 14-16. A placement in chronological order of the tombstones might have taken place, but it remains a question of how strictly this was applied. The floor plan of tombstones in Caruana's publication shows that some areas indeed are subject to some chronological arrangement, but allowance must be made for later alterations.

<sup>85</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 88.

<sup>86</sup> Munro, 2005, 33-4. The artistic styles of the tombstones at St John's are here divided in four main typologies, Sepulchral Slabs, Mannerist, Baroque and Neo-Classical taste, styles which generally follow Mannerism, Baroque, Rococo and Neo-Classicism as it had developed in Italy, but always keeping in mind Malta's isolated island nature. The style of *Sepulchral slabs* has two main typologies, namely *manuscript tablet* (hard stone, at times complicated lettering with ligatures, reminiscent of the style used in Rhodes) and *memorial tablet* (black lettering engraved in *Marmo Bianco*, with or without an escutcheon). While Mannerism and Neo-Classical taste have only one typology, Baroque has three main typologies (*Baroque*, *Late Baroque monumental*, *Late Baroque pictorial invention*), of which Late Baroque has four distinguishable sub-typologies (*Late Baroque*, *Late Baroque pictorial*, *Late Baroque macchina*, *Late Baroque sepulchral classicizing Late Baroque*).

<sup>87</sup> *Idem*. Based on stylistic grounds, a simple memorial slab in white marble, *Marmo Bianco*, with engraved text. I am suggesting here that the following knights have been brought 'to light' by Frà Fernando Contreras y

This changed during the first half of the seventeenth century when a small quantity of Mannerist tombstones for knights and sepulchral monuments for Grand Masters were placed above ground in the nave, passageways and chapels, quite in the eye of the public.

The earliest sepulchral slabs above ground, *i.e.* outside the crypts, appeared in the side-chapels and passageways, where prominent members of each *langue* were either buried or commemorated. In the passageway leading to the Great Siege Cemetery in the churchyard of St John's, lie three of the first, still existing sepulchral slabs. The oldest slab is of the Italian knight Frà Bernardo Scaglia, who died in 1600.<sup>88</sup> Those of Frà Jacques de Virieu Pupetieres of the Auvergne, who died on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1602 and of Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres, who died in 1608, follow closely in date.<sup>89</sup> All three sepulchral slabs are polychrome marble intarsia ledgers in an elaborate Mannerist design. Although the year of demise is a very unreliable date for establishing the manufacturing or placement of a slab, it must be remarked that, according to the inscribed text, Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt himself, 'Master of the Jerusalemite Hospital and Guardian of the Poor of Jesus Christ,' placed the slab of Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1608. This is a significant day, All Souls' Day, as the date of demise was apparently not known. A record of the exact date of the demise of Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres has not been found yet.<sup>90</sup> The one dedicating the slab or monument added another dimension to the sepulchral. They could be family members, close friends or the Grand Master himself, a great honour to the knight in question, his memory and the status of his family. If there was no one to make the dedication, then, out of common respect, the dedication would be made in the name of the Common Treasury, which would then pay for the expense. On the other hand, many knights would pay for their own sepulchres.

This public display to the memory of deceased heroes and tireless defenders of the Catholic Faith, initiated competition between *langues* to create the most beautiful chapel their money and influence could buy. It indeed started a trend to obtain sepulchral slabs which could give the deceased identity and exposure, prompting obligatory and intercessory prayers for their souls.<sup>91</sup> Everything had to adhere to the Order's ethos and the inscribed texts and iconography had various designs to admonish passers-by into emulating these exemplary lives.

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Arellano: no. 155 Frà Pierre Mosquet (d. 1579); no. 52 Frà Giovanni Caccialupi (d. 1623); no. 88 Frà Pietro Varavalle de Gaeta (d. 1623); no. 41 Frà François Dupui Trigona (d. 1630); no. 305 Frà Pompeo Rospigliosi (d. 1630); no. 308 Frà Francesco Piccolomini (d. 1648).

<sup>88</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 202.

<sup>89</sup> *Idem*, respectively no. 200 and no. 207.

<sup>90</sup> When the date of demise is not given, the date of manufacturing or placing may be recovered from notarial deeds. There are cases in which the slab was placed a few years before demise, and in some cases up to 50 or 100 years after demise.

<sup>91</sup> Munro, 2005. A sepulchral slab or monument is also a door to a metaphysical passageway, and one cannot get possibly closer to the netherworld without going there one's self. Since the marble representation was regarded as a bridge between the two worlds, it needed to be suitable for the deceased and appealing to the survivors. Besides taking elements from myth, literature, religion and history, a powerful message is sent by use of symbols, perspective, the colour of the marble and the skilful manipulation of polychrome marble intarsia, leading to a successful application of visual effects. The inscribed text had its own gripping effect on the passers-by. Each sepulchral slab at St John's seems to be a statement of each knight's personal eschatology.

There was an increasing interest by the knights of the Order to be remembered *in felice memoria* by a marble slab and to celebrate their glory and piety. Glory here refers to the glory of God whom they served, although the Hospitallers could not escape earthly glory altogether, which would contrast with their appearance of humility. Hence, many texts in the *corpus* contain a 'modest disclaimer'. Case in point is the slab of Frà Melchior Álvaro Pereira Pinto, part of whose text translates as 'Do not expect his praises here, because he preferred to be praiseworthy himself than to be praised for his duties. Therefore, offer prayers to him with praises, so that the Creator of eternal life may grant him Heavenly glory, as he hastened away from earthly glory.'<sup>92</sup>

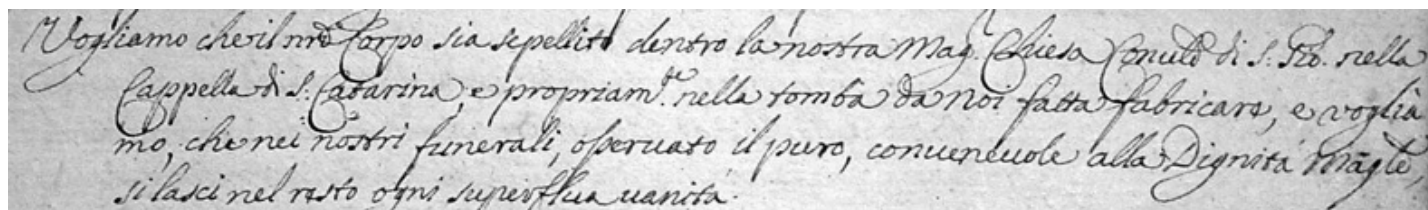


Image 3: A.O.M. 261, f.87r, decree of 15<sup>th</sup> December 1667

During the transformation of the interior of St John's into the concept of total baroque art,<sup>93</sup> evidently the larger idea of the cultivation of the Order's memory had already taken root and was taken up by the Grand Master's Council. Other decrees were issued to establish the realisation of a memorial pavement with occasional monuments in the side chapels. On the 15<sup>th</sup> December 1667 the Most Eminent and Most Venerable Grand Master Nicola Cotoner and the Venerable Council unanimously decreed that they requested the Venerable Commissioners to enquire how much the expense would amount to and what configuration should be considered should the Council order a pavement of marble from the high altar towards the main entrance of the Conventual church. The Venerable Commissioners were requested to advise the Venerable Council.<sup>94</sup>

It is not entirely known through which mechanics a person could obtain a place for a slab on the floor of St John's by privilege, instead of just a place in the common grave in the Crypt of Bartholot by right.<sup>95</sup> Supposedly there was some lobbying going on to occupy significant spots, near altars, near Grand Masters, or spots of high public visibility. However, once permission was obtained, an artist was sought to make a design, or this was left to the lapidary or the *marmisti*, the marble artisans. In a notarial deed, the

<sup>92</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 37.

<sup>93</sup> Sciberras, 2010. The Italian artist Mattia Preti was commissioned to embellish and decorate the interior of St John's. Between 1660 and 1699, the year of his death, he designed and executed his concept of total art, and his designs and skill show an integration of different arts under one roof. The triumphal illusionism of the Baroque style, his inventive powers in painting are said to trickle down from the barrel vault of the church along the gilt wall sculptures and flooding the floor with marble inlaid sepulchral slabs. In the following period, the first half of the eighteenth century, the transformation of Valletta into the High Baroque festive style is attributed to the Italian architect Romano Carapicchia. In the early days of the church, art was imported from Italy and several slabs are witness to that. Later on, local *marmisti* would produce slabs made-in-Malta. The Order commissioned in Rome and Florence monumental sculptures for their deceased Grand Masters and brought them over to Malta on board their galleys. Art was even commissioned as far as Flanders.

<sup>94</sup> A.O.M. 261, f.87r.

<sup>95</sup> Scicluna, 1955, 173ff.



conditions were recorded about the choice and delivery of the marble, the design, the delivery deadlines of the ready product, transport, placement and payments were settled. The text had to be composed too, probably by one of the Latin secretaries or priests.<sup>96</sup> Should the work not be completed during one's lifetime, the executors testamentary would take over the supervision of the work.<sup>97</sup> Many of the commemorated knights would pay for the slab themselves, and the whole process of design, ordering the marble, choosing and paying the artist would be recorded through notarial deeds.<sup>98</sup> Sometimes the parents of a knight, or the Common Treasury, would commission a slab. John DeBono described these processes of commissioning works of art and the legal aspects.<sup>99</sup>

Undoubtedly, the art and inscribed texts of a sepulchral slab were subject to approval. Usually, memory devices and other art related to *memoria* and Purgatory were not of high quality, but often mass-produced genre pieces, since the narrative behind the painting about the persons involved, were of importance. Due to the lofty self-image of the Order, it was thought one should produce extremely attractive sepulchral slabs and monuments, whereby the name of the deceased and his coat of arms were prominently displayed. However, until present, no documents have been discovered of a specialised committee of approval of the sepulchral art applied at St John's. Evidently, the Order sought as much as possible control, through its Council and reviewing commission, over material before printing and publishing, especially when these works were produced by its own members, but not exclusively. That the Council of the Order was involved, means that some form of control was in place, or put more mildly, the Council pursued to publish the best possible representations of the Order for the purpose of its public memory and self-image.<sup>100</sup> Presumably, the Grand Master would have had the last say regarding everything to do with Hospitaller identity and corporate branding. The Grand Master was, as it were, also the 'brand master,' as much was at stake. It is not unreasonable to presume that the Order could not afford any misinterpretation or misrepresentation of its goals and achievements. The impression is that much copying occurred from already existing art within the St John's. *e.g.* the paintings of Mattia Preti, which were already approved. At times, the sample would come from abroad and was then adapted to the wishes of the one who had commissioned the slab.<sup>101</sup>

As the Order's Conventual church, the building functioned as a showcase of the Hospitaller view on *memoria* and memory. Over time, when all the survivors of an event had passed on, the memory, without proper history writing, would inevitably fade. Especially the Order's historiographers had the critical task of keeping records of the Order's history, filling its archives with memory.

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<sup>96</sup> Debono, 2005.

<sup>97</sup> *Idem*, for various accounts and processes of procurement of slabs and monuments.

<sup>98</sup> See: Debono, 2005.

<sup>99</sup> Debono, John, *Art and Artisans in St John's and other Churches in the Maltese Islands ca. 1650-1880*. Malta, 2005.

<sup>100</sup> Zammit, 2008, 207-35.

<sup>101</sup> See Munro, 2005.

French historian René de Vertot, in the 1728 translated version from French, also included many texts of Grand Master's monuments.<sup>102</sup> The accuracy of the transcriptions is not very high; notwithstanding that, his work was valuable for the understanding of the Hospitaller context and helped to fill some gaps. Frà Paul Antoine de Viguier was a member of the Order and is mentioned twice in the *corpus* as a person who provided the means for a slab to be produced and wrote at least two eulogies. He also wrote a manuscript in 1754, in which he documented all the inscribed texts of the slabs and monuments available until then, 265 in total, and illustrated all entries with their coat of arms.<sup>103</sup> Viscount L.F. de Villeneuve Bargemont, in his *Monumens des Grands-Maîtres de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, à Ptolémaïs, à Rhodes, à Malte, etc, accompagnés de notices historique* of 1829,<sup>104</sup> gives a description and short history of all Grand Masters in succession, and where possible, the inscribed text of an epitaph, slab or monument. He divides his work in three parts. First, there are those texts from Jerusalem, Acre, Margat and Cyprus, of which no trace exists any longer. Then there are the slabs and tombs found at Rhodes, and finally, the *corpus* at Malta which is in a deservedly excellent state. It is therefore academically unwise to use those inscribed texts of the Holy Land and Rhodes as reliable sources. Villeneuve Bargemont starts thus with Blessed Gerard and follows the deeds of Grand Masters and their epitaphs from Jerusalem, Cyprus, Rhodes to Malta. All of the inscribed texts are rendered in French, rather than Latin or Greek, which opened the inscribed texts to a wider audience. The value of this book is not in rendering accurately historical or linguistical matter but in recording a powerful self-image of the Order. Remarkably enough, this book is mentioned in the *corpus*, within the inscribed text of Frà Paolo de Bertis Portughes:

For Frà Paolo de Bertis Portughes of Malta, of the Priory of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, Commendator of Pisa who, with enormous effort gave an exact account of each cenotaph and the whole floor of this most magnificent church and greatly occupied himself to commit it to print, whose eulogy Viscount L.F. de Villeneuve Bargemont recalls in his work titled *The Monuments of the Grand Masters*, on pages 274 and 339. He lived for 85 years, 11 months and 10 days. He died on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 1835. May his grave be at peace.<sup>105</sup>

A commendator, Abbé de Bertis, is indeed mentioned in the footnote of page 274 as a person '*qui a cherché à conserver les objets précieux qui se rattachaient à l'illustration de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem.*' (who sought to preserve the precious objects related

<sup>102</sup> Vertot, René A. de, *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem 1726*. Facsimile of the 1728 English edition: *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem*, styled afterwards the Knights of Rhodes and at present the Knights of Malta, two vols. Malta: Midsea Books, 1989.

<sup>103</sup> At the National Library, Valletta: De Viguier, Lib. 135.

<sup>104</sup> Villeneuve Bargemont, Viscount L.F. de, *Monumens des Grands-Maîtres de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, à Ptolémaïs, à Rhodes, à Malte, etc, accompagnés de notices historiques*, two vols. Paris: J. J. Blaise, 1829. Online available at: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044012570016;view=1up;seq=76>

<sup>105</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 247. Coincidentally, the Maltese family of Paolo de Bertis Portughes still celebrates a mass for his soul every year.

to the illustration of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem). Unfortunately, p. 339 does not seem to have any mention of Frà Paolo de Bertis Portughes.<sup>106</sup> Until now I did not manage to find any published works by Frà Paolo de Bertis Portughes and I have an inkling that his transcriptions of the inscribed texts of the *corpus* might be living on anonymously in Pietro Paulo Caruana's publication, *Collezione di Monumenti e Lapidì Sepolcrali dei Militi Gerosolimitani nella Chiesa di San Giovanni in Malta* in three volumes between 1838 and 1840.<sup>107</sup> Caruana's eldest son, Raffaele Caruana, illustrated each slab and monument with an engraving or lithograph to complement the work.<sup>108</sup> The transcriptions found in Caruana cover 370 inscribed texts. It is most fortunate that this work contains a numbered plan, showing the distribution of slabs and monuments at St John's. This plan is invaluable to retrace the original position of each slab before Giuseppe Hyzler reconfigured the whole floor of St John's, redistributing most of the slabs over the floor, a job he finished in 1833.<sup>109</sup>

The greatest value of De Viguier and Caruana is that they have preserved the inscribed text of slabs now illegible due to wear and tear. Both authors did not supply a translation of the inscribed texts.

In 1857 a work was published by M.L. de Mas Latrie, *Archives, bibliothèque et inscriptions de Malta*. It offers an inventory of the collection of the Order's manuscripts in the National Library of Malta, such as papal bulls from twelfth to the seventeenth century, bulls of Grand Masters, the *Libri Bullarum* (registry of the Chancellery), *Cerimoniale di Cancelleria*, ceremonies, or the *Libri Consiliorum* (the minutes of the council meetings of the Order) and many more. From p. 50 to p. 240, all of the transcriptions offered in Caruana are reproduced here, including an *apparatus criticus*, lacking in Caruana, with notes on engraving or transcription mistakes and an index of all knights per *langue*. All names of the knights in the headings are in French, so that, for instance, the German knight Franz Xavier von Hassenstein becomes François-Xavier de Haissenstein.<sup>110</sup>

Achille Ferris wrote a history of the Order at Malta, interlaced with inscriptions on public statutes, buildings, fortifications, fortified entrances to cities, towns and villages.

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<sup>106</sup> Villeneuve Bargemont, 1829, p. 274 and 339.

<sup>107</sup> Caruana, Pietro P., *Collezione di monumenti e lapidi sepolcrali dei militi Gerosolimitani nella Chiesa di San Giovanni in Malta disegnati in contorno litografico da Raffaele Caruana*, 3 vols. Valletta: Litografia P.P. Caruana, 1838-40. In Ganado, 1981 it is stated that Pietro Paolo Caruana (1793-1852) was the first one in Malta to own a printing press. Before printing, he created lithographs, such as *Costumi Maltesi*, a series of Maltese costume traditions, such as vendors, merchants, street hawkers, water sellers and musicians. Besides that, Pietro Paolo was also a talented painter and was made Professor at the Malta School of Art in 1831.

<sup>108</sup> Ganado, 1981, 49-60, here 52. This work was dedicated to Queen Adelaide, widow of William IV of England. She arrived in Malta in November 1838 due to health reasons.

<sup>109</sup> Cutajar, 1988, 231-262.

<sup>110</sup> Mas, M.L. de Latrie, *Archives, Bibliothèque et Inscriptions de Malta*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857. Online available:

<https://ia801406.us.archive.org/29/items/archivesbibliot00latrgoog/archivesbibliot00latrgoog.pdf> > Accessed on 14/01/19.

In this work, there is also a chapter on St John's, where he included a part of the *corpus* at St John's, 33 inscribed texts in all, most of Grand Masters.<sup>111</sup>

Sir Hannibal Scicluna published a standard work on St John's, *The Church of St John in Valletta* in 1955 and included 407 inscribed texts and black & white photographs.<sup>112</sup> By necessity, he had to follow the work of Caruana, as in 1955 many of the inscribed texts were already rubbed illegible by foot traffic. In Scicluna, there are also attempts at the textual improvement of the transcriptions, as one can notice the hand of three different editors.<sup>113</sup> The work includes a numbered floor plan of St John's and an index. A translation of the inscribed texts was not provided.

Nicholas de Piro, with his *The Temple of The Knights of Malta* (1999), wrote the first major work on St John's since Sir Hannibal Scicluna's tome of 1955. De Piro respected this publication and consequently filled in gaps and undertook new research. De Piro's book is not an epigraphical edition in the sense that it covers all the texts of the *corpus* as was the case with De Viguiet, Caruana and Scicluna, but it adds a treatment of memory and *memoria* which the other three lacked. Perhaps this book's main achievement was an attempt to assess not only the anecdotal tradition but also to seek and discover the micro-historical aspects at St John's.<sup>114</sup>

An article of Giovanni Bonello on the *Art and Symbols in St John's Tombstones* (2000)<sup>115</sup> also contributes, to the understanding of the memory drive of the Order. He acknowledges that the art of reading the symbols used in the sepulchral art at St John's, *i.e.* the understanding of the wedding between text and image, is lost to the modern reader and that he cannot 'hope to turn St John's tombstones into a totally comprehensible poem.' He mourns the 'barrenness' of what was once a 'long-established cerebral fertility.' For the modern visitor, the former bond between the mourners and the mourned has vanished, while the sepulchre as a bridge between the living and the dead has been drawn up for good. Bonello also created a list of symbols and their possible meanings.

Finally, Dane Munro, the current author, has produced *Memento Mori*, which filled a gap in the knowledge of Hospitaller *memoria* in Malta. It contains a diplomatic edition of all inscribed texts, accompanied by an *apparatus criticus*, and, for the first time, a translation from Latin into English. A list of symbols and their possible meaning in the context of St John's was devised and categories of artistic tastes, ranging from medieval to Neo-Classic have been added. A colour photograph of each sepulchral slab and monument is included, so that it has become a standard work for the *marmisti*, now able to restore a sepulchre to its state of 2005. Numerous biographical details and names and dates of entry into the Order of individual knights in *Memento Mori* have been verified

<sup>111</sup> Ferris, Achille, *Memorie Dell' Inclito Ordine Gerosolimitano Esistenti Nelle Isole Di Malta*. Valletta: Typographia C. Busutill, 1881.

<sup>112</sup> Scicluna, Hannibal P., *The Church of St John in Valletta*. Rome: Casa M. Danesi, 1955.

<sup>113</sup> Munro, 2005: Prof. E. Coleiro, Dr E.T. Vernier and Dr E. Montalto.

<sup>114</sup> Piro, Nicholas de, *The Temple of the Knights of Malta*. Malta: Miranda Publications, 1999.

<sup>115</sup> Bonello, Giovanni, 'Art and Symbols in St John's Tombstones.' In: Giovanni Bonello, *Art in Malta - Discoveries and Recoveries*. Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju, 2000, 160-70.

where necessary by consulting the works of de Vertot, *L'Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem* (volume 7 of 1761), De la Roque, *Catalogue des Chevaliers de Malte* (1891), and Bonazzi's *Elenco dei Cavalieri del S.M. Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme*, two volumes (1897 and 1907). Other biographical and historical details were verified through another work of de Vertot, *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, Styled Afterwards the Knights of Rhodes and at Present the Knights of Malta*, vol. I. (1770) and of, among others, Giacomo Bosio *Dell'istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano* (1598) and Bartolomeo Dal Pozzo *Historia della Sacra Religione Militare di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano detta di Malta* (1703-1715).

### *Sources on the art at St John's*

Numerous books have been written on the art at St John's and the art commissioned by the Order. The leading local expert is Keith Sciberras who has produced numerous studies of the art commissioned by the Order of St John. For instance, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights of Malta* (2004) provides great insight into the mechanics of the Order's art patronage, commissioning of art through ambassadors and the transport of large sculptures to Malta with ships of the Order. It also describes in detail the art and iconography of the sepulchral monuments of the Grand Masters. The research in this work has revealed many new facts, which makes it an indispensable tool and source of information. His other works, with equally impressive co-authors, have made invaluable contributions to the understanding of the dynamics of art and the Order.<sup>116</sup> John DeBono (2005) delivered a significant contribution by analysing the actual process of commissioning work and how artist and client were bound by notarial deeds.<sup>117</sup> Dennis de Lucca and Conrad Thake delved into the first important Baroque artist for St John's, the architect Francesco Buonamici, with whom the total decoration of St John's began in earnest.<sup>118</sup> De Lucca also wrote about a later influencer of St John's art, Romano

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<sup>116</sup> Keith Sciberras, 'Caravaggio Obediente.' In: *The Burlington Magazine*, June 2016, 424; 'Francesco Noletti (c. 1611-1654)' and a conclusion for proposing his oeuvre in: P. di Loreto (ed.) *Una Vita per la Storia dell'Arte: Scritti in Memoria di Maurizio Marini*, 2015. *Caravaggio to Mattia Preti: Baroque Painting in Malta*, Midsea Books, Malta, 2015; 'Mattia Preti's Work for International Patrons (1661-1699).' In: *A Brush with Passion - Mattia Preti (1613-1699)*, ed. J. Spike, Centro Di, Italy, 2013; Sciberras and V. Sgarbi (eds), *Il Cavalier Calabrese - Mattia Preti tra Caravaggio e Luca Giordano*, Silvana Ed., Italy, 2013; *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights of Malta*, 2nd edn, Midsea Books, 2012; *The Triumphant Manner*, Midsea Books, Malta, 2012; *Baroque Painting in Malta*, Midsea Books, Malta, 2009; 'Caravaggio, the Confraternita della Misericordia, and the original context of the Oratory of the Decollato in Valletta.' In: *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXLIX, no. November 2007; 'Melchiorre Cafà - Maltese Genius of the Roman Baroque.' In: *Melchiorre Cafà*, ed. K. Sciberras, Midsea Books, Malta, 2006. Sciberras and David M. Stone, Malta: Midsea Books, 2006; *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights of Malta*. Malta: Midsea, 2004.

<sup>117</sup> Debono, John, *Art and Artisans in St John's and other Churches in the Maltese Islands ca. 1650-1880*. Malta, 2005.

<sup>118</sup> Lucca, Dennis De and Conrad Thake, *The Genesis of Maltese Baroque Architecture: Francesco Buonamici 1596-1677*. Msida: Malta University Press, 1994; Lucca, Dennis De, *Carapēcchia, Master of Baroque Architecture in Early Eighteenth-Century Malta*. Msida: Malta University Press, 1999.



Fortunato Carapecchia,<sup>119</sup> who was also instrumental in designing a few sepulchral slabs at St John's.<sup>120</sup> The curator of St John's, Cynthia Degiorgio, has contributed to the appreciation of the (religious) symbolism and the artistic value of the art at St John's and has written various articles and books on the artists whose work is present at St John's, among others Caravaggio and Mattia Preti.<sup>121</sup> Then there are several guidebooks, such as of Juliet Rix, photo books and popular books either on St John's or dedicating sections to it, which all have their own merits but are not being discussed here.

### *Sources of Hospitaller sepulchres*

From the period in the Holy Land and the very short period in Cyprus (1291-1308), there is hardly anything left which can function as a primary source for Hospitaller sepulchres or *memoria*.<sup>122</sup> Although the situation is somewhat better in the Rhodes period, there are mostly secondary literary sources available, such as Viscount L.F. de Villeneuve Bargemont's *Monumens des Grands-Maîtres de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, à Ptolémaïs, à Rhodes, à Malte, etc, accompagnés de notices historique* of 1829,<sup>123</sup> Col. Rottiers' *Description des monuments de Rhodes* (Brussels, 1830),<sup>124</sup> and J.-B. de Vaivre's *Les tombeaux des Grands Maîtres des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Rhodes* of 1998. The latter work is considered a comprehensive account on the tombs in the Conventual church of St John's in Rhodes.<sup>125</sup> The old sources recorded matters which are no longer available owing to an explosion of a forgotten gunpowder storage from the Siege of Rhodes 1522,<sup>126</sup> and to World War II damages in Rhodes. The work of Anna-Maria Kasdagli, both in articles and books, presents an overview of how the matter currently stands in Rhodes, as published in 2016.

The vast majority of the symbols on the sepulchral slabs and monuments are based on Antiquity.<sup>127</sup> Many allegories, emblems and symbols found at St John, are in conformation

<sup>119</sup> Bonello, 2000, 160-70, mentions that Romano Carapecchia made the *bozzetto* for no. 36 Frà Gaspar de Figuera, no. 37 Frà Melchior Álvaro Pereira Pinto Coutineo, no. 69 Frà Roberto Solaro and no. 272 Frà Heinrich Ludger von Galen.

<sup>120</sup> Ebury and Row, 1990, 9.

<sup>121</sup> Among others: Cynthia Degiorgio, 'Caravaggio's St Jerome Writing: An Artistic Appraisal.' In: *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 35, 2006; 'The Chapel of the Virgin of Philermos.' In: *Treasures of Malta*, vol. 50, 2011; Mattia Preti: *Saints and heroes for the Knights of Malta*. Malta: Midsea, 2014.

<sup>122</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17-28, here 18.

<sup>123</sup> Villeneuve Bargemont, Viscount L.F. de, *Monumens des Grands-Maîtres de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, à Ptolémaïs, à Rhodes, à Malte, etc, accompagnés de notices historiques*, two vols. Paris: J. J. Blaise, 1829. Online available at: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044012570016;view=1up;seq=1>

<sup>124</sup> Rottiers, Bernard Eugène Antoine. *Description des Monumens de Rhodes*. Brussels: Mme V. A. Colinez, 1828. This book has some illustrations of graves, but mostly shows architecture of Rhodes used or built by the Order. Available online:

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433001261332;view=1up;seq=1>

<sup>125</sup> Vaivre, J.-B. de, 'Les tombeaux des Grands Maîtres des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Rhodes.' In: *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tome 76 (1998), 35-88.

<sup>126</sup> De Vaivre, 1998, 35-88, here 36.

<sup>127</sup> Here follows a catalogue of all the symbols observed at the sepulchral slabs and monuments: Acanthus, alms, Alpha and Omega, anchor, angels, angel of Fame (Fama), arched arrangements, arrow, banner, book,

with the handbook for the artist, the *Iconologia*, written by Cesare Ripa (c. 1560, Perugia, c. 1622, Rome), first published in Italian in 1645.<sup>128</sup> This book, with drawings and explanatory texts, was an immensely influential standard work for artists and writers. It provided a catalogue of allegories taken from Classical sources, reworked in the fashion of the Renaissance and fit for baroque. To my opinion there are only a few new symbols created, such as the cotton plant related to Grand Master Cotoner (see chapter 8.13). In the art of the Order, symbols are either Classic or secular, while just a few are religious. A slab or monument is not only built up of various layers of perception, *i.e.* heraldry, text, symbols, colours of the marble. Quite often, the placement of these elements would allow for enhanced meaning and support or enhance the narrative. In some artistic tastes, great care is taken to place all the symbols in a meaningful context.

### 2.3 Memoria

Similar to the supply of studies and publications regarding military orders, there is a vast supply of academia concerning *memoria* and memory studies. Researchers consider the remembrance of the deceased, collectively termed *memoria*, as a complex phenomenon of liturgical and social acts connecting the living and the dead. As a research paradigm, *memoria* is of paramount importance to understand the Orders' self-image, as the dead have as much to say about the Orders as the living.

*Memoria*, as a research discipline within medieval studies, has a possible starting point in the 1950s, beginning in Germany with a study into *Memorialüberlieferung*. This study included memorial registers, leading into the research of both nobility and monastic commemoration of the dead. During the 1980s the paradigm of *memoria* became established,<sup>129</sup> not in the least by the publication of the proceeds of the international interdisciplinary conference held from 27<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> May 1984 in Münster, *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, edited by Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch.<sup>130</sup> This work also contained a paper by Otto Gerhard Oexle, *Memoria und Memorialbild*, an author frequently referred to in this work. Oexle (Germany) published a large number of works in this field from 1967 to 2013. Pierre

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breasts and breastfeeding (Charity), burse, candle, chains, chalice, Charity, cherub, Chronos, cinerary urn, circle, Classical cuirass, clock, coat of arms, column, crescent, crosier, crown, crucifix/cross, curtains, cypress, Death (Mors), dolphins, door, dove, dragons, drapery, drums, eagle, eagle – double-headed, eight-pointed cross, elephant, fasces, Father Time (Chronos), female allegorical figures, flags and banners, flames, fruit and flowers, globe, gorgoneion (apotropaic amulet of the Gorgon head on a shield), headgear both liturgical and military, heart, helmet, hour-glass, incense burner, infants, ivy, key, lamb, laurel wreath/garlands, lily, lion, *Medusa*, meander, merits, military paraphernalia (array of), mirror, Moors, motto, oak tree, obelisk, olive branch, Order's flag, Ottomans, Pallas, palm branch, Phoenix, putti, pyramid, rose, sand-glass, sarcophagus, scales, scallop/shell, scimitar, scroll, scythe, six-pointed-star, skeleton, skull, snake, skin, spoils, staff, stole, sun, supporters, sword, torch, tower, trefoil, trophies, trumpet, turban, urn, Victory, wind, window, winged effigies, wings, wisdom.

<sup>128</sup> English edition: Ripa, Cesar, *Iconologia or Moral Emblems*. London: Benjamin Motte, 1709.

<sup>129</sup> Truus van Bueren, Kim Ragetli and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 2011, 183-234.

<sup>130</sup> Schmid, Karl and Joachim Wollasch (eds.) *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, series *Societas et Fraternitas*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Nora is a prominent forerunner of *memoria* research in France with his series *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, published from 1984 to 2010 in various instalments. Of importance to the Order's nobiliary aspect is also the approach of Jan Assman, shared by Oexle, where nobility must take care of nobility in the sequence 'tradition-succession-memoria', meaning that for maintaining and remembering nobility one must commemorate one's predecessors according to the tradition as it was and will be done and one ought to follow in the footsteps of those predecessors while paving the way for one's successors.<sup>131</sup> In the structure of the sepulchres at St John's, one will find a great emphasis on the genealogy of the deceased knights and how their actions brought honour to the lineage and the Order. The following example of the *corpus* confirms the sequence 'tradition-succession-memoria' in all its facets of the past, present and future:

Halt, passer-by, and mourn. He who lies here lifeless, had the duty to stretch out to the world forever, Frà Don Carlo Carafa of Aragon, whom Malta loved with extraordinary affection while he lived, bewailed with equal lamentation as he was expelling life's breath. If you are ignorant of the splendour of his blood-lineage, ask who the princes of the Locri in Naples are: They are the ancestors of heroes, parents of a Grand Master. He increased the merits of his ancestors, immortalising them with honours and virtues. He was a legal advisor in the court of Philip V, a leader in war, President of the Curia, he succeeded in arriving at the peak of honours, a rank destined to him, and he carried it to a greater height with his merits, as the first among the first-ranking, he guarded, defended, enlightened with discretion, excellence and counsel the Most Illustrious Jerusalemite Religion. He was Prior of the Commandery of Roccella, Steward and Chief Praetor. He went to meet his final fate at the age of 75, in the Year of Our Redemption 1717, on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of March. Go now, passer-by, and seek to take up the virtue of this hero, in which [virtue] he still lives on, while you are, as yet, standing on top of it.<sup>132</sup>

Medievalists from all over Europe were attracted to this new field of *memoria* research, including scholars from Central and Eastern Europe. Stefanie Knöll from Germany is a specialised *memoria* researcher. Her Ph.D. research treats the *memoria* culture regarding academic communities and funeral monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen. Sally Badham, Jerome Bertram, Nigel Saul and Sophie Oosterwijk are co-editors of *Church Monuments*, an annual journal published by the Church Monuments Society of the UK, specialising in articles on *memoria*, covering individual graves and tombs in the UK and Ireland. Oosterwijk was also a researcher with the MeMO project, now specialising in child commemoration, medieval monuments in 'precious metal', and the *Danse Macabre*. While Oexle and Nora may be regarded as the godfathers of the *memoria* discipline in Germany and France, in the Netherlands, Truus van Bueren may likewise be held as the godmother of *memoria* in the Low Countries.

<sup>131</sup> Discussion in Van Bueren *et al.*, 2011, 188.

<sup>132</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 47.



Editor and contributor of *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages* of 2005, a standard work, she is an internationally acclaimed medievalist and cooperated with Oexle in 'Das Imaginarium der Sukzession: Über Sukzessionsbilder und ihren Kontext.' Van Bueren is also one of the initiators of the website of the academic project Medieval *Memoria* Online (MeMO).<sup>133</sup> This website provides valuable tools for the research of *memoria* in the Netherlands and Belgium and has a *memoria* historiography (updating of this website stopped in September 2018), articles and definitions on *memoria*. The MeMO symposium *Researching Medieval Memoria: Prospects and Possibilities*, was held on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2010 in Utrecht, the Netherlands and the proceeds were published in 2011, *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, number 14. Van Bueren is present here with an article 'Researching Medieval *Memoria*: Prospects and Possibilities. With an Introduction to Medieval *Memoria* Online (MeMO),' with the cooperation of Kim Ragetli and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld. This article also contains an overview of the development of *memoria* research and I have referred to this article previously, especially regarding its instrumental rendering of applicable definitions. Of even greater importance for this work are their arguments about what does and does not belong to *memoria*.

It is not the ability to recall or remember something (memory, *Gedächtnis*, *geheugen*). The type of *memoria* studies we aim for is not historiography in general and not every type of historiography is relevant for this *memoria* research. The object of *memoria* as defined here is not the liturgical commemoration of God and his saints. Hagiography and the lives of saints, the 'very special dead', are not central to the kind of commemoration of the dead we study, the dead instead being understood here as the common (sinful) people. Also, this type of *memoria* research does not involve the study of all remembrance practices, nor of *lieux de mémoire*, and it is not about collective memories, *i.e.* collectively shared representations of the past in the definition of Maurice Halbwachs.<sup>134</sup>

In view of the *corpus*, I would like to respectfully add an aspect to the above-quoted passage of Van Bueren *et al.* and argue that the *corpus* and St John's can be considered a *lieux de mémoire* and have produced a collective corporate memory. At St John's, the tradition of commemoration of those who fell in the Great Siege is localised. Annually, both the Order of St John and the State engage commemoration and remembrance respectively on 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> September. The Order celebrates 7<sup>th</sup> September at St John's with a Holy Mass and a procession, whereby the flag of the Order and the national flag of Malta are carried in front, followed by knights and dames in their long, black church robes and capes. Blessing by the Archbishop of Malta of the graves of those who fell in the Great Siege, and the sepulchral slab or Melchior de Robles, one of the great heroes of the Great Siege. Further blessings are dispensed at the Crypt of the Grand Masters, where the other

<sup>133</sup> <https://memo.hum.uu.nl/>

<sup>134</sup> Van Bueren, 2011, 190-1.

hero of the Siege, Jean Parisot de Valette lies buried.<sup>135</sup> On 8<sup>th</sup> September, a national holiday is celebrated on Malta, regarding the victory over the Turks in the Great Siege.<sup>136</sup> Wreaths are placed in official ceremonies, for instance, by the President of Malta, the Prime Minister, the Archbishop, politicians and clerics at the Great Siege Monument adjacent to St John's. A Pontifical Mass is celebrated at St John's, organised by the State, whereby knights of the Order are invited as guests.

In the sense of Oexle's definition, this is all part of a '*totales soziales Phänomen*.' The *corpus* as a *lieux de mémoire*, is compliant with other thoughts of Nora on the matter. It is the memory of a closed group, and therefore its own referent: the memory within is relevant and intelligible to the members of the Order and their contemporaries. Since the *corpus* is placed in a public building, it is freely accessible to outsiders who regard the Hospitaller memory as art and history, at the same time changing the function of the *corpus* as a *lieux de mémoire*, an anchor of memory, into a *lieux d'histoire*, a distant cultural heritage which is still being celebrated today.<sup>137</sup>

In the context of St John's, the *corpus* forms an integrated whole with the rest of the church when it comes to *memoria* and Oexle's concept of '*totalen Sinn*' also belongs to the model of total art at St John's (see chapter 6.4). Oexle's words '*sorge für das Diesseits und das Jenseits*,' taking care of this world and the hereafter,<sup>138</sup> are applied throughout the church, in its own Hospitaller fashion for the care of their well-being in this world and eternal Salvation of their souls. In chapter 6.6 one will find a discourse on the importance of Purgatory, related to this concept of well-being and Salvation. It is to be expected that the Order followed the usual Roman Catholic burial practices and liturgy of the dead, including Vigils and commemorative masses for the souls of the deceased brethren.

### *Designations of terms*

When discussing *memoria* and self-image, these issues need to be clarified with regard to the context of the Hospitaller Order. There is also need, for the sake of clarity, to give meaning to the other constituent issues of individual or collective (corporate) identity, corporate image, cohesion and narrational identity.

<sup>135</sup> In 2015, on the occasion of the 450<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great Siege, an ecumenical mass was held in Birgu, the former seat of the Order, and the Imam of Malta was also invited. This mass was not about the victory over the Turks, but to commemorate those who had fallen in the siege, on both sides.

<sup>136</sup> In 2007, a historical football match between Malta and Turkey was held. Billboards appeared with the advertisement for this match, referring to the Great Siege of 1565. Many Maltese found it hilarious, while the official commentators were less pleased. Commentator Hugh Peralta wrote that he must congratulate the Turkish coach Fatih Terim for his mature comments concerning Malta's advertising campaign leading to this game. Mr Terim thought that comparing the Great Siege of 1565 with modern day soccer 'is bad taste but that one should disregard this and concentrate on the game.' In another newspaper article, Mustafa Yazici, the Turkish football federation press officer, stated that 'Honestly, I can't understand the connection between the Great Siege and a football match between Turkey and Malta.'

<https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20070907/sport/turkey-fa-official-dismisses-great-siege-connection.5786>

<sup>137</sup> Nora, 1989, 19-24.

<sup>138</sup> Van Bueren and Oexle, 2005, 55.

### *Self-Image*

The Hospitaller image was not a spontaneous affair but seemingly subject to specific rules and expectations, formed over the centuries. In the *corpus*, the self-descriptions typically mention enduring character traits and laudable habits. These atemporal characteristics are meant to find their way into semantic memory, *i.e.* memory for abstract attributes. In contrast, episodic memory, *i.e.* memory for real events, is able to support self-construals even in cases when episodic memory is damaged or unclear. Regardless of their mnemonic basis, the ability to retain memory, people's self-construals are usually rich, articulate and distinctive.<sup>139</sup> However, the self-construals of the Knight Hospitallers found in the *corpus* are also presumably following directives, habits or traditions how they ought to present themselves. Probably it became a self-maintaining system based on the achievements of the past and the direction of the future.

The personal statements in the *corpus* are of course idealised, fitting in the current theories of identity shaping, as the Knights Hospitallers did not only construe themselves as they were or might have been, they also created possibly hypothetical or counterfactual identities. Such construed identities are certainly complicated for historians to check on factuality, but they give, in the end, a fine image of the Knights Hospitaller prototypical identity. Seemingly, such self-construals were presented to the world as their real identity,<sup>140</sup> although the latter may always remain hidden, save unto God.

Such expressions of the self are prone to fierce criticism from within and without the Order, as will be discussed in later chapters. In the best of circumstances, it would seem they were committed to it and the strict social control of the collective identity would see to that.

### *Hospitaller corporate image: ethos and pathos*

Corporate image building goes back at least to the fourth century B.C. Aristotle's work *On Rhetoric* already mentions ethos (credibility, working for greater good), pathos (emotions and psychology of the audience) and *logos* (patterns of reasoning). The Hospitaller ethos represents the essence of their being, while the Hospitaller pathos describes their suffering, physically as soldiers of Christ and spiritually as servants of Christ for the poor and the sick. For Aristotle, ethos also means wisdom, when taken together with virtue and goodwill, referring to the *moral character* of the undertakings and mind-set. Aristotle allowed a speaker, in this case, the Order, to amend when necessary its ethos to get a better grip on its stakeholders, *i.e.* its members and Peter Burke's 'whom'. Strictly speaking, in an Aristotelian way, it can be argued that Order's ethos also belongs to the 'whom'.<sup>141</sup> In the *corpus*, morality and moral character are big issues.

In the context of this book, the Order's pathos includes, besides suffering, also persuasion through appealing to the emotions of the public and manipulating their mind-

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<sup>139</sup> Schwartz *et al.*, 2010, 2,345

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

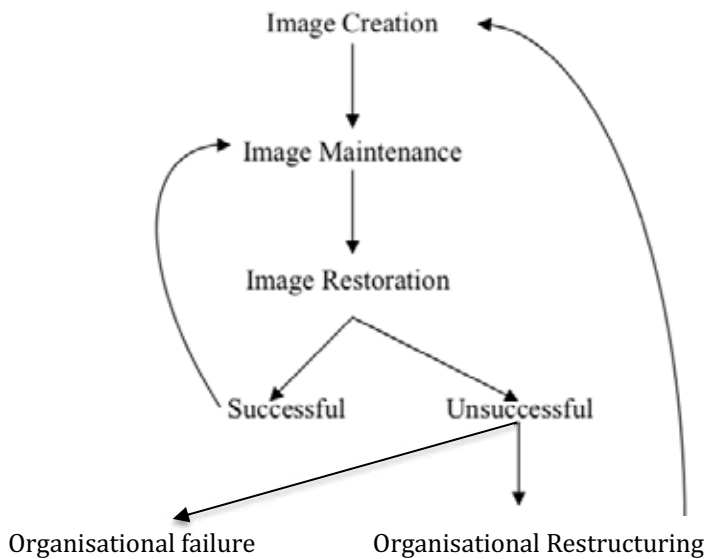
<sup>141</sup> Rhys, 1924, Bk. II.

set. Its use can be very effective when underpinning the public's values or when appealing to fear to win over the public opinion. Pathos can also be used to propose solutions or to incite hope, such as to alleviate suffering, provide healing and safety, to promise to deliver from evil and Salvation of one's soul, besides the fight against the enemies of the Religion and other matters which are included in the dual motto of the Order. The Hospitaller corporate identity was based on its values, while the Hospitaller reputation was based on its engagements. Those engagements are then in turn based upon the members' co-creation of the Order, on how they perceived its core values. Notwithstanding that each knight may have had a slightly different view of his Order and its core values, most were mutually shared.<sup>142</sup> In the context of St John, the *corpus* is part of the corporate identity, based on the contribution of the individual members.

In combination with Hospitaller ethos, through the persuasion of the public of the Order's superior moral character, the public could be swayed in their favour, especially when the *logos* aspect was used to enhance the Order's trustworthiness for the greater good. For this reason, ethos, pathos and logos also appear in their works of art at St John's and the *corpus*, as these inform that the Hospitaller corporate image is beneficial to the public.<sup>143</sup>

Modern approaches towards organisational image management theory may be applied to the Hospitaller corporate image. This theory describes the processes any organisation may employ for the creation and maintenance of a credible and relevant self-image to keep their members loyal to their identity, to serve other stakeholders and to influence public opinion about its reputation. It not only describes the image creation and maintenance, but also its restoration after a significant change or crisis had taken place. An organisation is either resilient and succeeds in restructuring and continues, or it fails to do so and will be absorbed into another body or will be dissolved. As an organisation, the Order needed a desirable image to remain successful.<sup>144</sup> Throughout its history, the Order had to adapt its image numerous times (see Part III, Appendix IV for the headlines of the Order's history). Its image history also demonstrates the validity of applying modern organisational image management to the Hospitaller organisation, of which a model is provided below.

Figure 1: A model of organisational image management. Source: Massey, 2003, 29



#### *Hospitaller collective and individual identity*

Hospitaller self-image and identity are closely related. Applying the research of Hinkle and Brown, Hospitaller identity may be defined using modern social identity theory (SIT). Hinkle and Brown study Biblical identity theory and approve of SIT as an appropriate model for analysis of group identity formation, even when a group is in the remote past. Two conditions must be met:<sup>145</sup>

1. The groups must be located within a mostly collectivist culture.
2. Groups must engage in social comparison, particularly competitive social comparison.

The Hospitaller Order, when measured along the ruler of history, originated in a period when cultures were rather collectivist in nature, since Christian group identity formation may be described by contesting its connections with early Judaism and distinguishing itself through their faith in Jesus as the Risen Messiah and their rejection of some Judean customs, such as particularly dietary laws and circumcision.<sup>146</sup> Within the Muslim Jerusalemite environment in the eleventh century, a Christian monastery and hospital are representative samples of a collectivist culture, particularly when it was situated within another collective society of a radically different identity. The Hospitaller Order, as a group, was very competitive, especially in the post-First Crusade period where there was direct competition by the Templars over alms collecting and funding.

McAdams defines identity as 'the internalised and evolving story that results from a person's selective appropriation of past, present and future.'<sup>147</sup> Personal identity is

<sup>145</sup> Hinkle and Brown, 1990, 133.

<sup>146</sup> Baker, 2012, 129.

<sup>147</sup> McAdams, 1999, 486.

identity applies to individuals regarding others. In the case of the Hospitallers, this includes identity aspects such as their place within their families' genealogy, the position of their family within the system of peerage, their brethren, the Order, the Church and their competitors. Most importantly, it also was connected to their enemies and target groups, through the aforementioned dual motto of the Order, *Tuitio Fidei et Obsequium Pauperum*. Relational identity refers both to these roles and how they were fulfilled by those assuming them. With regard to relational identity processes, the identity of a person within a larger system, such as the Order, cannot be taken on by individuals themselves. It has to be acknowledged by both the greater body and by the outsiders, the general public, through recognised membership, *i.e.* rank or position.

On the other hand, the idea of collective identity applies to the Hospitaller brethren themselves as a particular group. Collectively, their membership is confirmed, which provides meaning and relevance, enhancing their goals and strengthening a set of beliefs and outlook to life and death. At St John's, the sepulchral slabs and monuments may be viewed as aspects of collective Hospitaller 'self-fashioning,' *i.e.* from within the group, and these sepulchres are therefore *objects de desire* to fulfil such ambitions.<sup>148</sup> In this respect, collective identity, *i.e.* being a brother of the Hospitaller Order, included one's nationality, religion and gender. From the beginning, till fairly recently, the Hospitaller Order was a first intra-European, exclusively all-male Roman Catholic organisation, with their motto or role of self-proclaimed protectors Christendom against its enemies and taking care of the sick and the poor.<sup>149</sup> Only later on, the Sisters of St Ursula were recognised as a branch of the Order.

There are also other aspects of identity theory which relate to the *corpus*, that of the phenomenon of salience. Salience is a product of accessibility, the readiness of a person to receive those impulses which triggered of a reaction and fit, a person's adaptation to the stereotypical, normative conditions of the group to which one belongs or aspires to belong. Once that identity is activated and acknowledged by the group, a person may contribute to the overall goal of the group and at the same time fulfil one's purposes in life. The stronger the ties and commitment to the group, the higher the salience usually is.

Salience occurs when a particular identity is activated or triggered. It can be hypothesised that the artistic expressions commissioned by the Order had such a function too. Being imbued by the Order's art and symbolism, it would be hard to escape one's acquired Hospitaller identity. Important for this Hospitaller identity was that it offered a favourable comparison with other groups, *i.e.* a confirmation that one was in the right group compared to other religious orders or armies, so that the knight could keep a definite sense of distinctiveness compared to the others.<sup>150</sup> In the past, this comparison would be chiefly directed at the Templars or the Teutonic Knights, and during the period on Rhodes and Malta, at the maintenance of the self-image of the Order to have

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<sup>148</sup> Knöll, 2003, 14-61.

<sup>149</sup> Vignoles *et al.*, 2010, 41-151.

<sup>150</sup> Spear, 2010, 825-923, here 833.



singlehandedly saved Europe from the Ottoman expansion and the North African pirates. This would give the Order a sense of uniqueness and self-constructed superiority.

Identity activation often results in a de-personalisation and an enhanced group feeling in which the normative aspects of group membership take over, resulting in prototype personalities for the duration of an action.<sup>151</sup>

### *Cohesion*

In modern identity theory, cohesion is described as a dimension, for instance in a family, which meets the need to belong. These family bonds provide space for emotional and physical nourishment, care, support and security. In cases where there is very little family cohesion, the situation is called family disengagement.<sup>152</sup>

Placed in the Hospitaller context, the brothers of the Order would come from different geographical regions and cultural groups, although all knights would have been from noble families. It was indeed a diverse and dynamic environment which needed to be managed, leading to a certain need of cohesion, *e.g.* many knights were engaged with the Order at a young age, whereby the Order replaced the novices' disengaged noble family circumstances with its own version. This was intended to fulfil the needs to belong, offering a strong organisation, not only demanding commitment and discipline but also presenting opportunities for personal and professional growth. The Order came as close to a family situation as the novices and knights could wish for, where valued norms were shared as within a family environment, including emotional stability, support, nurturance and challenges. At the same time, the leaders of the Order needed to create unity in composition, worshipping and adhering to the aim and objectives of the Order, balancing its sacred and secular obligations.

Cohesion further relates to the unity of the Hospitaller organisation and its long-term and short-term goals. Their religion and matters like their legal and organisational framework, its rules and regulations, provided continuity while the commitment and discipline of the brethren further kept the organisation together and propelled the Order forward.

Identity and cohesion are usually shaped and formed by one's family and direct environment, leading to the acquirement of the value of traditions, beliefs and a personal construct of one's identity. In a collective male only Hospitaller society, with no parents or family guidance available for the very young novices, role models for self-image and cohesion must necessarily come from somewhere else. In this manner, the *corpus* presents a rich tableau of Hospitaller values, traditions and ideals, a format to mould self-image mirroring the corporate identity. Cohesion is then a means to an end. Another goal was undoubtedly to educate knights and to inform visitors. A dual objective presents itself, of the commemoration of the dead and education of the living.

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<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> Scabinni and Manzi, 2010, 2,057.

### *Narrative identity*

The *corpus* is also a collection of narratives, embedded in marble, which may bring people together as part of an identity-forming process. Such narratives are constructed for a purpose, as through selecting and interpreting matters worthy to remember, and joining seemingly unrelated events, these may supply meaning where there otherwise was none. This process of selection is crucial to bring out the meaning with clarity. An identity narrative tries to avoid the swamp of completeness and is by design not bothered with rendering too many details. As a consequence, redacted identity narratives are doubtful to hold objective historical truths but are instead a by-product of history's selected episodes,<sup>153</sup> in this context, essential to provide meaning to the life of the person commemorated on the sepulchres.

The Knights Hospitallers' shared history is constructing, slab after slab, monument after monument, a diverse but unified picture of a closed and exclusive society, cohesion in action. Such a shared view on a communal history constructs a shared past, and therefore, a measure of unity. There are many stories and narratives in the *corpus* but only one message. As individual knights, they perhaps had to sacrifice part of their personal opinions to fit the prototypal communal opinion. It may be evident that it was hoped that the communal narrative was meant to be bigger than the sum of the total of the individual contributions and that it would be continued after the individuals had died. No one is alone in this communal narrative and an individual knight would not be able to survive without the Order and is therefore obliged to forgo part of his identity to the advantage of the higher good, *i.e.* the Order and its goals.

Narrative identity is a driver of the Hospitaller self-image as it shares personal histories and propels the Order's ideology to the world beyond Malta. The description of the *corpus* provides an insight into the more technical details of the textual structure and the traditional Roman canon it follows, while developing its character.

At St John's and other buildings of the Order, memory devices were used to strengthen and diversify the Order's *memoria*. *Ahnengalerien* and *Sukzessionsbilder* were widely used to portray an unbroken succession of Grand Masters from the inception of the hospital and later Order from the eleventh and twelfth century onwards and therefore an uninterrupted continuation of the Order's policies and ideologies. In view of the *Sukzessionsbilder*, the cocktail of Oexle's tradition, succession and *memoria*,<sup>154</sup> may be enriched, in my opinion, with the aspect of 'status'. In this respect, the predecessors became ancestors in the awareness of lineage of the Order.

## **2.4 Shaping memoria, image and self-image over the centuries**

Modern sources including history, history of art, archaeology and others, of course, provide the backbone of the arguments in this book. Some use is made of the data provided by the early historians of the Crusades and the Hospitallers and are used for the purpose of evaluating the sum of the Hospitaller way of life, not only their image, but also

<sup>153</sup> McAdams and McLean, 2013, 233-8.

<sup>154</sup> Van Bueren and Oexle, 2005, 55-78, here 55.



their myths, miraculous stories and rules. Furthermore, these sources are occasionally used to build up meat to the bone of self-image and public opinion, as the early historians valued information not in the same way as is expected from modern historians. Modern researchers may find fault with the old historians, and Edbury and Rowe agree with this, stating that 'no medieval writer of history ever wrote without some axe to grind.'<sup>155</sup> Similar principles are followed, as expressed by Nicholson, namely that surviving contemporary evidence regarding the Hospitallers can inform us about the Hospitallers in many ways and that modern historians may arrive at an academic truth by scrutinising that older material. European historical research has been based, according to Nicholson, since the Classical period, ideally on written sources from eyewitnesses. In this respect, the content of the *corpus* is in a manner of speaking an eyewitness account. Lacking the eyewitness element, the account should be then written as soon as possible after the event. This methodology does not accept modern mythology created about the topic in question. The surviving sources and the sources which did not survive, but may have left traces in the work of early historians, such as William of Tyre or Jacques de Vitry and others, may no longer be regarded as factually correct or objective. Nonetheless, it provides an insight to the early mechanics of the development of the Hospitaller image and self-image.

The following gives an overview of such old sources. About the Crusades,<sup>156</sup> and the Latin Kingdom, there is a rather extensive bibliography available of primary resources,<sup>157</sup> and exhaustive discussion of these sources falls outside the scope of this work. Sources regarding the Latin Kingdoms in the Holy Land can be found online on *De Re Militari* website of the Society for the Study of Medieval Military History, where a large number of resources can be read.<sup>158</sup> Then there is the *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* project. Jonathan Riley-Smith and team refashioned and revised Reinhold Röhrich's *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), which is a calendar of all charters, legal documents, narratives and letters composed between 1098 and 1291 in the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Cilician Armenia, the principality of Antioch and the counties of Edessa and Tripoli.<sup>159</sup> The Faculty of History of Cambridge University has published a reading list regarding European history between 1200 and 1520, compiled by David Abulafia and Nora Berend in 2010, covering all aspects of European history.<sup>160</sup> Norman J. Housley produced a set of works on the Crusades, from 1982 to 2008, covering

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<sup>155</sup> Ebury and Row, 1990, 9.

<sup>156</sup> Riley-Smith, 9. Crusades were plentiful, but not all were directed at Jerusalem. In 1107, 1120, 1129, 1139, 1147 (the so-called Second Crusade), 1164, 1177, 1189 (the Third Crusade), 1197, 1202 (the Fourth Crusade), 1217 (the Fifth Crusade), 1228, 1239 (the Barons' Crusade), 1248 (the First Crusade of Louis IX), 1269 (the Second Crusade of Louis IX), 1287, 1288, 1290 and 1310.

<sup>157</sup> Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (MXCVII-MCCXCI) (Innsbruck, Libreria Academica Wageriana, 1893-1904, two vols.) and the Riley-Smith's *Revised Regesta Project* based on Röhrich, eds.: Professor Hans Eberhard Mayer, Professor Catherine Otten, Professor Christopher Schabel, Dr. Rabei G. Khamisy, Mr. Brendan Goldman, see: <http://crusades-regesta.com> > Accessed 20-11-2017.

<sup>158</sup> <http://deremilitari.org> > Accessed 20-11-2017.

<sup>159</sup> [http://crusades-regesta.com/database?f%5B0%5D=field\\_institution\\_recipient%3AHospital%20of%20Saint%20John%20of%20Jerusalem](http://crusades-regesta.com/database?f%5B0%5D=field_institution_recipient%3AHospital%20of%20Saint%20John%20of%20Jerusalem) > Accessed 20-11-2017.

<sup>160</sup> See: <http://clio.soc.srcf.net/speakers/Burgundy.pdf> > Accessed 10/03/2019.

a wide range of aspects of the phenomenon, including critical works such as *Contesting the Crusades* (Blackwell, 2006) and *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).<sup>161</sup>

Errico Cuozzo sheds new light on the early hospital in Jerusalem through new documents he unearthed,<sup>162</sup> while Giuseppe Perta gathered early sources regarding Blessed Gerard,<sup>163</sup> of whom there are very few primary resources available. Unfortunately, not all documents which bear the name *Gerard* are about the Blessed Gerard. Perta's work includes papal bulls, donation deeds and miraculous stories about the foundation of the hospital and about the founder Blessed Gerard, *i.e.* the so-called *miracula*, which also helps in establishing the identity and public reputation of the Order.<sup>164</sup> Notwithstanding that little is known about Gerard, much research has been conducted on his person.<sup>165</sup> He was, in any case, a person pivotal and instrumental in setting up the successful formula of the early hospital in Jerusalem, which catered for the sick, the poor and pilgrims. He is credited with bringing about many changes to the

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<sup>161</sup> An overview of the works of Housley, Norman J. *Fighting for the Cross. Crusading to the Holy Land* (Yale University Press, 2008); *Idem*, (ed.), *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber* (Ashgate, 2007); *Idem*, *Contesting the Crusades* (Blackwell, 2006); *Idem*, 'Indulgences for Crusading, 1417-1517.' In: *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merit: Indulgences in late medieval Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 277-308; *Idem*, 'Perceptions of Crusading in the mid-fourteenth century: the evidence of three texts', *Viator* 36 (2005), 415-33; *Idem*, (ed.), *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Idem*, (co-editor with Marcus Bull), *The Experience of Crusading*, 1, Western Approaches (Cambridge University Press, 2003); *Idem*, 'One man and his wars: the depiction of warfare by Marshal Boucicaut's biographer', *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003), 27-40; *Idem*, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536* (Oxford University Press, 2002); *Idem*, *Crusading and Warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2001); *Idem*, 'Explaining defeat: Andrew of Regensburg and the Hussite crusades.' In: *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith, (Aldershot, 2001), 87-95; *Idem*, 'Holy Land or holy lands? Jerusalem and the Catholic West in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.' In: *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2000), 228-49; *Idem*, 'Pro deo et patria mori: sanctified patriotism in Europe, 1400-1600. In: *War and Competition between States*, ed. P. Contamine (Oxford, 2000), 221-48; *Idem*, 'The Eschatological Imperative: Messianism and Holy War in Europe.' In: *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 123-50; *Idem*, (editor and translator), *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580*, Documents in History Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996); *Idem*, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Idem*, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford University Press, 1982).

<sup>162</sup> Cuozzo, Errico, 'Le origini degli Ospitalieri alla luce di un nuovo document.' In: E. G. Farrugia (ed.), *Dies Amalphitani. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale*, 2009, 83-114.

<sup>163</sup> Perta, Giuseppe, 'A Crusader without a Sword: The Sources relating to the Blessed Gerard.' In: Flocel Sabaté (ed.), *Life and Religion in the Middle Ages*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, 125-139; 'Fragile Borders beyond the Strait. Saracen Raids on the Italian Peninsula (8th-11th century A.D.).' In: G. D'Angelo and J. Martins Ribeiro (eds.), *Borders and Conflicts in the Mediterranean Basin*. Fisciano: ICRS Mediterranean Knowledge, 2016a, 143-57; 'Gerardo l'Ospedaliere. Le Fonti Secc. XI-XV.' In: Jean-Marie Martin and Rosanna Alaggio (eds.), *Quei Maledetti Normanni, Centro Europea di Studi Normanni*, vol I, 2016b, 883-904.

<sup>164</sup> Perta, 2016b, 883-904.

<sup>165</sup> Authors on the foundation period are, among others, Alain Beltjens, *Aux Origines de l'Ordre de Malta, de la Fondation de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem à sa Transformation en Ordre Militaire*. Belgium: Alain Beltjens, 1995; Alain Demurger, *Les Hospitaliers: De Jérusalem à Rhodes. 1050 -1317*. Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2013; Perta, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, Cuozzo 2009.

hospital and enlarging its footprint and its impact, without ever leaving Jerusalem.<sup>166</sup> Gerard was clearly an innovative and independent thinker and the following paragraphs will briefly discuss those achievements in order to establish a more defined profile, if not of his person then at least of his spirit. The memory of Blessed Gerard, adapted, modified and developed over the centuries, has become an identity product of the Order.<sup>167</sup>

Edbury and Rowe state that their study William of Tyre (c. 1130-1186), a medieval historian, is about what he had to say. William was the Archbishop of Tyre. His influential book was named (by others) as *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*. This narrative was written during the reign of the Jerusalem Kings Amaury (1163-74) and Baldwin IV (1174-85), and describes the foundation and history of the Latin Kingdom during that period. William of Tyre starts however at the First Crusade and diverts to an even earlier time, the seventh century of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius and the discovery of the True Cross by Empress Helena. The *Historia* is about 1,000 pages long and describes a near-contemporary period from the late 1120s until Tyre arrives at his own time. Since he was a high-ranking official, one supposes he was well-informed and had equally high-ranking sources. As a contemporary, he found political events and battles most important. He also wrote about secular affairs and the ecclesiastical history of the Holy land was not much of interest to him. He is full of praises for Blessed Gerard, but not so much of the later Hospitallers, whom he found haughty, rather than humble. With regard to Blessed Gerard's successor, Raymond du Puy, as a character sketch, William of Tyre calls him a *vir religiosus et timens Deum* (a God-fearing and religious man).<sup>168</sup> Simultaneously, William of Tyre criticises Raymond and the Hospital, voicing the concerns of the prelates of the local churches who were annoyed regarding the number of privileges and exemption of tithes the Hospital possessed, to the detriment of these prelates.<sup>169</sup> Chaste and holy widows were, according to William of Tyre, apparently regular guests in Jerusalem, presumably among them widows of wealthy Amalfitan merchants.<sup>170</sup> Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160s-1240) was born in Vitry-sur-Seine, near Paris. His year of birth is not precisely known but is thought to be between 1160 and 1170. He died on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1240 at Rome. De Vitry was an influential preacher, later bishop of Acre (1214) and finally cardinal of Tusculum (1229). He composed about 450 sermons and often used *exempla*, descriptive narratives. In his hagiography of the first female Benedictine nun, St Mary of Oignies, the *Vita S. Mariae Oigniacensis* (written c. 1215), De Vitry demonstrated his talent for observing and describing the medieval way of life.<sup>171</sup> Similarly, his later work *Historia Hierosolymitana abbreviata* (written between 1220-1225) is a vivid account of the situation in the Holy Land during the Crusades and the

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<sup>166</sup> Demurger, 2013. It is generally accepted that Gerard never departed Jerusalem during his life.

<sup>167</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 4.

<sup>168</sup> Babcock and Krey, 1943, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 18, chapter 3: *Raimundus enim magister domus Hospitalis, una cum fratribus suis, eodem spiritu repletis, licet alias vir religiosus et timens Deum crederetur, tam domino patriarchae quam caeteris Ecclesiarum praelatis, multas tam super parochiali jure quam super jure decimationum, coeperunt inferre molestias.*

<sup>169</sup> Nicholson, 2010, 1.

<sup>170</sup> Babcock and Krey, 1943, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 18, chapter 5, lines 1138-44.

<sup>171</sup> Huygens, 2012.

establishment of the Latin Kingdoms. It consists of two volumes, the *Historia orientalis* written in 1220 and the *Historia occidentalis*, written between 1223-25. An apparent third volume, mentioned in other sources, has not been identified yet. In the *Historia orientalis*, De Vitry discusses the Muslim religion, the reasons behind the Crusades and gives an account of the first three Crusades between 1096 and 1192. He further provides a rather detailed description of the Holy Land. In the *Historia occidentalis*, De Vitry paints a tableau of the East through French eyes, limited mainly to French affairs, and covers a period till about his own death in 1240.<sup>172</sup> The *Historia* is not only a contemporary account of events, its author goes deep back in the history of Jerusalem, and has written a few chapters in which the founder of the Hospitallers, Blessed Gerard, the hospital and the later Hospitaller Order are mentioned, at times in a critical manner. There is not much known about the person of William of Santo Stefano, maybe better known as Guglielmo di Santo Stefano or Guillaume de Saint-Estève. He was a member of the Hospitaller Order and became the Commendator of Lombardy in 1299. In the decade before the fall of Acre in 1291, he had commenced with a normative compilation in eighty-seven articles of the statutes, laws and customs of the Order, together with historical and legal reflections and his own observations.<sup>173</sup> After the fall of Acre, taking up the office of Commendator of Cyprus in 1303, he continued his work as a historian of the Order.<sup>174</sup> As a member of the Order, his work qualifies more as a source of self-image than Tyre or De Vitry.

Guillaume Caoursin (1430-1501), from Douai, France, became a member of the Hospitaller Order. He served in Rhodes as vice-chancellor and historiographer, while he was a close confidant of Grand Masters. Some of Caoursin's major texts, written in Latin, are still extant. As the personal secretary of Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson he wrote treatises, one in particular produced as a illuminated manuscript,<sup>175</sup> about the Siege of Rhodes (1480), the death of Mehmed II (1481), the earthquake in Rhodes (1481), and the tractates regarding sultan Cem, brother of Bayezid II, who was a renegade and refugee in Rhodes (1482).

Abbot Jean Quintin d'Autun (1505-1561), a Hospitaller conventual chaplain of Burgundy, was commissioned by the Order to draw up a report on Malta a few years prior to their arrival in 1530. Quintinius, as he was called, produced the first long description of Malta after a personal investigation of the island in 1525, published in Lyons in 1536. It is a curious book with some excellent descriptions of Malta, of its people, customs and landscape.<sup>176</sup> After the Great Siege, the news of the Hospitaller triumph over the Ottomans was told in huge volumes of publications and from 1566 onwards many siege-related publications appeared. Some of the more important works are *De Bello Melitensi Historia* by Vincentii Castellani, printed in Pesaro in 1566, *La Historia dell'impresa di Tripoli di Barberia* by Alfonso Ulloa, published in Venice, 1566. Natalis Comes issued his

<sup>172</sup> Derwich, 1999, 417-8.

<sup>173</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 15; Demurger, 2013, 160.

<sup>174</sup> Demurger, 2013, 65.

<sup>175</sup> Vaivre and Vissière, 2012, 4-9. A very fine and richly illuminated manuscript of the end of the fifteenth century of the oeuvres of Guillaume Caoursin, is conserved at Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France,

<sup>176</sup> Quintin d'Autun, Jean, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio*. France: Lyons, 1536.



*Commentarii Hieronymi Comititis Alexandrini De acerrimo, ac omnium difficillimo Turcarum bello, in Insulam Melitam gesto, Anno MCLXV* in Venice, 1566. Francesco Balbi di Correggio (1505-1589) was born in Correggio, Reggio Emilia in Italy. Balbi was a professional soldier, an arquebusier, and served in Malta with the Spanish troops during the Great Siege of Malta of 1565. He kept a diary of the events and his work is regarded as the most reliable and accessible account of the Great Siege. In his work, he recounts the heroic deeds of not only the soldiers and knights of the Order, but also of the Maltese men, women and children. The heroism of the Maltese, essential for the victory, did not find its way into the *corpus*. It was first published in Spain in 1567,<sup>177</sup> with some revisions and the second edition, revised and extended, saw the light in 1568.<sup>178</sup>

There are other accounts written on the Great Siege, including some eyewitness accounts, but with much less detail than the narrative of Francesco Balbi. Several other Spanish works are available at present too.<sup>179</sup> Among those is Hipólito Sans (?- c. 1604/5), born at Játiva, Spain, on an unknown date and died between October 1604 and October 1605. According to the research of Cassola, Sans is in some sources mentioned as a Knight of St John, *caballero del hábito de San Juan de Jerusalén*, in others he is a *militar y poeta, caballero de la Orden de Santiago*, a Knight of the Order of Santiago,<sup>180</sup> just like one of the most celebrated heroes of the Great Siege, Melchior de Robles.<sup>181</sup> Sans fought in the Great Siege and distinguished himself through heroic behaviour, and wrote an epic poem about it, called *La Maltea*, in twelve cantos according to the Virgilian epic tradition, but composed in *octava rima*, eight hendecasyllabic verses, rhyming ABABABCC. It was published in Valencia in 1582 and its goal was to glorify the heroism of the Knights Hospitaller during the Great Siege, comparing the efforts of the mighty Armada of Süleyman the Magnificent with the superhuman efforts, against all odds, of the knights on the small island of Malta. His *La Maltea* is a work of poetry and not an accurate work of history. In his prologue, Sans tells the reader that the poem both fuses fact and false facts, but that he also wants to tell a factual truth. Hence, the work presents a credible

<sup>177</sup> Francisco Balbi di Correggio, *La verdadera relacion de todo lo q[ue] este año de M.D.LXV*. Impresa en Alcalá de Henares en casa de Juan de Villanueva. Año 1567.

<sup>178</sup> Francisco Balbi di Correggio, *Verdadera relacion de lo que en el año 1565 ha sucedido en la isla de Malta, de antes que llegase la armada sobre de ella de Soliman Gran Turco*. Barcellona 1568.

<sup>179</sup> Besides the work of Balbi di Correggio, [1568] 2011) and Balbi's rendering of his diary by Bradford, 1964, and the work of Sans rendered by Cassola (ed.), 2015, Thomas Freller compiled a list of Spanish and Italian publications, quoted in Cassola, 2015: Balbi di Correggio, *La verdadera Relacion de todo lo que este año de 1565 ha sucedido en la Isla de Malta* (Alcalá, 1567); Pietro Gentile, *El suceso de la guerra de la potentísima armada del Gran Tyrano Turco, Ottoman Solyman, venida sobre la Isla de Malta: en la qual se cuenta particularmente lo que en ella passo, en la victoria que los christianos huvieron en ella* (Barcelona, 1566); Conte Gironimo Alessandrini, *De acerrimo ac omnium difficillimo Turcarum Bello in Insulam Melitam gesto, anno 1565* (Venice, 1566); Pedro de Salazar *Hispania Victrix. Historia en la qual se cuenta muchas guerras succedidas entre Christianos y infieles assi en mar como en tierra desde el año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y seys hasta el de sesenta y cinco*. Madrid, 1570; Diego de Santisteban Osorio, *Primera y segunda parte de las guerras de Malta y toma de Rodas* (Madrid, 1599) For the Gozo 1551 attack, see: Pedro de Salazar, *Hystoria de la Guerra y presa de Africa. Con la destroycion de la villa de Monazter, y ysla del Gozo, y perdida de Tripoli di Berberia, con otras muy nuevas cosas* (Naples, 1552); Luis del Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion General de Africa* (Madrid, 1553, facsimile).

<sup>180</sup> Cassola, 2015.

<sup>181</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 179.

interpretation of the events, albeit in a poetic manner. Compared to Balbi, the work is much less informative and more fanciful.<sup>182</sup> Giovanni Antonio Viperano (1535-1610) came from Sicily. He was a cleric, living at the time of the Great Siege in Messina. After the siege, he travelled to Malta and made a post-siege tour of the island. He published his *De Bello Melitensi Historia* in 1567. Compared to others, this book is somewhat inaccurate at times, as it was not written by an eyewitness.

Giacomo Bosio (1544-1627) was a historian and a member of the Hospitaller Order. He was born to a noble family in Chivasso, in Piedmont, Italy. While in Rome, as part of the Hospitaller embassy to the Holy See at Via dei Condotti, Rome (at present the Magistral Palace), Bosio composed his seminal work *Dell'istoria della Sacra Religione, Giovanni di Santo dell'illustrissima milizia Gerosolimitano*, a history of the Order in 40 books, published in Rome in three instalments in 1594-1602, then in 1621, 1629/30, while another print was made in Naples 1678 and 1684. *Dell'istoria*, based on the archives of the Order, treats the Hospitaller history from its origins until 1571, including the death of Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette. Regarding the Great Siege, Grand Master de Valette had the course of the siege recorded in detail by scribes, to which records Bosio had direct access. These original records remain till now undiscovered and are presumably lost, making Bosio's account the nearest rendering to the actual events.<sup>183</sup> Another seminal work was *L'Imagini de' Beati e Santi della Sacra Religione*, published in 1633. Bosio never visited Malta and it was his brother, Frà Gianotto Bosio who sent him all the information from Malta. Bosio was also borrowing information from Caoursin for the earlier periods. Bosio died in Rome in 1627 and his work was continued by another knight, Bartolomeo dal Pozzo, reaching up to the year 1688.<sup>184</sup> Antonio Bosio (c. 1575-1629), a nephew of Giacomo Bosio, was an antiquary, born in Malta. Antonio was in more than one aspect a prominent writer for the Order. During the Counter-Reformation, the Order was reconstructing its sacred self-image by means of the Hospitaller Saints and Blessed. Antonio Bosio too was driven to improve on the situation of the blessed and saints of the Order. He re-wrote hagiographies and even created portraits of such saints, so that they might reach the Tridentine standards for sainthood. He also searched for the remains of martyrs and found, among others, in a forgotten set of catacombs on the outskirts of Rome, the corpse of the martyr Priscilla in 1578. His underground adventures were published in his work *Roma Sotteranea*, published in Rome in 1632 by Frà Carlo Aldbrandino, resident ambassador of the Order in Rome.<sup>185</sup>

Giovanni Francesco Abela (1582-1655) provides a description of Malta's history, including that of the Hospitaller Order. Abela was a high-ranking member of the Order, Vice Chancellor and buried at St John's. His *Della Descrittione di Malta, isola nel mare*

<sup>182</sup> Cassola, 2015. Hipólito Sans, *De Bello Melitensi historia*. Perusiae: Ex officina Andreae Brixiani, 1567.

<sup>183</sup> Ebejer, 2015, note 6.

<sup>184</sup> Buhagiar, 2005, 819-23.

<sup>185</sup> Antonio Bosio, 1632, 479-480. A long account in which he brings forth various arguments where exactly the cemetery of St Priscilla was, *caemeterium Priscillae Via Salaria, milliario tertio ab Vrbe...partier in eadem Via Salaria Caemeterium Sancti Silvestri Confessoris, atque Pontificis, aliorumq(ue) Sanctorum multorum in ruinis positum renovavit... caemeterium Priscillae Via Salaria, apud Ecclesiam Sancti Silvestri*.

*siciliano, con le sue antichità, ed altre notitie* from 1647 is a typical book from before the scientific period. He mentions Malta's temples and mythological figures. It is one of the most famous books on Malta. Abela, as an antiquarian, was interested in archaeology and history. He has been given the epitaph of the 'Father of Maltese Historiography.' In the *corpus*, his inscribed text spells his name as Frà Giovanni Francesco Habela, who was 'an incomparable man... with his learning when he was the first man to write about those things which make Malta shine.'<sup>186</sup>

Bartolomeo dal Pozzo (1637-1722) was born in Verona in 1637 and died there too, in 1722. Dal Pozzo continued with the *Historia della Sacra Religione Militare di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano Detta di Malta* where Giacomo Bosio had stopped. Dal Pozzo produced two volumes, written in Italian, with varying imprints from 1702 to 1715. Dal Pozzo is also considered to be a reliable historian since the work is based on the manuscripts found in the National Library of Malta. His work was initially not approved by the Order and by the Vatican. A revised but not sanctioned first volume appeared in 1703 and an officially approved second volume was published in 1715.<sup>187</sup> Dal Pozzo's *Historia* is especially appropriate for the task of memory research, as his work approaches history from the point of view that was linked to individual knights, providing micro-histories of achievements. He is mentioned in the *corpus*, placing a slab for his brother Frà Vincenzo dal Pozzo who died of an illness on board a galley of the Order in 1688.<sup>188</sup>

René Aubert de Vertot (1655-1735) is not the only writer of old who described the members of the Order as monks, also other modern writers apply this label.<sup>189</sup> It is understood that de Vertot, himself a member of the Order of St John, also wrote to encourage the reader's comprehension of the identity of the Order. His work *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* was published in 1726 and an English translation followed soon, in 1728. Many editions were printed afterwards. However, the Order was not happy with de Vertot's critical approach and officially disassociated itself from this work. The Congregation of the Index at Rome condemned the book, placing it on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* for many years.<sup>190</sup> De Vertot deserves credit for popularising the Hospitallers and writing them to fame as never before, although this makes him also less reliable as a historian.<sup>191</sup> As a prolific writer, de Vertot's interests were also outside the Order. He wrote another seven substantial volumes on a variation of topics, such as histories of Bretagne, the revolutions in Sweden and in France, the

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<sup>186</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, 160.

<sup>187</sup> Zammit, 2001, 231–65. Pozzo, Bartolomeo dal, *Historia della Sacra religione militare di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano detta di Malta*. Verona: Giacomo Berio, 1703-1715.

<sup>188</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 286.

<sup>189</sup> e.g. Seward, 1995.

<sup>190</sup> Zammit, 2001, 231–65.

<sup>191</sup> Buhagiar, 2005, 819-23. Vertot, René A. de, *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* 1726. Facsimile of the 1728 English edition: *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, styled afterwards the Knights of Rhodes and at present the Knights of Malta*, two vols. Malta: Midsea Books, 1989. Vertot, René A. de, *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, Styled Afterwards the Knights of Rhodes and at Present the Knights of Malta*, vol. I. Edinburgh Alexander Donaldson, 1770.

history of Portugal, the grandeur of the court of Rome and treatises about various embassies and ambassadors.<sup>192</sup>

The work of Louis de Boisgelin (1785-1816), a Knight of the Order, produced *Ancient and Modern Malta*, in three volumes (1804). He gives a more general overview of the history of Malta and the Order, without being too much concerned with the details of individual knight and self-image.<sup>193</sup>

Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (1855-1911) wrote the seminal four-volume *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem: 1100-1310*, which works were published in Paris between 1894 and 1906. It describes the formative years of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem. Delaville Le Roulx, together with Giacomo Bosio, may be regarded to have produced the most reliable works of reference concerning the history of the Order.<sup>194</sup>

### Archives

Of the three more important military orders, only the Hospitaller Order and Teutonic Order have sizable archives, while the central archive of the Templars was lost, probably in the sixteenth century.<sup>195</sup> The Hospitallers not always had an archive. Previously, in the early years of the hospital and the Order, orally transmitted memory was presumably preferred over keeping an archive of written records.<sup>196</sup> In later years, keeping archives became essential to retain memory. By preserving selected events of the past, memory is enforced and curated.<sup>197</sup> In Malta, as far as possible, the deeds and decisions of the Order and its members were recorded in documents. Many of these can be found at the National Library in Valletta, which also houses the Archive of the Order of Malta (A.O.M).<sup>198</sup> It has 179 volumes of the *Libri Conciliorum*, running from the years 1459 to 1798. When the Order was evicted from Rhodes on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1523, eighteen volumes arrived in Malta. The *Libri Bullarum* cover a more extended period, running from 1346 to 1789, and this collection has 97 volumes from Rhodes. There are lacuna within the volumes, some destroyed by time or have gone missing, while others were destroyed or neglected by consecutive powers in Malta.

This work refers to the *Libri Conciliorum* and the *Libri Defunctorum* on occasion. The *Libri Conciliorum* contain the decisions made by the Grand Master and the Council, and these works provide quite a complete overview of what kind of decisions were taken. Since these two works are official works, one can expect they are sanitised and vetted

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<sup>192</sup> Vertot, René A. de, *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem 1726*. Facsimile of the 1728 English edition: *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, styled afterwards the Knights of Rhodes and at present the Knights of Malta*, two vols. Malta: Midsea Books, 1989. Vertot, René A. de, *The History of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, Styled Afterwards the Knights of Rhodes and at Present the Knights of Malta*, vol. I. Edinburgh Alexander Donaldson, 1770.

<sup>193</sup> Louis de Boisgelin, *Ancient and Modern Malta*, 3 vols. London: G & J Robinson, 1804.

<sup>194</sup> Joseph M.-A. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général d l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem 1100-1310*, vol. II. Paris, Ernest le Roulx, 1897. See also: Buhagiar, 2005, 819-23.

<sup>195</sup> Barber, 2007, xvii.

<sup>196</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17-28, here 23.

<sup>197</sup> *Eadem*, here 20.

<sup>198</sup> A.O.M. *Libri Conciliorum* nos. 73-254, *Libri Bullarum* A.O.M. 316-633.



versions of the Order's memory. The *Libri Conciliorum* have proven to be invaluable for many academic disciplines. Historians, art historians, Latinists and maritime experts all have made their discoveries there or at least found confirmation of their theories. Many events occurring in the *corpus* have been recorded in the *Libri Conciliorum*. The findings of the case study in this work (see chapter 9), regarding the life and death of Joseph Anton Ferdinand, Graf von Königsegg-Aulendorf, are supported by the *Libri Consiliorum* and by archives in Germany.

Other significant issues regarding image and self-image were the Rules of the Hospitaller Order and the various papal bulls issued on their behalf, which will be discussed within the relevant context in Part II.

For the purpose of memory and the *corpus*, the *Libri Defunctorum*, in which the deceased members were recorded, are most informative about when one died, where, of what, and where one was buried. Records of those who fell during the Great Siege were kept at the time. Then there is a gap in the record-keeping of the deceased members of the Order, until the *Libri Defunctorum* came into use. These are records in which all Religious of the Order who either died in the Convent or on the galleys were entered. The starting date of the *Libri Defunctorum* is 18<sup>th</sup> May 1694,<sup>199</sup> with the first of Frà Franciscus March, *cappellanus*, who was consumed by fever, *febrile morbo correptus*. There is a certain canon of recording the deceased: As is common in all the following entries, he returned his soul to God, *anima Deo reddedit*. Before Franciscus died, his last confession was heard and approved of by the confessor, *confessario probatus confessus* and Franciscus was strengthened for his Most Sacred Travel, *Sanctissimo Viatico*, with holy oil, *sacri olei unction roboratus*.<sup>200</sup> In all such entries in the death register, date and place of death are recorded, such as *in domo sua*, *in Infirmeria*, *in sacro Hospitali* or *seu verius in Albergo Ven(erandae) Linguae Italiae*. In many cases, the age of the deceased was not recorded.

Causes of death obviously vary, but quite common was dying of gout, *podagra*, dropsy, hydrops or a stroke, *apoplexia correptus*. A long and extended deathbed suffering a debilitating disease was not uncommon too, *gravi et longo morbo correptus*, dying of fever *febre morbo vexatus*, various complexions, *pluribus languoribus vexatus*, or blessedly after a short period of disease, *post breuissimum morbo*. Some members must have died of what we now would call Alzheimer's or dementia, convulsion of the nerves, *nervorum convulsione aegrorans expiravit*, while others were fit and *compos mentis*, just dying of old age after some final cause got the better of them, *post integram valitudinem et perfectam sanitatem brevi sed vehementi febre morto aggressus*, cancer, *cancro consumptis*, or dropsy,

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<sup>199</sup> A.O.M. 1948, f.1a: *Liber in quo Nomina Religiosorum omnium nostri ordinis sancti / Joannis Hierosol(imita)ni tam in Conventu, quam supra Triremibus pro Tempore Defuncto / rum, describentur. Nunc tandem ad normam Ritualis Romani ab S(anctissi)mo et Reueren / dissimo Domino Fratre Petro Viany, Maioris Ecclesiae Conventualis Priore curren / ti anno 1694 a die 18 Augusti primo inceptus nam antea nullus huius generis liber mortuorum in Ecclesia Maiori praedicta, sicut par est, adhibebatur, nisi / consuetae notulae illae quae sparsim in Libris ac Registris spoliolum (intentu ta / men diverso) a Ministris Veneranda Camerae Communis Aerarij, etiam nunc des / cribuntur.*

<sup>200</sup> *Idem*, f. 1.

*hydrops laborans*. Accidents with firearms were common too, *ex accidentale vulnere sibi illato parus sclopetae vulgo pistola infirmatus*

At times, the *Libri Defunctorum*, and the inscribed texts make for a gripping narrative. Frà Giovanni Battista Spinola, Captain-General of the fleet at the age of 33 years old, placed a slab in 1737 for his brother Domenico Maria, who got lost at sea in 1700, and for himself, the survivor:

In reclaiming leadership of a galley, had prevailed over enemies on either side. Under the command of his brother, he engaged with a barbarian ship, and although he was wounded, he nevertheless would have secured the victory, if it was not for the cannon fire thundering from everywhere, the waves rolling violently and the Flagship cracking open excessively. He thus had to surrender to the elements on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of February of the year 1700. May this marble immortalise him whose passion of his Religion consumed his blood, sweat and tears.<sup>201</sup>

A narrative in de Vertot confirms the abovementioned sea battle when the Hospitaller galley and the enemy ship were side-to-side. Fighting, both each other and the natural elements, spilt over to the two ships, loosely tied to each other because of the high waves:

The general of the squadron, Bailiff Giovanni Battista Spinola, was the commanding officer. Despite a sudden storm, Spinola's and the Admiral's galleys set off in full pursuit of the corsairs. A sudden gust of wind broke off the mast of the Admiral's galley, and General Spinola decided to board this ship, where his brother, Commendator Domenico Maria Spinola, was on board. By hard rowing, one of the corsair ships was reached, and a bloody engagement followed, in which Commendator Domenico Maria Spinola, fighting side-by-side with the Prior of Messina, was wounded mortally. The Prior, so old that he could not stand unsupported, continued fighting, though leaning upon his *valet de chambre*. The latter killed, the Prior even then continued fighting, holding on to the compass' frame. With the victory in sight, the enemy's ship crashed with full force into the Admiral's galley and split it in two. The wind had then developed into a storm, dispersing the squadron. Baroncellis Javon, Captain of the galley St Paul, came to rescue and saved fifty men from the Admiral's galley, including General Spinola. Warned by his pilot not to stay any longer near the wreckage, De Javon is on record to have replied: "I shall be happy enough if I lose my life in saving but a single man of them." Unfortunately, the wind proved to be too strong and his ships drifted away, and he was not able to save more men. This incident had cost the lives of 22 knight and 500 sailors.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>201</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 128.

<sup>202</sup> De Vertot, 1728, book II, chapter 13, 103

It was also an occasion where the culture of *memoria* tried not to forget any of their members involved in this disaster. Paul de Barocelli Javon was commemorated with a sepulchral slab at St John's,<sup>203</sup> while all of those who were lost at sea on this date near Capo Passero (Pacino) of Sicily, *in memorabili naufragio nostrae praetoriae triremis sub promontorio Pachyno Prinacriae*, such as Maria Johann Gerard de Falkensteins and Frederik d'Eltz, were listed and commemorated in the *Libri Defunctorum*.<sup>204</sup>

## 2.5 The modern take on the military orders' memoria and self-image

Much is written about all facets of the history of the Order of St John and the other military orders. Recent studies into the sources of the military orders are regarded as indispensable for academia. The *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* (MOA) is an authoritative publication on sources regarding the Religious-Military Orders. The first volume, one of many, was published in 1997, by editor Luís Adão da Fonseca, then of the University of Porto. An BA (Hons) dissertation of Nicholas Grima at the University of Malta (2016), entitled *A Bibliography of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem (2008-2015)* presents an rather exhaustive list of sources, without claiming to be complete, of 1132 entries, published not only in the English speaking world, but also in Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal,

<sup>203</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 287.

<sup>204</sup> A.O.M. 1948, f. 15. Anno Domini 1700, 16 die Februarij In Memorabili Naufragio nostrae Praetoriae Triremis sub Promontorio Pachyno / Prinacriae, dum navem Turcicam impedit, passo, in quo fere omnes demersi sunt, pos(te)a / acceptam sacramentalem absolutionem partim seorim (=seorsum), partim generalem in com /<sup>f</sup> muni illis impartitam a Cappe Passo eiusdem Praetoriae Triremis pariter perempto, / pevierunt simul infrascripti Equites Professi, et Novitij, videlicet. / S(anctiss)imus D(omi)nus Prior Messanae Frater D(on) Joannes de Joanne civitatis eiusdem Messanae per / transitum navigans ex Ven(eran)dae Linguae Italiae /<sup>f10</sup> Nobilis Jo(ann)es Franciscus de Ponte locumtenens Praetoriae Triremis ex eadem Linguae Italiae / Frater Carolus Petrus de Benoisse Revisor, seu Prouisor, Classis Triremium ex Ven(eran)dae / Linguae Franciae / Frater Paulus Doisier de Nointel Commendatarius praedictae Linguae Franciae /<sup>f25</sup> Nobilis Madilon de Olioules de Ventimille ex Ven(eran)dae Linguae Provinciae / Nobilis Joannes Baptista de Rochebonne laetali vulnere insuper percussus, ex Ven(eran)dae / Linguae Arverniae / Nobilis Ludovicus de Nouville Villaroy cum eius nobili Viro Desardes, qui quidem De sardes /<sup>f20</sup> e naufragio ereptus postea in Triremi Sancti Pauli die 7 mensis Martij 1700 in com / munione Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae Animam Deo reddidit, cuius Corpus die 5 eiusdem / mensis Martij sepultum et in Ecclesia Sancta Maria erecta in Portu Caropoti Insulae / Corfu ut nobis constat ex testimonis Capp(ella)ni pr(ae)t(ori)ae Triremis a quo confessario probaro / confessus, sanctissimo Viatico refectus, ac sacri olei unctione roboratus; ex Ven(eran)dae Linguae /<sup>f25</sup> Francia / Nobiles Jo(ann)es Baptista Duhamel de Bourceville ex eadem Ven(eran)dae Linguae Franciae / Nobilis Franciscus Ludovicus de Vallancaijn ex eadem Ven(eran)dae Linguae Franciae / Frater Dominicus Maria Spinola civitatis Januae Commendatarius per tran / situm nauigans, et insuper laetali vulnere percussus Ven(eran)dae Linguae Italiae /<sup>f30</sup> Nobilis Januarius Pirrao Neopolitanus de dicta V(eneran)dae Linguae Italiae / Nobilis Cesar Auogado ex eadem Linguae / Nobilis Alexander Asinarij de Verasis ex dicta Ven(eran)dae Linguae / Nobilis Philippus Botini Romanua de dicta V(eneran)dae Linguae Italiae /<sup>f35</sup> Nobilis Petrus Serra Ven(eran)dae Linguae Aragoniae / Nobilis Ignazius Cambredon de dicta Ven(eran)dae Linguae Aragoniae / Nobilis Hyacintus Dolz Munnos de Ven(eran)dae Linguae Aragoniae  
f. 16: Frater Maria Joannes Hererdus Baro de Falkensteins, Ven(eran)dae Linguae Alemaniae / Frater Federicus Baro d'Eltz de dicta Ven(eran)dae Linguae Alemaniae / Nobilis Carolus Porrocarrero Ordonnes Ven(eran)dae Linguae Castilliae / Frater Jo(ann)es Baptista Castra, Cappellanus de Obedientia Magistrali subtitulo sanctae / Annae Arcis Sancti Therasmi.

Russia, Scandinavia and Spain. Of these, only a small number concentrated on memory or self-image, but nearly all of them would have discussed a few features regarding these themes.

Over the last 30 years or so, the amount of publications on the military orders, in general, has grown tremendously. Admittedly, one cannot read everything published everywhere. Most of the significant publications do engage in discussing memory and self-image elements or have specialised publications. Although the *corpus* shows both Hospitaller-specific matters of self-image, it also contains matters which are related commonly to military orders. Furthermore, various book series, dedicated to the medieval ages and military orders, are of importance, among others, *Variorum Collected Studies Series* and the *Nova Mediaevalia, Quellen und Studien zum europäischen Mittelalter* series. The Order of St John has several affiliated institutions publishing journals, covering many topics regarding the Hospitaller Order, such as the *Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malta* (France) and the *Sacra Militia Foundation* (Malta).

Of great interest for *memoria* and self-image of the Order are specialised publications and conferences. There are three regular major international conferences on the military orders where topics on memory and self-image of the military orders play an essential role. These conferences are held in Toruń (Poland), Palmela (Portugal) and Clerkenwell (UK). These three conferences discuss all military orders but have a special interest in respectively the Teutonic Order, the Spanish Order and the Order of St John. The London Centre for the Study of the Crusades, the Military Religious Orders and the Latin East (SSCLE) was set up in 1989, jointly by the Museum and Library of the Order of St John and Royal Holloway, University of London. Driving force behind this was Jonathan Riley-Smith, then professor of History at Royal Holloway. The Military Orders conference, held every four years, was also initiated by Riley-Smith. Their first conference, at St John's Gate in Clerkenwell, London, was held in 1992.

The 7<sup>th</sup> International Meeting on Military Orders: Between God and the King. The world of the Military Orders, which took place at Palmela – Portugal, 14<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> October, 2015, organised by the Câmara Municipal de Palmela, and the study group of the Order of Santiago (GESOS). This conference produced the volume *Entre Deus e o Rei: O Mundo das Ordens Militares*, Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (ed.), in which articles on memory and identity appear. Regarding the proceeds of these conferences, many of the specialists' articles are of a micro-historical nature and therefore quite narrow and closed, rather than discussing long-term developments, such as *memoria*. From these proceeds, however, valuable topics representing the Hospitaller self-image can be gathered for the purpose of this book.

In the series *Ordines Militares*, 22 volumes have been published since 1995 by the Polish University of Toruń (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika), mainly in the German language.<sup>205</sup> This institution holds bi-annual conferences on the topics of the role of the

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<sup>205</sup> Thanks to the research done by Professor Karol Górski and his students the Institute of History of Nicolaus Copernicus University (created in 1945) became the most important Polish centre for research on the history of the Teutonic Order and the Teutonic State in Prussia.

military orders regarding Christianisation (1981), medieval culture (1983), spirituality of the orders (1991) and the relationship between the orders and religion (1993). Of these conferences, the one most engaged with the self-image of military orders was published in 2005, an edition containing the proceeds of the twelfth conference in the series of *Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica* held between on 2- 28 September 2003 in Toruń (Thorn), Poland,<sup>206</sup> with the title *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*. This conference saw a holistic approach into these complex matters regarding memory and self-image of the military orders. It asks some pertinent questions regarding the various aspects of identity, *Selbstdarstellung*, *Selbstverständnis*, *Selbstwahrnehmung* and *Selbstbild*, self-portrayal, self-understanding, self-perception and self-image in contrast to portrayal, understanding, perception and image by third parties. This was achieved by referring to different sources, in particular, the self-portrayal through art, literature, religion, titles, seals and other forms. The research carried out at Toruń is usually concentrated on the Teutonic Order, but in this issue, some articles do include the Hospitallers.

#### *Various proceeds of conferences and other related works*

In this section, the results of conference papers, academic articles and books on the topics of *memoria* and self-image will be discussed.

#### *Memoria*

The proceeds of *Entre Deus e o Rei: O Mundo das Ordens Militares* are mainly in Spanish and Portuguese, but one article in English stood out, a narrative by Nicholson regarding *memoria*. Nicholson thinks that *memoria* is central to any institutional identity, underpinning the role its members believe to be. Instead of being static, memory is a dynamic phenomenon, frequently updated to fit in with new circumstances.<sup>207</sup> A reading of the *corpus* may confirm that memory was always an active device that kept the Hospitallers emotionally in the present, both affirming and adjusting their identity and their place in an ever-changing world. Memory was worth preserving lest it fades, while the history was firmly embedded in the past, and, once written down, it became fixed and rather unchangeable. Through their philanthropic activities and their actions at sea, the Order also kept its history alive, repeating it over and over, and integrating the memory thereof into the *corpus*, where it acquired a near-magic quality, larger than life.

Regarding the military orders, in Nicholson's view, memory was usually not an individual's one but a collective one, curated by an order.<sup>208</sup> Although the inscribed texts were driven by the corporate self-image of the Hospitaller Order, there was enough room for individual knights to express themselves within the confines of controlled memory

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<sup>206</sup> Organised by the Nicolas Copernicus University of Thorn (*Institut für Geschichte und Archivwissenschaft*) and the Scientific Association of Thorn (*Thorner Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft TNT*). The proceeds were published as 'Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden.' In: Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky (eds.) *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, *Ordines Militares - Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 13. Toruń, 2005.

<sup>207</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17-28, here 17.

<sup>208</sup> *Eadem*, 17-28.



and the corporate image which the Order wanted to broadcast. The *corpus* is in confirmation with this argument, although one has to take into consideration the Hospitaller vow of obedience to the Grand Master too. Direct criticism in a draft of an inscribed text would not have made it to the marble.

### *Memory and science of history*

Nicholson refers to Pierre Nora whose reasoning is that memory and the science of history are not the same. Nora argues that both are not interchangeable and synonymous. Memory, he says, feeds identity and belongs to individuals and corporate bodies like the Order and consists of people, places, events and objects. In Nora's opinion, history is how forgetful and ever-changing societies organise and reconstruct their past. In the context of the Order represented in *corpus*, Nora's take on the differences between memory and history does apply seamlessly,

linking the history of its ancestors to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins, and myth and on the other hand, its memory, nothing more in fact than sifted and sorted historical traces.<sup>209</sup>

Frequently, in the *corpus*, textual references are made to Classical heroes, while all use of heraldry and genealogical references have to do with origin. References to myth typically occur in the use of symbols, such as Hypnos and Thanatos, Greeks gods of sleep and eternal sleep.

However, approaching this dichotomy of memory-history from the self-image point of view, a different picture presents itself. In the case of the Hospitallers and their curated history, it served the purposes of not forgetting those selected facts. History and the memory contained in the *corpus* were running a parallel course. The difference is mainly in the freedom of interpretation, which is perhaps more significant in the case of memory, since it belongs, at least partly, to the body natural and is highly personal. History belongs to the body politic and is public, leaving less room to wriggle. Memory studies then consider the relationship between what was and what is. Nicholson quotes here Paul Connerton's ideas that 'our experiences of the present largely depend on our knowledge of the past' and 'our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order.' Such beliefs then drive the formation and curation of the shared images of the past held by a social order,<sup>210</sup> such as manifested in the *corpus* at St John's. The mentioned knowledge of the past depends then entirely on what was included or excluded from the public display of that memory. The *corpus* is a sample of a body of memory and *memoria*, where the inscribed texts are often referring to underlying historically known facts and character traits of individual knights but presented in a fashion of how they wanted a historical fact or person to be remembered and possibly not how they factually were. What was excluded is then everybody's guess, also because on slabs and monuments there is not that much space for a full disclosure of the truth. Of course, the *corpus* is

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<sup>209</sup> Nora, 1989), 7–24, here 8.

<sup>210</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17–28, here 17.

situated on sacred ground, which adds a layer of religiosity. Political instrumentalisation of the *corpus* was inevitable, as it was a device in a broader attempt to influence public opinion and fund-raising, as the Order, from its inception, had been doing.<sup>211</sup>

In the *corpus*, one may find diversified memories and personal stories of individual knights, which are usually overlooked in the writing of history, as they are regarded as biased. The danger is that, when misunderstood or when people are not aware of the deeper Hospitaller context, they may think that the *corpus* represents an imagined community of knights instead of direct, contemporary witnesses to sustain the collective memory of their brethren. In analogy to Climo, the Order offered visitors to St John's a possibility to step into their shoes, 'empathising and emotionally investing in their experiences, (re-)living a past they had not experienced first-hand and thereby acquiring "vicarious memories"'.<sup>212</sup> In doing so, a shift occurs from history to memory, because the Order, like so many others who tried to preserve their past, were very reluctant to let that living memory slip away into oblivion, as loss of memory was regarded as loss of identity.

### *Self-image aspects*

The proceeds of the 2003 conference at Toruń, *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, has set a particular benchmark, and it is prudent to go briefly through the main ideas of what elements the self-image of military orders is made of. As a point of departure, there were two kinds of obligations to ideals, one religious and one worldly. It was an obligation of the Orders to the spiritual ideal of humility and support of the Church. There were not only the obligations to make the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, but also to maintain the cohesion, the preservation of honour and the religio-chivalric ideals of knighthood for order and peace. The religious character of the Orders included the veneration of saints, fighting against the enemies of the religion, pilgrimage and the care of the poor and the sick. The self-image also included worldly ideals of the acquisition of territories, such as land for the Teutonic Order while the Hospitallers had the Mediterranean Sea as their territory, islands as their stronghold and property in Europe as a means of income.<sup>213</sup>

In the first chapter, Czaja gives an overview of the most salient features of self-image developed over the years. Czaja discusses, among others, the contributions of Nicholson, Sarnowsky and Kaspar Elm. The latter sees three main characteristics of the idea of *Selbstverständnis*, namely the design of St Bernard of Clairvaux of the *milites Christi*, *hospitalitas* and *misericordia*, hospitality and compassion, and references to the Holy Land and the Holy Places. Concerning the power of these ideas, Kaspar Elm asks himself if the idea of the *milites Christi* was not just a façade for simple chivalric self-portrayal.<sup>214</sup> From the self-image point of view in the *corpus*, it seems that the concept of *milites Christi*, those who take care of the poor and fight the enemy of religion, was adhered to religiously, as religion made the difference between *malitia* and *militia*, as argued by

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<sup>211</sup> Eadem, 1993, 103.

<sup>212</sup> Climo, 1995, 177.

<sup>213</sup> Czaja and Sarnowsky, 2005, 5.

<sup>214</sup> Czaja, 2005, 7-22, here 8.



Forey.<sup>215</sup> Sarnowsky approaches the identity question of the military orders from a regional, national or universal perspective. For Sarnowsky, the grounding of the self-image which encompassed all such orders, was based on the idea of *Heidenkampf*, in the case of the Hospitallers more specifically the 'infidels' and the Ottomans, the identification with the Old Testament and the Holy Land. This refers to Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers who fought the Hellenistic pagans in Palestine. Nicholson asks herself if the contemporaneous Crusader link to the Maccabees could suggest that for the Crusaders the military aspect of the Maccabees was more important than their martyrdom.<sup>216</sup> Other factors were the placing of the brothers in the religious class and the linking of chivalric prowess with religious matters such as hospitality. Also, being of the noble classes and creating their own independent sovereignty, are indications of a well-developed self-image. Sarnowsky acknowledges that there are distinctions between the various orders regarding collective identity and the self-awareness of the individual members of the orders. According to Czaja, the fight against the infidels was the grounding factor for the Templars and the Teutonic Order, while hospitality was the basis for the Hospitaller Order of St John, notwithstanding its militarisation. In the light of image and self-image, the Hospitallers were mainly regarded as hospitallers during the thirteenth century.<sup>217</sup> In Spain, the self-image of the Spanish orders as *milites Christi* and defenders of Christendom declined during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Helen Nicholson, who published her Ph.D. thesis on this topic as *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights, Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291*, was probably one of the first to delve into the identity and self-image of the military orders as a speciality.<sup>218</sup> She maintains that the military orders had a defined self-perception and a carefully presented that self-image to encourage almsgiving. Besides that, the orders' reputation had been damaged by the not always successful operations in the Holy Land and also by the individual behaviour of their members. The orders needed a positive self-image to remain attractive to recruits and to maintain morale and to build a global identity with the existing members, since they were spread out over Europe and the Latin East. This included covering up of scandalous behaviour of members, extensive policy making and sharpening of the Rules. There was, however, little remedy to fix the mutual distrust between the Hospitallers and the Templars, causing an enduring blemish on their repute. During the period 1128-1291, Nicholson states that the Hospitaller Order had just a few channels to its disposition to influence the public opinion, through ambassadors and representatives at papal and royal courts. Besides lobbying, producing newsletters, reports and commissioning art were other effective means to further their goals.<sup>219</sup> Besides their own reports on their military activities and achievements and the corresponding criticism by third parties, there were also reports on the order's

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<sup>215</sup> Forey, 1994, 175-95, here 183.

<sup>216</sup> Nicholson, 2005, 91-113, here 104.

<sup>217</sup> Czaja, 2005, 7-22, here 9.

<sup>218</sup> Nicholson, Helen, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights, Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291*. Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1993.

<sup>219</sup> Nicholson, 1993. 102-3.

spirituality, spread to different channels. *Memoria* was used by the Hospitallers, when at Acre. Commemorative inscriptions were placed at strategic positions, so that Crusaders and pilgrims, while passing by, could read about the exploits and successes of the Order. Nicholson gives here the example of an inscription dedicated to the Master of the Hospital between 1239 and 1242, Peter de Vieillebride, while the Templars used a similar tactic.<sup>220</sup> Other means of generating self-image profiles was through the creation of tales celebrating the brothers' piety, the production of edifying literature for the brothers, tales of a distant past association with the cults of popular saints and appealing to the Order's dual role.<sup>221</sup> In *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, Nicholson states that formerly the spirituality of the orders was somewhat overlooked, since many historians regarded them as knights only, and not as religious. This produced an image of knights being nominally religious, as can be witnessed from Kaspar Elm aforementioned, questioning the genuineness of the *milites Christi*, notwithstanding that the self-image was one of potential martyr.<sup>222</sup> Nicholson here also treats the topic of saints venerated by the military orders. Every saint had a different characteristic and preferences for certain issues, and it is not surprising that knights chose those saints with whom they could easiest identify and whom they believed could assist them best. Cults had arisen around the Virgin Mary, as Our Lady of Victory and St John the Baptist, patron saint of the Hospitaller Order,<sup>223</sup> while the founder the Blessed Gerard and his successor, Blessed Raymond Du Puy, also enjoyed cultic veneration. Other saints, with a direct connection to a military order during their lifetime, would be of great interest for the brethren.

It seems that the Hospitallers preferred their 'own' as saints: St Mary as 'Our Lady of Victories, St John the Baptist and all the Hospitaller saints present at St John's. In this respect, Nicholson also suggests that, seeing that a good number of Hospitallers were canonised or beatified, the Hospitallers' lifestyle in the West followed more the traditional ideals of Christian sanctity than other military orders.<sup>224</sup> Employing saints, in a way, also had an influence on donations, and Nicholson narrates that donations received at the Hospital of St John were made to God, St Mary and St John the Baptist. Among the military orders there was also a trend to venerate St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Archangel Michael, St Barbara, St Paul, St Ursula, St George, and remarkably, also St Mary Magdalene. Her feast day is on 22<sup>nd</sup> July, which is also the anniversary of Godfrey of Bouillon's ascension to the throne of Jerusalem after the First Crusade had captured the city.<sup>225</sup> Notwithstanding the veneration of saints, apostles, prophets, bishops, cardinals

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<sup>220</sup> *Eadem*, 108.

<sup>221</sup> *Eadem*, see respectively 109, 111, 116 and 120.

<sup>222</sup> Nicholson, 2005, 91-113, here 91.

<sup>223</sup> In Malta, the 8<sup>th</sup> September is a public holiday, Our Lady of Victories, to commemorate the end of the Great Siege. St John's Day on 24<sup>th</sup> June is not a public holiday but widely celebrated in Malta. St Peter and St Paul on 29<sup>th</sup> June is a public holiday, and so is 15<sup>th</sup> August, the Ascension of St Mary. October 13 is the feast day of Blessed Gerard and on 21<sup>st</sup> October St Ursula in Malta, but also celebrated in Hospitaller circles around the world. St Barbara has her feast day on 4<sup>th</sup> December. First a patron saint of lightning and fire, then of gunfire, which made her popular with the military. In Valletta there are the St Barbara Bastions, a place where the Order had an artillery station.

<sup>224</sup> Nicholson, 2005, 91-113, here 92.

<sup>225</sup> *Eadem*, 94.

and popes and the presence of various cults of saints, there was never one overall patron saint for the military orders, so remarks Czaja, quoting H.-D. Kahl.<sup>226</sup> In military circles, people reaching sainthood through violence were better appreciated than those who died in bed. In the *corpus*, this mentality is resounded and for Frà Giovanni Minutillo a reason to do the right thing. He was very much aware that his death was imminent, 'although reduced by old age and illnesses, he dragged himself onto his feet into church to receive his Last Sacrament, showing that a Religious ought to go to Mass, a soldier ought to die in his boots.'<sup>227</sup> This work would like to fill a vacuum in the research of the Hospitaller self-image and *memoria*, in the sense that the *corpus* offers an insight in the religiosity of the knights of the Order which is not so easily found elsewhere. Possibly, because the *corpus* was not accessible in the past and therefore the self-image of Hospitallers as Religious combatants and pious knights remained either hidden or was never taken seriously in secular academia.

Czaja quotes Alan Forey from an older work in which he discusses the importance of a self-image as a primary theme for the moral instruction regarding the collective identity of military knights who lived in convents all over Europe. Their military performance, piety, holiness and bravery was especially emphasised in the historical context of their double role in charity and chivalry.<sup>228</sup> Flexibility towards other customs and habits were also a strong suit of the Hospitallers, described by Lutterell as 'regionalism', whereby the inner structure of the Order allowed adaptation to the rules and customs of places where they were active. Being spread out over the European continent and the British Isles also made the development of a common self-image considerably more difficult due to the differences in geographical and cultural origin,<sup>229</sup> than for instance in the Convent in Rhodes or in Malta, where the brothers were forced to unite as much as possible due to proximity. It must also be remarked that the self-image coming from the Hospitaller Rules and Customs gives only a theoretical sense,<sup>230</sup> as there is always a difference between the letter and the spirit of the law.

## 2.6 Loss of Christianity's peaceability

Christianity was a peace-seeking religion in the first three centuries of its existence. This condition changed radically with Emperor Constantine the Great, a former 'soldier who hacked his way to total control of the Roman Empire and became convinced that the Christian God had destined him to do so.'<sup>231</sup> On the eve of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, at Rome in the year 312, it was reported that Constantine had a dream in which he was ordered to place the initials of Christ, *chi-ro*, on the shields of his soldiers. On the following day, the battle was convincingly won.<sup>232</sup> By turning his back to the pagan world and

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<sup>226</sup> Czaja, 2005, 7-22, here 10.

<sup>227</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 367 (d. 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1677, at the age of 84).

<sup>228</sup> Czaja, 2005, 7-22, here 10.

<sup>229</sup> *Idem*, here 11.

<sup>230</sup> Forey, 2005, 59-68, here 59.

<sup>231</sup> MacCulloch, 2009, 5.

<sup>232</sup> Jones, 2014.

propelling the cult of Christ into a position of power, its peaceability suffered. The Latin motto *in hoc signo vinces* (under this sign you will conquer) has since been used by many armies who thought themselves preferred by the Christian God. It is not surprising that in the *corpus* references are made to the importance of fighting under the sign of Christ or of the Order. Many such instances are victoriously and prominently displayed in the iconography and described in the texts of the *corpus*, as well in the art in St John's. Remarkably enough, at times the standard of the Order is paganised, *MARTIS SIGNA IN BARBARO*, the 'Standards of Mars against the Barbary Coast,' as it appears in the epitaph of Miguel Juan Cotoner, younger brother of two consecutive Grand Masters Raphael and Nicola Cotoner.<sup>233</sup>

### *Christianisation of Violence*

Church reformers and influential writers were not averse to the use of violence to achieve their ends. St Augustine, in *The City of God*, explained that the earthly glory of Rome, as seen through the eyes of the pagans and Christians, was insignificant compared to the spiritual triumph which true Christians (alive or dead) could win in the City of God, Heavenly Jerusalem. However, St Augustine also endorsed that, in order to pursue a just Christian life on earth, worldly concerns with political power, governments and authority are beneficial and required.<sup>234</sup> From this followed further interpretations, as can be found in the Old and New Statutes of the Hospitaller Order, in which the importance of becoming a soldier of Christ to fight the enemies of religion, was quintessential for the identity-building discussed in this present book. De Vertot interprets this, 'so that being inflamed by charity, they may have no dread on their spirits at taking the sword in hand and exposing themselves, with prudence, temperance and fortitude to all sorts of danger.'<sup>235</sup> As will be discussed in chapters 6.6 and 8.13, references to the Heavenly City of Jerusalem are made in the *corpus* and in paintings commissioned by the Order, in which *memoria* and identity play a significant role.

This sanctification of violence, sometimes called the 'Christianisation of Violence,' also provided a theological basis for martyrdom while assigning knighthood to a Christian ideal.<sup>236</sup> Should a knight be killed in justified action for the Church, it will be 'rejoiced forever in heaven...united in glory with the holy martyrs.'<sup>237</sup> It seems as if such knights had made a contract with Death but tried to avoid its fulfilment as much as they could. However, when the inevitable occurred, they embraced Death and fought with it. One may say that by descending on the enemy, they ascended into Heaven. These arguments are resounded resolutely and frequently in the *corpus* and images of martyrs can be found throughout St John's. Francesco Mingnanelli went 'unchallenged, very fiery and bravely,

<sup>233</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 141.

<sup>234</sup> Böer (ed.) 2010, St Augustine, *City of God*.

<sup>235</sup> De Vertot, 1728, 7, art. 2.

<sup>236</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 12.

<sup>237</sup> *Idem*, 13.

against the enemy, longing for true glory through a violent death at their avaricious hands; already certain of victory [in Heaven], he was cut down in battle.’<sup>238</sup>

### *The coming of true knighthood*

After the breakdown of the central Roman authority in the fifth century, Europe was left in a fragmented state and in its unprotected state it had suffered inroads by Germanic and Slavic tribes, Magyars and Norsemen.<sup>239</sup> In the ninth century, the wind of change had already started picking up, and in the eleventh century, there was a definite drive to defragment Europe. As a result, a re-found, albeit incomplete, unity occurred, with at its heart the acceptance of a universal religion, Christianity.<sup>240</sup>

Knighthood developing at the end of the tenth century, portrays *cnichts* as lawless, brutal and violent men, often burly farmer boys, acting on behalf of a Castellan or higher local ruler. One part of their job was to increase their lord’s grip on the farmers and country folk, creating a division between the *potentes* (the powerful) and the *pauperes* (the poor and the powerless). The other part was to protect the realm of their lord against invaders. A religious ideology was constructed by the Church, the only Roman institution which had survived as a whole,<sup>241</sup> to integrate and harness the energies of the old knighthood within the realm of Christianity. Responding to societal needs to curb the chaotic political situation in fragmented Europe, there arose an attempt to Christianise knighthood, to change it from a malicious *malitia*, or *equites diaboli* into Christian chivalry, a *militia*, a term taken from the non-combatant monks who fought spiritual wars as *miles Christi*.<sup>242</sup> The new chivalry, instead of pummelling the *pauperes* into submission through plunder, murder and rape, was now supposed to protect the *pauperes*, the Church and Christianity,<sup>243</sup> thus becoming *true knighthood*. After further church reforms, the concepts of a Christian king, Christian knights and Christian pilgrims fused into the idea of a Latin Christendom, which was believed to be a kind of republic.<sup>244</sup>

One of the difficulties was how to reconcile the Beatitudes and the charity of the Church with violent men, who were used to defend their honour through duels, to fight for the protection of a principally peaceful religion.

Chivalry and the Christianisation of warfare were integrated and the following justification of just war by St Augustine, all warranted fighting would inch forward a knight towards Salvation. Church reformers in the eleventh century, wanting to create order from chaos, were not averse to the use of violence to achieve their ends. Knights were given dispensation for their pro-active role nipping evil in the bud, and notwithstanding their application of violence, they would have a possibility to go straight

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<sup>238</sup> *Idem*, no. 300.

<sup>239</sup> Kaeuper, 2009, chapter 1, 48ff; See also Foley, 1994 and Huizinga, 1985: Nevertheless, most of the invaders had been absorbed into the fabric of feudal society. Different threats came from the inroads of the Arabs, Berbers and Moors in Sicily and Spain, whose efforts were to make feudal society submit to their principles.

<sup>240</sup> Forey, 1994, 175-95.

<sup>241</sup> Kaeuper, 2009, chapter 1, 48ff.

<sup>242</sup> Browne and Ó Clabaigh, 2016, xvii.

<sup>243</sup> Forey, 1994, 175-95, here 183.

<sup>244</sup> Lopez 1995, 25f. However, opinions differed who had the ultimate authority, Pope or Emperor.



to Paradise.<sup>245</sup> The new knightly ideal was a collection of winning narratives, forming collectively an aesthetic ideal, vibrant imagination and moving charm, and also a corresponding identity. The code of chivalry came now directly from God and carried moral values, such as protect the Church against the infidel, protect women, children and the weak against *malefactors*. Slaying the enemies of Christ, whomever they were, was one of the most significant new virtues of chivalry, and was regarded as equal to dispensing charity.<sup>246</sup>

*Nova militia – the new knighthood designed by St Bernard of Clairvaux*

St Bernard of Clairvaux wrote the winning narrative for justifying the new knighthood, *De laude novae militia* in 1129.<sup>247</sup> He placed the Crusaders and the Templars in this category of true knighthood and called it *nova militia*, to contrast it with the *militia seacularis*. For the latter, worldly glory and gain were the only important things, while for the former it was heavenly glory. For St Bernard, the *miles Christi* was no longer the monk but the new knight and fused these two contrasting institutions into one new concept of *miles Christi*. Now a *miles Christi* was a religiously inspired soldier, and their first job was protecting pilgrims. The brothers of the orders were mostly *fratres laici* and not *clerici* for whom fighting was still forbidden.<sup>248</sup> St Bernard's outlook remained relevant to the Hospitallers, even if centuries down the road their actual situation in Malta was very much different than when they first set out in the Holy Land. *Miles Christi* makes a very frequent appearance in the *corpus* and the Hospitallers do call themselves 'Religious.' A deeper analysis of the weight, frequency and relevance of those words on the *corpus* is discussed in chapter 7.3.

St Bernard of Clairvaux also compared the new knighthood to the Maccabees, an idea followed by de Vertot when he likens the Hospitallers to the same Maccabees, 'constantly opposing the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible.'<sup>249</sup> This was not a unique thing as also Spanish military orders were branded similarly, among others, the Orders of Calatrava, Santiago and Alcántara. This shared identity and self-image aspect among military orders developed independently from their origin or the place of their origin.

Many scholars agree that the military orders are authentic religious orders on their own accord, *sui generis*, and form an independent group among the regular religious orders, while there are many differences between the military orders.<sup>250</sup> Contributors to the abovementioned conferences, add to the discussion of self-image regarding the dichotomy knights-religious. Riley-Smith, in the prologue of *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309*, maintains that historians always found difficulties to pigeon-hole the military orders,<sup>251</sup> founded in the early twelfth century. Riley-Smith summarises

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<sup>245</sup> Kaeuper, chapter 5, 56.

<sup>246</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 9.

<sup>247</sup> Nicholson, 2014, 101-118.

<sup>248</sup> Forey, 1994, 175-95, here 188.

<sup>249</sup> De Vertot, 1728, book I, section B, 1.

<sup>250</sup> Sarnowsky, 2011, 1-23, here 1.

<sup>251</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, Prologue.

learned opinions of other researchers regarding the Hospitallers, demonstrating the earlier mentioned difficulty of placing the orders in easily identifiable categories. Military orders originally were associated with the Roman Catholic Church, although after the Reformation some orders continued as Protestant ones, or, as the Hospitallers, were split between the two. The brothers, and sisters, are professed religious who made vows, which led some researchers to write that they performed duties just like choir-monks, while others emphasised their laity instead. They nonetheless had obligations to canon law, but were also exempt from certain obligations, as the Hospitallers were allowed to bear arms. This created a dichotomy between *religiosi* and *regulares* and it seems that the military orders absorbed the whole paradigm, including the two extremes at each end, hence the novelty and the great difficulty people had to accept this new concept.

St Thomas of Aquinas, in the *Secunda Secundae Partis* of his *Summa Theologica*, wrote about the contemplative and active forms of the religious life. Any religious community without contemplatives and which was engaged in good works only was not worth the name. He also questioned whether religious institutes engaged in fighting, preaching and pastoral activities were monastic ones. Bishops argued that such new orders had been granted too many privileges and exemptions, threatening the power of bishops, and should therefore not be allowed.<sup>252</sup> Furthermore, there was severe criticism on the performance of the military orders in the Holy Land and voices called for merging of the orders. Even kings felt threatened by the orders, resulting in the dissolution of the Templars in the early fourteenth century. St Thomas defended the military orders by justifying that fighting brothers could indeed reach a state of perfection, that religious could fight for heavenly purposes (but not for earthly ones) and that war could sometimes be just. Waging war in obedience to God and Church was different than in the name of a secular sovereign.<sup>253</sup> Riley-Smith thinks it misleading to associate the military orders with chivalry. Although chivalry was related to the ritualisation of warfare carried out by a privileged social and martial class, represented by males with a pedigree whose lineage was identifiable by its coat of arms, this had little to do with Christianity. Chivalry assimilated Christian characteristics which could be paired with the Christian ideology. In this transition period, the possession of a lineage was considered essential and knighthood, instead of being bestowed by a king, became a noble hereditary prerogative of bearing arms. Since the Hospitaller Order was a true religious order and its members were supposed to 'live penitential lives' may rule out older, pagan chivalric notions. However, notwithstanding these arguments of Riley-Smith, the *corpus* indisputably shows chivalric notions of old, many pagan elements were integrated with Baroque art and the grand presence of the Personification of Death.<sup>254</sup> My arguments find support in

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<sup>252</sup> Risse, 1999 discusses the worries of the local bishops in the Holy Land. The Hospitallers' growing power caused concern. This concern about the Hospitallers was presented at the Third Lateran Council of 1179, by Alexander III, voicing Eastern bishops who accused the Order of having abused its privileges and failing to keep their vows,

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.* The Hospitallers were very well aware of the dangers of the plague. See Blouet, 2004, 81, 87. The figure of Death became popular in Europe after the plague first hit Europe in 1348.



the introduction of Abulafia and Berend, where they introduce the period 1200-1520, remarking that

It was a period of great cultural ferment, not merely in Italy, which became the home of a remarkable revival of Classical art and letters, but also at princely courts in northern Europe, where magnificent display and the cult of chivalry reached new levels of extravagance. Yet this was also a period of dramatic social and economic change, in which the Black Death wiped out a third or more of the population of western Europe.<sup>255</sup>

Hence, I would like to expand on the opinion of Riley-Smith that it is misleading to associate the military orders with chivalry. In the *corpus*, it is irrefutably demonstrated that the religious Knights Hospitaller, orthodox Western Latin Christians with a pedigree, had everything to do with Christianity and the cult of chivalry. After all, the Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette saw himself as the Guardian of Europe.<sup>256</sup>

## 2.7 Memory devices

Besides the *corpus* and commissioning art and architecture, the Order made use of other devices available to build up its memory bank.

### *Portraiture, Sukzessionsbilder and Ahnengalerien*

Van Bueren and Oexle propose that within the keywords of tradition, succession and *memoria* lays an applicable hermeneutic model to interpret the various factors regarding the creation of *Sukzessionsbilder*.<sup>257</sup> Tradition is, in the Hospitaller context, related to passing on of the seat of power to guarantee the continuity between past, present and future, and in the case of the dead, the hereafter. Succession is, in the case of the Knights Hospitaller not a continuation of a lineage but an unbroken succession established through complex election processes, whereby after the death of a Grand Master the newly elected Grand Master was expected to continue implementing the Order's tradition, *i.e.* its resolve of its religio-political and socio-cultural framework. *Memoria* remains what it is, taking care of this world and the hereafter, supporting the remembrance of the dead and the pursuit of Salvation.<sup>258</sup> These three elements can generally be found in all the sepulchral monuments of the Grand Masters, while the series of individual succession portraits in the Grand Masters' Palace in Valletta can be related to their sepulchres. Most of the Grand Masters are depicted individually and each of their sepulchral monuments are made to measure. Exceptional is then the placing, in the Crypt of the Grand Masters at St John's, of a sepulchral slab of Grand Masters Pietro del Ponte (r. 1534-1536), Juan de Homedes (r. 1536-1553) and Claude de la Sengle (r. 1553-1557). It consists of a single

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<sup>255</sup> Abulafia and Berend, 2010, 2.

<sup>256</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 359.

<sup>257</sup> Van Bueren and Oexle, 2005, 55-78, here 56-9.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

slab of marble, in a very recognisably medieval style, containing an inscribed text and coat of arms, whereby the inscribed texts are engraved and the coats of arms are rendered in relief.<sup>259</sup>

Portraiture within the *corpus* is limited to the sepulchral monuments belonging to the Grand Masters and this privilege is excluded from the floor slabs. Showing a portrait belonged to the *body natural*, while what was communicated about the Grand Master would belong to the *body politic*. Images of the Grand Masters vary from a full-length body *en-gisant* to a bust, either cast in bronze or sculpted from marble. These portraitures were meant as true effigies of the physiognomy of the Grand Masters, as during a Grand Master's life various portraits and engravings would have been produced already, for use on coins, 'state portraits', etc. Post-mortem, these existing images would be multiplied, on a much larger scale, in history books such as those of de Vertot, commemorative coins and printed *Ahnengalerien*. In the collection of the Museum of the Order of St John at Clerkenwell, one can find a gilded bronze and silver portrait bust of Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette, attributed to Leone Leoni, c. 1565. Presumably, this was a diplomatic gift to the Grand Master de Valette by the Hapsburg dynasty, due to de Valette's success in surviving the Great Siege of 1565.<sup>260</sup> For this reason, the likeness must have been close to reality, in order not to insult the recipient, following the protocol of 'polite' portrait painting as was common in that era.<sup>261</sup>

Regarding the function of such portraits, Erasmus thought that these were a *mnemosynon*, a commemorative token of the person absent to refresh one's memory, *refricare memorium*, and prompts discussion about that person.<sup>262</sup> The armigerous state of the family was carefully maintained and vigorously researched by various colleges of arms all over Europe. It provided a knight with a strong connection to an ancient past and regulated his present position. At each sepulchre at St John's, the family's honour was as much commemorated as the deceased himself.<sup>263</sup> In the work of de Vertot, the death of each Grand Master is commemorated while their successors are introduced. Besides, de Vertot mentions also the death of a good number of individual knights.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, respectively nos. 355, 354, 356.

<sup>260</sup> <http://museumstjohn.org.uk/collections/portrait-bust-of-jean-de-la-valette/>

<sup>261</sup> Tittler, 2009, 3-10.

<sup>262</sup> Knöll, 2003, 14-61, here 35. Original quote from: Mertens, Dieter, 'Oberrheinische Humansiten im Bild. Zum Gelehrtenbildnis um 1500.' In: K. Krimm and H. John's (eds.), *Bild und Geschichte, Studien zur politischen Ikonographie. Festschrift für Hansmartin Schwarzmaier zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*. Sigmariggen, 1997, 221-48.

<sup>263</sup> Tittler, 2009, 3-10.

<sup>264</sup> De Vertot, 1728.



Image 4: Portrait bust of Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette, at Clerkenwell



Image 5: Commemorative coin of Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette.

As is to be expected, the *corpus* emphasises on genealogy and place of birth to establish rank, position and seniority. Since the Hospitallers lived in an unmarried state, they were genealogically defective branches on the family tree. Nonetheless, they were placed in the *Ahnengalerien*, ancestral galleries, of their families at home. Van Bueren and Oexle write that the nobility needed *Ahnengalerien* and *Sukzessionsbilder* to show that the inherited succession over the centuries was a proof of their ability to continually increase both their dominions and ever-rising status among their peers. Similarly, this reasoning was valid for kings and all forms of clerical or religious 'nobility', such as abbots, bishops, cardinals and popes. For the latter group, their criteria for succession were the furtherance of the vocational duties and to uphold whatever was necessary to guarantee the continuation and well-being of the institution.<sup>265</sup> It stands to reason that Hospitaller Grand Masters, also Princes of the Order and at times Cardinals too, belonged to this category of religious nobility.

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<sup>265</sup> Van Bueren and Oexle, 2005, 55.

Behind the idea of *Ahnengalerien* lies the attempt to go back as far as possible in time, following an unbroken succession of ancestors to the earliest known one. These could be real, imagined or legendary ancestors, to enforce a certain status, perhaps where there was uncertainty about a branch.<sup>266</sup> Generally, these *Ahnengalerien* are made up of representations or portraits of the ancestors, eternalised in paintings, sculptures, mural paintings, stained glass, tapestries, sepulchres and so on. They consist of a portrait series of successive religious, secular rulers or prominent people.

Along the frieze of St John's, one will find personalities, Martyrs, Blessed and Saints of the Order (see chapter 6.6), while the sepulchral slabs and monuments can also qualify as an *Ahnengalerie*, as these show not only a succession heroes and champions of charity, but also of the highest offices, such as Admirals, Captains-General of the Fleet or Priors. A Hospitaller *Ahnengalerie* could also be a series of heraldic devices. Grand Masters found a way to create a magistral succession in *Sukzessionsbilder*,<sup>267</sup> establishing the authenticity of their self-image. These *Sukzessionsbilder* could be in the form of paintings, such as at the Grand Masters' Palace in Valletta, or in the shape of sepulchral monuments and slabs dedicated to Grand Masters at St John's. An omnipresence of their statues near fountains, in gardens, on facades of buildings, above city entrances, created a public presence outside those buildings not accessible to the public.

### *Genealogy and Heraldry*

Genealogy and heraldic devices are very prominently displayed, not only on the sepulchres the *corpus* both in text and imagery, but also throughout St John's and Malta. It would be unimaginable not to have a large quantity of coats-of-arms, *stemmata*, displayed on a multitude of objects, buildings, utilities, arms, art etc., belonging to or donated by knights, as these are symbols of nobility, power and money. Coats of arms could be considered as a pictogrammic *lingua franca*, as it was widely understood in Europe of the day.

Both the coat of arms and the reference to the family name made the sepulchres immediately recognisable and the person commemorated immortal, as his family name lived on after his demise. The coat of arms told who one was, where one came from and where one belonged. It would inform people about one's station and rank, and therefore about ambition and potential alliances or network opportunities. Concerning personal genealogical information, the depicted escutcheons hold the coat of arms, and often a motto. Heraldry, part of the *body politic*, was of paramount importance for a nobiliary Order. The language of heraldry, blazon, was in Old French or Anglo-French. In the escutcheons and coat of arms the whole family lineage was made visible, showing its connections through marriage to others and the rank and title of the deceased. In the case of Wolfgang Philipp von und zu Guttenberg, *FRATER WOLFFGANGUS PHILIPPUS, LIBER BARO DE ET A GUTTENBERG*, his slab has the coat of arms of his father's and mother's side, including a caption with the family name, as outside his own social circle these crests on their own would probably mean nothing: *PATER DE GUTTENBERG - MATER DE GUTTENBERG*

<sup>266</sup> For an account of *Ahnengalerien* and *Sukzessionsbilder* see Meuwissen, 2011, 60.

<sup>267</sup> *Idem*, 60-1.

and his grandparents, *AVA PATER DE VÆRDENAV - AVA MATER D ELTZ* (Grandfather Von Waerdenau, Grandmother Von Eltz).<sup>268</sup>

Often the escutcheons are bearing a crown. When a crown is rendered accurate, it indicates the title of nobility of the deceased, as this depends on the shape of the crown, the number of pearls or the presence of oak leaves. Similarly, an accurate rendering of a helmet would give the same kind of information.<sup>269</sup> Many slabs and monuments have images of mythological figures, Classical symbols and symbols of a secular nature rather than of religious nature. For instance, there are very few crucifixes to be detected, possibly because it was regarded as disrespectful to walk over the Cross - the symbol of suffering and Resurrection of Christ.

Not only are there hundreds of *stemmata* at St John's itself, but also on each sepulchral slab or monument there is at least one *stemma* present, but often more. This inspired David Stone to write that the floor is engaged in an 'arms race'.<sup>270</sup> Since the Order had become a nobiliary order, each candidate had to provide, or be provided with, proof of his noble birth and family arms during the admission process. A committee would verify the claims of nobility through their network of commendators and agents abroad. A dispatch would be sent to verify the claims against the local parish registers and other archives. Locals would be interviewed, all to confirm that the family had never engaged in trade or work, and that they were not of Moorish or Jewish descent. These family trees would be scrutinised, and their coats of arms studied and compared. In de Vertot's *History*, a detailed account is presented of the dynamics of this process. A few basic articles of the Old and New Statutes are presented here, for an understanding of the importance of the proof of nobility. An article by Grand Master Hugues de Revel (r. 1258–1277) states that 'such a desire to be admitted as knights, must be proven by authentic evidence that they are born of parents noble both by name and arms.' Grand Master Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam (r. 1521-1534) declared that 'they shall after this be sent to the Convent with the authentic proofs in due form, of all the facts therein contained; for we strictly forbid the admittance of a brother knight anywhere but in the Convent.' Grand Master Frà Claude de la Sengle (r. 1553–1557) ruled that 'such as are for entering into our order, must prove that they are born in the language or priory in which they desire to be incorporated.' In the following article, the same Grand Master states that 'in short, they shall be obliged to make the proofs, required by our statutes, before the commissioners deputed by the prior, or in the provincial chapter, or else before the assembly itself and present them to the chapter of assembly to be there read, approved or rejected.'<sup>271</sup> Without these proofs of nobility, one was not allowed entry to the Order. In Chapter 9, we can follow the efforts of the von Königsegg dynasty, and their financial sacrifices, to have their sons accepted into the Order.

<sup>268</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 274: *FRATER FRANCISCUS CHRISTOPHORUS SEBASTIANUS, LIBER BARO DE REMCHING*, Frà Franz Christoph Sebastian, Baron of Remchingen.

<sup>269</sup> For a detailed account, see: Parker, 1970. For crowns, see pp. 181-8.

<sup>270</sup> Stone, 2012, 572-593.

<sup>271</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, The Old and New Statutes: Of the Reception of the Brothers, pp. 9ff.

### Relics

Relics are a different matter of *memoria*. By identifying what kind of relic it was, and to whom it had belonged, the Order could draw reputation and status from an inexhaustible source of martyrs, saints and Jesus Christ himself. A church with relics inevitably attracts pilgrims and people for prayer, whom, submerged in the wealth of *memoria* at St John's, presumably would leave the church differently than they had entered.

Roman Catholic theology gave great importance to relics. At St John's, an inventory of all the relics acquired over time is exhibited in the Chapel of the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. This chapel is also known as the *Reliquiae Sanctorum*, Chapel of Relics or *hagiothecium*, where the Order kept many of its about 50 relics. Frà Pierre Mosquet, the Sub-Prior of the Conventual church, was also the Custodian of Relics.<sup>272</sup> Some of these relics were attributed to Jesus Christ: Fragments of the Crown of Thorns, of the Holy Manger, of his Seamless Garb.<sup>273</sup> Many relics were kept in what was called the 'Silver Reliquary,' which provenance was vague but arrived with the Hospitallers in Malta. Also, very significant is the relic of the right hand of St John the Baptist, with which he had baptised Christ in the river Jordan. It is placed in a bronze reliquary, gilt with silver ornaments, made by Ciro Ferri in Rome.<sup>274</sup> The baptism scene returns as the titular altarpiece, a marble sculpture by Giuseppe Mazzuoli of the school of Bernini.<sup>275</sup>

### Cult of St John

St John the Baptist, patron saint of the Order and the Conventual church, is omnipresent throughout the church. The cult around St John the Baptist had been very strongly developed since the time of the founder of the Hospital in Jerusalem, Blessed Gerard. A 'magnificent visual glorification of his *persona*' took place over the years.<sup>276</sup>

The barrel-vault of St John's, decorated by Mattia Preti between 1661-66, shows scenes about St John taken from the Gospels. In these sets of paintings, St John the Baptist is both depicted as the precursor of Christ and as the protector of the Hospitaller Order of St John. All the scenes are there to instruct people and to embolden them to show resolve. Every knight was bound to allegiance with Our Lady and St John the Baptist, and

<sup>272</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 155.

<sup>273</sup> In the Chapel of Relics there are two caskets containing relics of various saints. Altar relic: St Clement. The inventory shows the relics of the following saints: St Rogue, St Helena, St Theodora, St Mary Magdalene, St Augustine, St Bartholomew, St Andrew, St James the Elder, St Matthew, St John Chrysostom, St Antony, St Frances, St Candida, St George, St Sebastian, St Cosmo, St Damien, St Blase, St Lazarus, St Anne, St Clair, St Hilarion, St John Damascus, St Gregory Nazianzen, St Catherine, St Polycarp, St Pantaleon, St John the Almsgiver, St Toscana, St Vincent, St Bernard, St Jucundus, St Stephen, St Thomas of Canterbury, St Andrew of Crete, St Christopher, St Louis of Gaul, St Innocent, St Nicholas of Bari, St Valerian, St Ursula, St Frances de Paul. Then there are: A wood splinter of the Golden Gate, fragment of the purple cloak of St Charles Borromeo, autograph of St Thomas of Aquinas. And finally, relics belonging to Jesus Christ: Fragments of the Crown of Thorns, of the Holy Manger, of his clothing. In the Chapel of Aragon: Entire body of St Fidele. In the Chapel of Castile: Relics of St Clement. Formerly, in the Oratory, placed on the altar: Reliquary with the right hand of St John the Baptist. All in all, there were 54 relics inventoried at St John's.

<sup>274</sup> Sciberras, 2004, 80-94. The Italian Grand Master Gregorio Carafa had commissioned this reliquary in 1686.

<sup>275</sup> *Idem*, 51-80.

<sup>276</sup> *Idem*, 51.



this may explain the emphasis of Marian and Johannine art at St John's. At his investiture, a knight had to make his profession, and among others, had to vow as follows: 'I do promise and vow to God, to the ever-virgin Mary, the Mother of God, and to St John the Baptist, to pay, henceforward, by the assistance of God's grace, true obedience to the superior which it shall please him to set over me, and which shall be chosen by our Order, to live without any property and to preserve chastity,' which is followed by the person conducting the investiture saying 'We own you for a servant of the gentlemen that are poor and sick, and for a person devoted to the defence of the Catholic faith.'<sup>277</sup>

### *Symbols and symbolism*

One might get the impression that the *corpus* contains only religious symbols. In addition to the religious symbols discussed above, there are about 120 Classical and secular symbols regularly appearing, including thrice a mechanical clock (*tempus fugit*).

At times, creative solutions were found to combine various symbols into the limited space of the sepulchres. The slab of Gaspar de Figuera is probably one of the most iconic ones of the *corpus*. The lower register is in conformity with the canon of a monumental set up, a pedestal with the cartouche, a sarcophagus, a tapering Baroque column with the escutcheon. The upper register is where it is getting innovative. On a Wheel of Fortune, depicted as a clock without arms and in its centre a map of the Western Mediterranean, sits a skeleton as if on horseback. This skeleton has a dual function, that of *Mors*, with a scythe, and as *Fama*, with a trumpet. On the trumpet flies the flag of the Order. On both sides of the Wheel of Fortune are two-winged effigies. This wheel rests on a cartouche in the form of a banner, with the text: *VENIT HORA EIUS, VENIET ET TUA* (his hour has come, and yours will). The Wheel of Fortune has a triple role. Firstly, it shows that Fortune is unbalanced, the wheel can roll anywhere. Secondly, the Wheel of Fortunes includes the face of a clock, but without arms. It does not tell the passer-by the time but that the time *Mors* is arriving remains undisclosed. Thirdly, the map is the area where the Order policed the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> De Vertot, 1728, 10.

<sup>278</sup> *Idem*, no. 36.





Image 6: Detail of the slab of Gaspar de Figuera (Appendix 1, no. 36). Photo: Maurizio Urso

### Seals

Seals were another means by which the orders could be promoted. A very well-known example is the seal of the Templars, showing two riders on one horse, referring to their initial period of true poverty. Other seals show the fame of Du Puy's Hospital of St John. In the Schlumberger collection, there are two examples of a lead seal belonging to Raymond du Puy. On one of these, *recto*, shows the Grand Master kneeling towards a St John's cross (with a twin crossbar). On the rim of the seal, there is an inscription + *RAIMUNDUS CUSTOS*. *Verso* shows on the background a long building with an arch and a dome, possibly the Hospital or another building part of the Hospitaller compound. On the foreground, there is a hospital bed with a patient on it. Near the patient's head is a Latin cross, near the feet of the sick person is a *turibulum*, an incense burner, which is swung by an invisible hand, representing that the Hospitallers operate, provide and diffuse charity discreetly. In the centre of the arch hangs a lamp, probably an incense burner. On the rim, there is an inscription: *IHERUSALEM* ✠ *HOSPITALIS*, with the patted cross, or *croix pattée* in between.<sup>279</sup> Du Puy used the title *custos* here and not the title Grand Master, this

<sup>279</sup> Cuzzo, 2009, 83-114.

comes about after 1177, although it was in Rhodes that this title became the norm, as it was by Grand Master d'Aubusson in 1489.<sup>280</sup>

In further paragraphs, the use of miracles and constructed foundation legends will be discussed (see chapters 3.10, 4.6 and in Part III, Appendix III). The Hospitallers also promoted its founders, Blessed Gerard as the hospitaller and Raymond du Puy as the *miles Christi*, as saints (see chapter 6.6). Regarding the dual role of charity and military, this was carefully used to present themselves in the best possible light to potential donors. This characteristic is still played out in the *corpus* in a post-mortem fashion. 'Frà Francesco Silvestri from Marsala, Conventual Priest of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, Commendator of Saint-Gilles, was nominated to the Maltese Bishopric and almsgiver to the Most Eminent Emanuel de Rohan, Grand Master.'<sup>281</sup> Articles 5 and 6 of the First Rules (see Part III, Appendix II), are very specific in encouraging the members to seek alms actively.

## 2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the origin and purpose of the *corpus* has been introduced and its relation to *memoria* and self-image has been discussed, as well as relevant records, archives and documents. Also, some sources of the related art at St John's and other places in Malta have been examined.

This chapter saw a treatment of sources over a wide time span regarding the Hospitaller *memoria*, image and self-image, ranging from medieval sources, Hospitaller historiographers, early modern to modern sources. The Hospitaller *memoria* was dissected and its constituent aspects of self-image, identity, cohesion and memory were further defined. Self-image allowed the Order to create their identity and act accordingly and have a feedback loop to *memoria*.

With the application of social identity theory, a more in-depth explanation of their historical identity could be constructed. Cohesion is an important matter, as it explains why the Order could survive over the centuries. Cohesion and unity through diversity seem to be a very modern issue. However, the Order had already discovered, that it is not very possible to force everyone into the same culture. The division of the Order in culture groups, the *langues*, in 1301, was both a very successful way to acknowledge European cultural diversity and to achieve European corporate unity, through the Christian religion and identity. It also justified them to carry out their dual mottos of charity and war. The corporate image is then also representing the honour of the Order which needed to be defended, an easier task when all members point their noses into the same direction.

The literature review also included contemporary sources on the Order, often written by members, modern sources on the religious orders in general and on memory aspects of the Hospitaller Order. There is an enormous amount of material out there on the religious orders, but much less specifically about memory and self-image of the Hospitallers. Nonetheless, it is inevitable that all books at some point in time discuss

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<sup>280</sup> Sire, 1996, 54.

<sup>281</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 283.

topics related to memory and self-image. Emphasis is also given to material presented at conferences, as such events are usually focussed on specific subjects. Of interest here are also subjects related to the wider scope of the military orders, for instance the Crusades, pilgrimages, development of healthcare, warfare, nobility and knighthood and other social and religious changes in medieval society in Europe and in the Holy Land. Without discussing these topics, the founding of the hospital would seem to have occurred in a vacuum (see Part III, Appendix IV).

Nora's reference to history is of a different kind than written by the Hospitaller Order itself, as modern history tries to produce a true and authoritative account. The Order was only interested in writing a curated history for its own memory purposes, undoubtedly identifying with its own culture. According to Nora's memory theories, when applied to the Order, the latter was a memory-nation and a 'last incarnation of the unification of memory and history.'<sup>282</sup> Writing history from the outside, the etic point of view, will certainly give a different picture than the history the Order wrote about itself. Any other version of their history would have been regarded as a threat, both to their memory and corporate self-image.<sup>283</sup> Very self-consciously, the Order started to materialise and externalise their memory in art, architecture and sepulchres, to manifest their self-image and identity. Especially St John's and the *corpus* are the embodiment of a curated memory. In these cases, emic memory and history would be non-compatible with the etic versions. This is in high contrast to modern historians who study the Order only from the outside. Respected historians, such as Riley-Smith or Nicholson, hardly venture into the emic view, although the latter has written a book about the daily life of the Templars, entitled *The Everyday Life of the Templars: The Knights Templar at Home* of 2017, where she takes into account emic elements such as seals, sepulchres, reliquaries, murals, paintings and writings of others. As it seems, the Templars did not write much about themselves, not even on their sepulchral monuments in the Temple Church, London. Only the Hospitallers offer this remarkable insight into their own psyche, which is lacking in the other orders.

The argument why the orders are regarded as *sui generis* have been explored, also in the light of the Christianisation of violence and the shift in chivalry from nature to nurture, that is, from the natural habit of men to be violent to harnessing this violence for the benefit of the Church and society.

Furthermore, the function of various memory devises has been looked into, such as portraiture, *Sukzessionsbilder* and *Ahnengalerien*, within the context of the *corpus* and how these were interpreted by the Hospitallers. Matters of great importance for the *memoria*, image and self-image of Hospitallers, such as genealogy and heraldry are treated here, showing a firm and stable link between nobiliary status, chivalry and being a Religious. Furthermore, some other carriers of memory have been discussed, such as portraiture, seals and symbols, all with their Hospitaller specific characteristics. Relics present a different side of *memoria*, of which the most important one was the right hand of St John the Baptist, the Order's patron saint.

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<sup>282</sup> Nora, 1989, 11.

<sup>283</sup> *Idem*, 9-10.

In the next chapters, the historical context of Hospitaller essentials of *memoria* and self-image will be examined, from the early period up to the arrival in Malta in 1530, to provide an understanding of these topics in the pre-Malta period.

## Chapter 3 Hospitaller essentials of memory & self-image

### 3.1 Prologue

There may be a disproportionate emphasis in this work on the initial period, as it does not appear directly in the *corpus*, but its result is nonetheless present in an implicit way. However, in this period, the basic principles of *memoria* and self-image were established which, although modified over the centuries, never really left the Hospitaller institution and were therefore understood rather than specifically expressed.

### 3.2 Blessed Gerard's hospital between c. 1070 and 1120

Jerusalem, as a pilgrims' destination, has seen various stages of hospital development (for a detailed account, see Part III, Appendix IV). Before the first century when Christianity started, the city of Jerusalem was sponsoring Jewish hospices. Following this tradition, Christians started to cater for their own pilgrims.<sup>284</sup> A Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem had a different outlook than a Jewish one. Many pilgrims visited shrines of saints and martyrs to ask for healing or other miraculous interventions, to do penance for sins, possibly to fulfil a vow or just out of piety. Jerusalem was the holiest site of Christianity, the place of the Lord. It was a place where many Christians would do all the above things, either on the way to, from or in Jerusalem, but also to live out the rest of their devoted lives, to die and be buried where their Lord Jesus Christ had lived, died, was buried and had resurrected.<sup>285</sup> Over the centuries there had been various initiatives to build and maintain Christian pilgrims' hospices. For a discussion of continuity of Christian hospices, see this chapter, *The status of a locus sanctus*.

The period of this enquiry into the search for *memoria* and self-image, must then start at the moment a group of pious Amalfitan merchants set up a trade post and retreat for their people in Jerusalem. The period runs from c. 1050 to c. 1070. Although there were, and had already been, hospices in Jerusalem, the Amalfitans were looking to add to their trading post a closed compound, exclusively for Amalfitans.<sup>286</sup>

Between c. 1070 and 1120 is the first formation period of the former hospice of the Amalfitans in Jerusalem, now under the new management of a man generally known as Gerard. This was a period where there was little activity in creating a memory and self-image, while the role of *memoria* was restricted to the liturgical services related to the dead and cemeteries. In this initial period, no established canon of Hospitaller *memoria* as was developed in Malta existed, but only Christ-centred *memoria*, remembering Christ and his works in order to imitate Him. This section will discuss the advance in early hospitaller memory and self-image creation until their arrival in Malta in 1530. The starting period is earmarked by first developing a Hospitaller-specific identity and self-

<sup>284</sup> Risse, 1999.

<sup>285</sup> MacCulloch, 2009, 193-5.

<sup>286</sup> Skinner, 2013, 218-9.





image, while in the period roughly after 1120, a common identity and self-image also developed among the bigger military orders, as some of their characteristics were shared ones.

Gerard, according to some of the early sources mentioned, such as William of Tyre, was a *quidam Geraldus, vir probatae conversationis* (a certain Gerard, a man of wise conduct) or Jacques de Vitry, quoted by de Vertot, in his *Historia Hierosolymitana* adds that a Gerard was a *vir quidam sanctae vitae & probate Religionis nomine Gerardus*,<sup>287</sup> a certain man of a pious life and a proper Religious by the name of Gerard. This Gerard then was not a Benedictine monk, but regarded as an oblate and a lay member of the monastery of St Mary of the Latins.<sup>288</sup> In the *corpus* one may find many references to Knights Hospitaller as a *Religiosus Ordinis*, a Religious of the Order.

The actual identity of Gerard remains shrouded in mystery. This did not hinder the Italians and later the French to make their claims of origin on him. Some writers have him as an Italian, others as a Provençal. De Vertot, in his *History of the Order*, mentions both identities in his work, probably forgetting that he first wrote him down as an Italian,<sup>289</sup> and later on as a Frenchman.<sup>290</sup> The same happened to René Grousset, who also gives two different identities to Gerard. In his *Histoire des Croisades*, Girardo was unquestionable of Amalfitan origin and in his *Epopée des Croisades*, he wrote that Gérard was from Martigues in the Provence.<sup>291</sup>

Gerard appears in contemporary documents by name, as collated by Perta aforementioned,<sup>292</sup> and by inference, his deeds have become legendary and his reputation miraculous. He is perceived as exemplary and becomes a figurehead of Hospitaller identity, appearing in many media.<sup>293</sup> It can be gathered from later developments of the hospital that Gerard, whomever he was, proved to be a very versatile administrator. With a piety-driven resolve, endowed with intelligence and entrepreneurial insight, he at first carried out orders from the Abbot of St Mary of the Latins,<sup>294</sup> and later developed into the founder of an independent hospital and a worldwide organisation.

Besides all the negative aspects, the advent of the First Crusade in 1099 would also have a profound effect on the development of Gerard's hospital. The arrival of the mainly

<sup>287</sup> William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 18, chapter 5; Donnadieu, 2008; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire*, LXIV, 254-268.

<sup>288</sup> Demurger, 2013, 55; Riley-Smith, 2012b, 35. In analogy of Clark, 2011, 65: Gerard, as an oblate of Saint Benedict, offered himself to the service of God in a similar way as monks and nuns do, without taking monastic vows or living a monastic life *intra muros*.

<sup>289</sup> De Vertot, 1728, *Proofs*. He quotes here William of Tyre, 1138-44.

<sup>290</sup> *Idem*, book 1, 18.

<sup>291</sup> Sources from Giuseppe Perta, 'A Crusader without a Sword: The Sources relating to the Blessed Gerard,' in: Flocel Sabaté (ed.) *Life and Religion in the Middle Ages* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 125-139; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem* (Paris: Plon, 1934), I, 541 respectively René Grousset, *L'Epopée des Croisades* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1995), 90.

<sup>292</sup> Perta, 2016b, 883-904.

<sup>293</sup> [http://www.smom-za.org/saints/gerard\\_tonque.htm](http://www.smom-za.org/saints/gerard_tonque.htm) > Accessed on 10-01-2018.

<https://www.orderofmalta.int/history/the-grand-masters/> > Accessed on 10-01-2018.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blessed\\_Gerard](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blessed_Gerard) > Accessed on 10-01-2018.

<sup>294</sup> Pringle, 2007, 193.



French-speaking Crusaders from Normandy, Provence, Auvergne, Lorraine and Hainaut in 1099 brought more French influence to the detriment of the Amalfitans, who disappear altogether from the picture. Geraldo the Italian, or Amalfitan, was then soon forgotten, and he becomes Frère Gérard or Frère Pierre-Gérard de Martigues,<sup>295</sup> from the coastal village of Martigues in Provence (c. 1046 - d. 3 Sept 1120). Whatever his provenance may have been, in the end, his birth was claimed by what would later become the *langue* of Provence. For the latter, this designed turn of fortune in view of Gerard's status meant that it was both privileged and entitled. Provence was the oldest and therefore most prominent *langue* of the Order, because it had provided, or rather produced in hindsight, the founder of the Hospital. It was likewise fortunate for the *langue* of Provence that Grand Master Antonio Manoel de Vilhena had confirmed in 1727 that Gerard had indeed originated from Martigues. Nonetheless, this is very meagre proof, or no proof at all, so reasons Beltjens.<sup>296</sup> In the latter's work, there is a whole discussion about the variety of names, abbreviations, spelling, titles, appellations of Gerard. He points out the confusion of homonyms and even questions if there were more than one Gerard. However, should there have been more than one Gerard, not unlike in a comedy of errors, it did not result in any major confusion about the identity of Gerard or switching of personalities.<sup>297</sup> That this change of identity paid off is evident in the donation of Godfrey de Bouillon, who was possibly the first to recognise the hospital as independent from the Amalfitan St Mary of the Latins and Gerard as its founder, *rector, hospitalarius*, but not yet master or magister.<sup>298</sup>

#### *Papal bulls supporting Gerard's initiatives*

There was broad support from the side of the Holy See for Gerard's Hospitaller movement, and with issuing of papal bulls also the Hospitaller memory is recorded and its image substantiated. Although the papal bulls were not written by the Hospitallers themselves, these papal bulls were issued presumably because of intense lobbying. On 29<sup>th</sup> July 1103, Pope Paschal II had issued a papal bull, *Propheta Domini*, granting the *Christi milites* landed property and, rather confusingly, Gerard the archbishopric of the

<sup>295</sup> Demurger, 2013, 55. Gerard's first French sounding name Gérard Tunc or Gérard Tenque was the result of a misunderstanding of a Latin phrase in which the adverb *tunc* appeared, *Gerardus, tunc rector*. *Tunc* can mean 'then, at that time,' but even that is a misunderstanding in itself in this context, because there was a word in the sentence, which was not written but understood in that time, namely *temporis*. In the sentence *Factum fuit tempore Girberti, tunc temporis magistri Hospitalis*, the word *tunc* is part of an expression *tunc temporis* meaning 'still living or holding office at that time.' See also Hayward, 1999, 543-573. Hayward provides a note for this finding: See N. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, rev. D. F. Charpentier and G. A. L. Henschel (2 vols., Paris, 1883-7), viii. 207, on the usage *tunc temporis* in witness lists.

<sup>296</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 106.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>298</sup> See website revised *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* database. Godfrey de Bouillon, in August 1099, gives the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem the village [casale] of Hessilia and two ovens in the city of Jerusalem. De Bouillon provides three other gifts. [http://crusades-regesta.com/database?search\\_api\\_views\\_fulltext=&field\\_institution\\_recipient=&field\\_grantor=&field\\_receptient=&field\\_year\\_1=&field\\_year=&field\\_term\\_type\\_field\\_term\\_title=&f%5B0%5D=field\\_institution\\_recipient%3AHospital%20of%20Saint%20John%20of%20Jerusalem](http://crusades-regesta.com/database?search_api_views_fulltext=&field_institution_recipient=&field_grantor=&field_receptient=&field_year_1=&field_year=&field_term_type_field_term_title=&f%5B0%5D=field_institution_recipient%3AHospital%20of%20Saint%20John%20of%20Jerusalem)

whole of Galilee and Tiberias.<sup>299</sup> In this bull, Gerard is addressed as archbishop, a case of mistaken identity, as both Perta and Cuozzo agree, with an abbot of a Benedictine monastery of San Salvatore in Tabor.<sup>300</sup> Beltjens also states that Gerard was never a bishop,<sup>301</sup> and Demurger warns that Gerard should not be confused with another Gerard, or Géraud, prior of the Hospital in Toulouse in the years 1106-1121.<sup>302</sup>

Gerard had further sent petitions to Pope Paschal II for protection, patronage and financial freedom following the papal bull of 19<sup>th</sup> June 1112, *Apostolice Sedis Auctoritate*, in which Paschal II took away the last doubt of who's who, stating that regarding the origin of the Benedictine abbey of St Mary of the Latins, that it was a hospice for the Latins, Italians and the Lombards during the period of the Saracens and the Turks.<sup>303</sup> In this bull, Paschal II also confirmed the possessions of the Benedictine's house of *Sancta Maria ad Latino*.<sup>304</sup> In the next bull, Gerard's breakaway from the Benedictine abbey was confirmed. On 15<sup>th</sup> February 1113 Pope Paschal II issued a papal bull *Pie Postulatio Voluntatis*,<sup>305</sup> in which he corroborated that the *xenodocheum* would enjoy the support and guardianship of the Holy See and granted the *Protectio S. Petri* to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the protection of Saint Peter. This foundation charter, *Pie Postulatio Voluntatis*, seems to reaffirm a recent separation. Gerard is referred to as the *institutor*,<sup>306</sup> founder of that separate institute and that the European hospices were 'to remain in perpetuity subject to you and at the disposition of you and your successors as they are today'.<sup>307</sup> This also confirms that Gerard was already mastering an international network

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<sup>299</sup> A.O.M. 6, no.2. Bull Pope Paschal II of 29th July 1103, in which he takes under his protection the monastery of Mont-Thabor and he confirms its possessions and he grants Gerald, archbishop of Mont-Thabor, the archbishopric of the whole of Galilee and Tyberiad and the usage of the *pallium* (bishop's cloak). The document names 49 landed possessions, with names such as Nurith, Naim, Erbeth, Maluph and includes also an unquantified number of other properties: *...seu alie quarumunque parochiarum ville, que in domino supradicti monasterii permanent, omnino libere solisque condicionibus congregacionis Ex casalibus autem, ad jus monasterii pertinentibus, que ad presens Christiani milites possident, decimarum redditus necessitatibus proficiat monachorum. Tibi vero, frater Giralde, Montis Thabor archiepiscopo, omnibusque tuis successoribus, ad exaltandam sanctissime Transfigurationis ecclesiam, archiepiscopatum totius Galilee et Tyberiadis, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, apostolica auctoritate confirmamus, et presentis scripti privilegio communimus*. Also in: J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général d l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, Vol.II (1201-1260), Paris, Ernest Delaville Le Roulx, 1897, 826ff.

<sup>300</sup> Perta, 2016b, 887; Cuozzo, 2009, 105.

<sup>301</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 130.

<sup>302</sup> Demurger, 2013 provides references to this possible misunderstanding. Another fake-news story was that Gerard was invested as the archbishop Tiberias and Galilee before 1113, but this was a non-existent ecclesiastical province.

<sup>303</sup> *Idem*, 65.

<sup>304</sup> Hiestand, 1980, 40.

<sup>305</sup> A.O.M. 6, no.1. In the same bull Pope Paschal II confirms that St John the Baptist is the patron saint of the hospital, and that the hospital was independent from the Amalfitan Benedictine abbey next door.

<sup>306</sup> Fonseca, 2009, 17-26. This strengthens the argument that Gerard created an open convent rather than remaining a closed monastery. That Gerard was addressed as the founder, and not as Abbot or Prior, or even *praepositus*, was a strong indication that it was no longer a monastic-Benedictine institution.

<sup>307</sup> Palma, 2013, 483. The exact date at which the hospice broke away from its parent body may not be exactly established, but Pope Paschal II was treating it as an independent entity by 1113. All the land Gerard had acquired in Europe by his perseverance and care, and all the land and wealth he or his successors may acquire in order to support the pilgrims, the poor or the religion, would be held in peace and undiminished. This meant

of hospices and shelters, which by 1113 were answerable to Gerard's hospital in Jerusalem.<sup>308</sup> A vital message in this bull is that all donations are irrevocable, and threatens with excommunication those who go against this decree.<sup>309</sup>

With this papal bull of 1113, the Pope tried to re-establish the balance of power between territorial authorities in the heart of the young Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and introduced the Apostolic See as a player in those relationships.<sup>310</sup> It must be remarked that the term *Christi milites* in this bull was more a term of endearment than anything else, based on the general Crusader spirit rather than actual chivalric activities by the Hospital. The support of the Holy See did not stop here. Pope Callixtus II confirmed the abovementioned bull of 1113 in his own bull *Ad Hoc Nos* issued on 19<sup>th</sup> June 1119.<sup>311</sup>

#### *Adaptation of the religious Rules of the hospitaller institution*

John, Archbishop of Amalfi, had noted that the Benedictine monks at St Mary's lived a life closely to that of a religious life, but not quite *vitam religiosam fere instituterant*. This was understandable, since those engaged in charity could not live a full contemplative life as those religious within the monastery. The *fratres conversi* were the lay brothers who lived according to a modified religious Rule, releasing the choir monks from too many distractions.<sup>312</sup>

Between c. 1050 and c. 1150 the Benedictine dominance was declining, due to an increase of religiosity which the Benedictine monasticism was not able to match,<sup>313</sup> although the *Regula Benedicti* had been the archetypal religious order for five centuries, setting the doctrinal and liturgical framework for the institutional church and the standards of orderly design concerning monasteries.<sup>314</sup> Among monks, it was felt that the Rule of St Benedict could no longer satisfy the demands of a rapidly changing society, with its increasing urbanisation, growing literacy, and shifts in distribution of wealth and power. This led in some cases to a more progressive approach, while also the opposite occurred.<sup>315</sup> Under the influence of the Church Reform Movement in the last decades of the eleventh century and the first decades of the twelfth, many new forms of religious life developed, and Crusading is regarded to be part of that movement. A drive for renewal was triggered to curb moral decline and at the same time to renew its own institutions. Nonetheless, out of a sense of renewal, there was a need for a wider choice of professed life for devout persons, be it contemplative or pastoral, hospitaller or military. The last two categories originated through a movement that also created, for instance, the Cistercian Order.<sup>316</sup> For reasons which can be surmised as progress, the matters of

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that the Hospitaller institution would never have to pay a tithe to the Holy See as long as they maintained their services.

<sup>308</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 6.

<sup>309</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 231.

<sup>310</sup> De Palma, 2014-2015, 157-198.

<sup>311</sup> A.O.M. 6, no. 1.

<sup>312</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 6.

<sup>313</sup> *Idem*, 18.

<sup>314</sup> Clark, 2011, 5.

<sup>315</sup> Horden, 2007, 133-46.

<sup>316</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 11.

income, education, technology, shipping and banking, orders of the Church, including the new military ones, were able to cross local and international boundaries. Christian love could now be in the form of medical care and armed forces. This became evident when the Hospital of St John turned into a military order during the twelfth century.<sup>317</sup>

During the late eleventh century, writes Sire, the rule of St Augustine was increasingly applied among religious communities of a more open character than the Benedictine monastic model. The adaptation of the rules of the hospice is attributed to Gerard and later modified by his successor, Raymond du Puy, to suit their needs in the particular environment in Jerusalem and Palestine.<sup>318</sup>

*Christian hospitality: From care to cure*

In view of the advances made in the medical domain, Gerard took his care system out of the closed monastery. By bringing it into the world, he allowed alien medical knowledge (alien, at least for Europeans) to enter. The transition from a monastery to a convent was a huge step, as it also broke with Amalfitan and Benedictine traditions of forming part of a closed monastery, catering exclusively for a particular group of people, the Amalfitans. A closed monastery required knocking on the door to get help, an open convent facilitated the Hospitallers to go into the world to reach out to the pilgrims.<sup>319</sup> A new image appeared, instead of a dignified place where pilgrims were received and fortified or could die if they could not regain their strength, Gerard's new hospice was one which opened to everyone, offering early palliative care, a hospital with differentiated wards according to gender and maladies.<sup>320</sup> This openness to invite people in need became one of the foundation stones of charitable works of the later Order. It may be argued that the same openness was to attract more pilgrims, since an opportunity for growth and increase of funds presented itself. Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land kept on growing from the 1050s to the 1070s, while the arrivals peaked in the 1080s and 1090s.<sup>321</sup> Research by Howard into medieval pilgrimage writings regarding pilgrimages to Jerusalem between 1100 and 1500, shows several hundreds of accounts which have

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<sup>317</sup> *Idem*. The new religious orders were, besides the Hospitallers and the Cistercians, the Carthusians, Premonstratensians, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites.

<sup>318</sup> Sire, 1996, 209. The timeframe is unclear, but after the diminished influence of Amalfi in the 1070s, and the intake of non-Christian local patients under 'encouragement' of the Seljuk regime, it is not unthinkable that the first changes in the rule were introduced during this period. Gerard not only seemingly adapted the Benedictine Rules to the harsh reality of his day, he also started formulating rules specific for the changing circumstances and the new challenges. The Benedictine Rule organised the life within a monastery, while what Gerard needed was a rule which would cover their actions in the hospital as nurses, and outside the home base as fundraisers and protectors of Christian pilgrims.

<sup>319</sup> Sumption, 2003, 280-3; Forey, 1994, 175-95, here 183: Regarding the religious, there was on the one hand a tendency in the eleventh century to totally isolate one's self from the world while a little later a trend became visible of religious and laity to shape religious life within society and reach out with teaching and charity, such as building hospices and the founding of houses of regular canons.

<sup>320</sup> Buttigieg, 2010, 95-106.

<sup>321</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 5. By the 1050s, the Byzantines had for the larger part restored or reconstructed holy sites demolished by the frenzies of al-Hakim; it was believed that Easter of 1065 would fall on the same date as it did in the year 33. Pilgrimage in the 1070s-1090s was volatile but nevertheless increasing, notwithstanding the Turkish military victories over the Byzantines and the internal Muslim clashes over power, territory and religious supremacy between Shi'ites and Sunnis.

survived, such as written by Wilhelm von Boldensele (a German Black Friar, travelling between 1332-3), Ludolf von Suchem (travelling between 1336-41), Bernard von Breydenbach (Dean of the Mainz Cathedral) and Felix Fabri, a friar (travelling 1480-5).<sup>322</sup> As a side effect of these vast numbers, protection from the side of the Muslim rulers, and possibly also the more available healthcare, stimulated the survival rate of pilgrims and the chances for pilgrims to return home to Europe, instead of dying in the Holy Land.

D'Aronco describes the superior rule of St Benedict when it comes to caring, rather than curing, the weak pilgrim and the poor.<sup>323</sup> Likewise, Gerard was not only concerned about the physical well-being of the needy, but also with the moral treatment of the sick 'let them be served as if they were Christ himself'. Gerard's conventual hospice or asylum for pilgrims became a hospital to 'shelter the poor of Christ', *i.e.* the poor pilgrim, the sick and the underprivileged irrespective of gender or religion, focused on *servus pauperum Christi*, serving of the poor of Christ. This theme features prominently and frequently in the *corpus*. It was written about Frà Adrien de Wignacourt, that 'if you are looking for the merits of his devout life, you will be able to admire his determined Christian love towards the poor and the sick and his generous charity towards those suffering from the plague.'<sup>324</sup>

#### *Waning influence of Amalfi and new fundraising strategies*

After the Amalfitan influence gradually diminished in the 1070s, the financing of the complex experienced difficulties. What this all meant was that Gerard seriously needed to find other financial sources of patronage and income. Raising funds for his hospital in Jerusalem became a top priority. It can be assumed that Gerard had adopted the wider perspective and the development of hospice to Hospital had been a major step, while the set-up of a network consisting of land and sea travel arrangements, a chain of supply houses, goods depots along the way and a grid of other hospices had been crucial for growth.<sup>325</sup> Simultaneously, various pilgrim routes developed accordingly, both over land and sea. Although from the 1070s onwards, nomadic Turks controlled large tracts of the passage roads through Asia Minor, this did increase the danger but did not decrease the number of Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem.<sup>326</sup> The idea was to improve the physical and spiritual network leading to Jerusalem,<sup>327</sup> in the vein of a similar system leading from Europe to Santiago.<sup>328</sup> These hospices would provide care but also receive cash and properties. Gerard also established reception offices in the home countries, for better communication and receipt of goods and staff.<sup>329</sup> Some of these were coastal hospices,

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<sup>322</sup> Brefeld, 1994.

<sup>323</sup> D'Aronco, 2007, 235-52

<sup>324</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 335.

<sup>325</sup> Sire, 1996, 4-5.

<sup>326</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 23ff.

<sup>327</sup> Brodman, 2009, 92-95. By 1113, Gerard had acquired six hospitals in Italy, seven dependencies in southern France and had established the Hospital of St Thomas in Arles. For instance, hospices in Saint Gilles, near Marseille, in Asti, Pisa, Bari, Otranto, Taranto and Messina were in operation.

<sup>328</sup> Sire, 1996, 5.

<sup>329</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 18-20. Riley-Smith also suggests that the Amalfitan hospice in Jerusalem had already been receiving endowments in the form of properties, from Europe.



which became embarkation points for direct sea travel to the Holy Land.<sup>330</sup> Most of the donations received in Europe were intended to set up hospices for pilgrims, often in places which were strategic for pilgrims and Crusaders on their way to the Holy Land. At Saint Gilles, the hospice was on a crossroad, an important stopover on the Pilgrim's Way to Santiago.<sup>331</sup> The networking of Gerard should probably be understood as giving directional structure to other hospices and charitable houses to bring them within the Hospitaller franchise as dependencies.<sup>332</sup>

Gerard, in the mind of Riley-Smith, in an era of very original founders of new religious institutions, ought to have ranked exceptionally highly, since the ethos of the early Hospital was a clear departure in religious thinking. As a *Custos Pauperum*, still a current title of the Grand Master, Gerard can also be credited with making the organised care of the sick and the poor a permanent feature in their society.<sup>333</sup> Over the years, Gerard must have noticed that pilgrimage was a form of travel which was mostly crisis-resistant and an unmatched growth market, just as it is today, drawing the largest crowds on earth.<sup>334</sup>

### *The status of a locus sanctus*

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Latin Quarter of Jerusalem, was regarded as a true *locus sanctus*.<sup>335</sup> William of Tyre was very influential on later historians, such as René de Vertot. In the latter's *History*, the account of the Amalfitan hospice was based on Tyre's narrative,<sup>336</sup> repeating the location of the Amalfitan hospice *ad verbatim* and emphasising that it was opposite of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. De Vertot calls it the 'Hospital of St John of Jerusalem'<sup>337</sup> and the 'Cradle of the Order of St John.'<sup>338</sup> He assumed that the hospital was part of the historic area of the Holy Sepulchre and he extended the attribution *locus sanctus*, a holy place, to it. In the light of the importance of an ancient genealogy in the world of nobility and knighted classes, the Order's developing memory took note of marking their standing and image in the world through creating their place of origin at and as a place of significance. It appears that both the proximity to the Holy Sepulchre and the continuity of the hospital from the remote past were also concerns, perhaps more for prestige and fundraising issues than for anything else. Considering continuity of the self-image, it was demonstrated by Hiestand, with the knowledge available in the late 1970s, that there was no real physical and historical continuity between these early hospices and the later Amalfitan hospice, but only a conceptual one.<sup>339</sup> Alain Demurger argues that a spiritual continuity may be claimed concerning the persistent Christian effort to try to establish a humanitarian foothold in Jerusalem for the

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<sup>330</sup> Sire, 1996, 4.

<sup>331</sup> Demurger, 2013, 60-2.

<sup>332</sup> Sire, 1996, 4-5.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>334</sup> Olsen and Timothy, 2006, 276.

<sup>335</sup> Babcock and Krey, 1943, book 18, chapter 5. William of Tyre, *Historia*.

<sup>336</sup> De Vertot, 1728, Proof V is a verbatim reproduction of William of Tyre book 18, chapter 5.

<sup>337</sup> *Idem*, vol. I, book 1, 18.

<sup>338</sup> *Idem*, 7, 8 and 18.

<sup>339</sup> Hiestand, 1980, 31-80.



sake of facilitating access and care for Western Latin pilgrims to the Holy City, as pilgrimage was a real and continuous business.<sup>340</sup> Humbert argues in favour of at least a partial continuity, not only a spiritual but also a physical one of Charlemagne's hospital on the very same spot. He bases his argument on the dedication of this hospital, which was not always devoted to Saint John the Baptist but first to Saint Mary or Holy Mary.<sup>341</sup> Arguments are thus presented for the church of St Mary of the Latins to be regarded as a *locus sanctus*, due to its location, adjacent to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and continuity. Similarly, the later hospice of St John was equally regarded as a *locus sanctus*, being part of the same Christian compound.

#### *A more detailed description of the location of the Hospitaller complex*

From a plan, created by Bahat of the Latin Quarter of Jerusalem,<sup>342</sup> of the Crusader period 1099-1187, the locations of the various sites of the Amalfitans and the later Hospitaller complex can be indicated. The Latin Quarter is in the northeast of Jerusalem, with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospitaller Quarter within the same rectangle of streets. North of the Holy Sepulchre runs the Street of the Holy Sepulchre, while the southern limit is marked by David Street. To the east is Patriarch Street and to the west, there is Malcuisinat Street, which comes down from St Stephen's Street, continues through the place of the vegetable market and runs down into Mount Zion Street. Between the Holy Sepulchre and St Mary of the Latins, ran another market street, now indicated as Suq ed Dabbagha, possibly connected in the past to St Helena Street. On the plan, the closest building of the Amalfitans to the Holy Sepulchre, was St Mary of the Latins, a distance indicated as a 'stone's throw'. The description that St Mary of the Latins was situated in front of the door (*ante januam*) of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre also remains undisputed (see image of plan of Jerusalem on the next page).

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<sup>340</sup> Demurger, 2013, 40. Also Ure, 2006, 16-17 argues that the idea of pilgrims' hospitals to, from and in Jerusalem is not a new idea. With the presence of St Jerome (347-419) in Bethlehem around the year 385, a steady number of pilgrims from Italy were attracted. He had settled there and started work on the translation of the Hebrew bible into Latin, his *Vulgatus* bible. By the year 400 there were more than 200 monasteries along the various pilgrim routes, catering for the needs of Jerusalem bound pilgrims.

<sup>341</sup> Humbert, 2011, 24-47. Both Sire, 1996, 3 and Boas, 2001, 26 write about a Latin hospice founded in 603 by Pope Gregory the Great and argue for a spiritual continuity and of tradition. Burgtorf, 2008, 31, quoting Würzburg's *Descriptio*, 133. Huygens, 1994, line 1326, relate to John of Würzburg, who wrote (between 1160-70) that the Armenians of Cilicia already had a hospital in Jerusalem. The Byzantines also had their *nosokomeia* all over the Byzantine world, and also in Jerusalem. Humbert hypothesises further that the Amalfitans did not know about the previous history of their site as belonging to St John the Baptist, since what was left of the foundations was hidden underground. It is very probable that this church was the one the Amalfitans had restored in the post-Hakim period, because Heyd claims that in 993 it had been a Latin church and that '*probable que c'est cette qui avait été fondée par Charlemagne*,' probably it is the one which had been founded by Charlemagne. Schlumberger states '*L'église de Sainte Marie Latine, jadis fondée par Charlemagne*,' 'the Church of St Mary of the Latins, once founded by Charlemagne.'

<sup>342</sup> Bahat, 1976, 33.

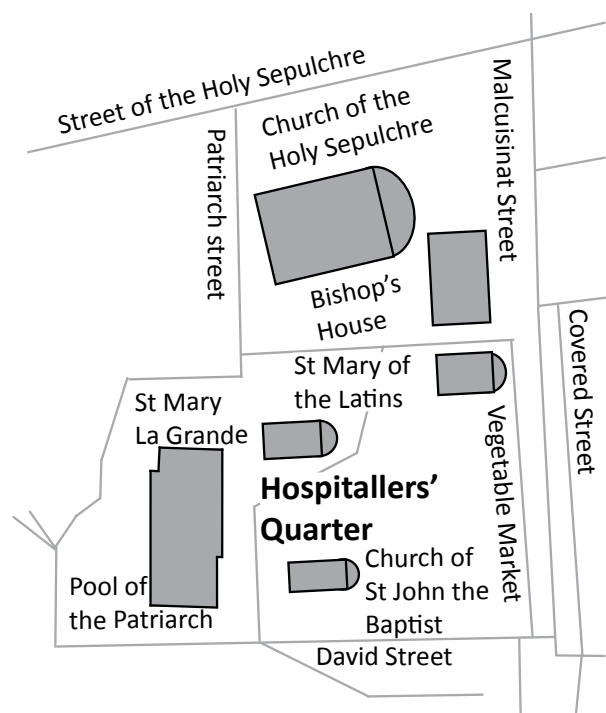


Image 7: Hospitaller Quarters in Jerusalem, after Bahat 1976, redrawn by the author

### 3.3 Brand awareness and changeover of patron saint

It seems that in the early period, from the point of view of identity and name awareness, the hospice was known first and foremost as St Mary of the Latins, incorporated into the Amalfitan compound. Later, after Gerard's drive for independence, his hospital was no longer associated with St Mary's. Gerard's name became the anchor of brand awareness of the Jerusalemite Hospital of St John. It even seems that it is first Gerard, and then St John. However, when the issue of the patron saint was finally settled, the name of St John caught on quickly as the patron saint of the Hospitallers in Jerusalem.<sup>343</sup>

#### Branding

It is curious that the appellations *Hospital of St John* or *Hospital of St John the Baptist* were not common at all before the arrival of the First Crusade. It indeed seems that these names were not widely used and were applied retrospectively. Instead, these institutions were commonly referred to as the hospice of St Mary of the Latins, St John the Almoner or St Mary Magdalene. Perta's earliest sources, up to 1102, mention Gerard and the hospital in Jerusalem, but do not mention St John. Only later, St John becomes known, as it generally seems, after 1100, but then not always or consistently. A pre-1078 document mentions *un ospedale a Gerusalemme e di un altro ad Antiochia* and a donation document of 1080 mentions *concedono la terra di Fonsorbes all'ospedale di Gerusalemme, guidato da Gerardo*. A later document presented by Perta, c. 1100-1120, states that *diverse donazioni relative alla commenda di Saint-Martin de Gap citano il beato Gerardo, al quale ci si riferisce*

<sup>343</sup> Woodhouse, 1879.

*con i termini senadoxius e ospitalarius*, several donations relating to the commandery of Saint-Martin de Gap mention Blessed Gerard, to whom the terms *xenodochius* and hospitaller refer.<sup>344</sup> The Church of St John the Baptist is definitely mentioned in the aforesaid bull of Pope Paschal II of 1113, *Pie Postulatio Voluntatis*,<sup>345</sup> in which Gerard is addressed as the founder and master of the Hospital in Jerusalem (in translation)

you have founded in the city of Jerusalem, in proximity to the Church of the St John the Baptist, that it should be supported by the authority of the Apostolic See, and fostered by the patronage of the Blessed Apostle Peter.<sup>346</sup>

### *Establishing the patron saint*

Many modern writers disagree with William of Tyre regarding his view on the dedication of the Amalfitan complex to St John the Almoner. According to Nicholson, Hiestand and Pringle,<sup>347</sup> It is suggested that William of Tyre was probably mistaken, since other twelfth-century writers had commented upon a dedication to St John the Baptist. Nicholson argues that before the Amalfitans adopted St Andrew as their patron saint (his relics were acquired in 1206), their main cathedral was dedicated to Our Lady and St John the Baptist,<sup>348</sup> strengthening her argument in favour of St John the Baptist. Beltjens provides two lists of the older historians, with references to their reasoning, who were either in favour or not of St John the Almsgiver as a patron saint of the hospice.<sup>349</sup> Other modern authors seem not to have any issue with the replacement of St John the Almoner by St John the Baptist,<sup>350</sup> and this changeover happened probably just after the arrival of the First Crusade in 1099, suggests Riley-Smith.<sup>351</sup>

According to William, Archbishop of Tyre, St John the Almoner was the patron saint of the hospice for Western Christian pilgrims.<sup>352</sup> St John the Almoner (Cyprus c. 560 - c. 619), Patriarch of Alexandria, also referred to as *Joannes Eleemosynarius*, *Joannes Eleymon* or *Joannes Misericors*,<sup>353</sup> was one of the very few Byzantine-era saints who had gained initially some following in the West. William of Tyre, writing a century or so after the events, had undoubtedly access to sources now lost, both written and oral.<sup>354</sup>

A contrary voice on this matter, that of the modern and critical researcher Rudolf Hiestand, has shown beyond reasonable doubt at the time of writing his research (1980)

<sup>344</sup> Perta, 2016b, 891-2,

<sup>345</sup> A.O.M. 6, no.1: Pope Paschal II confirms that St John the Baptist is the patron saint of the hospital.

<sup>346</sup> Camilleri, 2002, 17-36; A.O.M. 6, no. 1.

<sup>347</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 2; Hiestand, 1980, 39; Pringle, 2008, 93.

<sup>348</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 3.

<sup>349</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 77ff. In favour: William of Tyre, Jacques de Vitry, Marino Sanudo Torsello, Jeao of Ypres, René de Vertot. Not in favour: William of Santo Stefano, Giacomo Bosio, Anne de Naberat, Paul M. Paciaudi, Delaville Le Roulx, Ducoud-Bourget, Mgr Cesario d'Amato.

<sup>350</sup> Creighton-Jobe and Paul, 2011, 371.

<sup>351</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 35.

<sup>352</sup> Babcock and Krey, 1942, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 5.

<sup>353</sup> Creighton-Jobe and Paul, 2011, 371.

<sup>354</sup> Hiestand, 1980, 39. Already in 1112 Pope Paschal II had bestowed privileges on the hospital St Mary of the Latins. By 1154 Gerard's Hospitaller organisation had acquired the status of a religious order, a *Christianae fidei religio*, by decree of Pope Eugenius III: see *Idem*, 62-64.

that there was not any positive documentary or archaeological evidence available to prove that St John the Almoner ever was *the* patron saint of the Amalfitan hospice,<sup>355</sup> but only that a chapel in the hospital was dedicated to him. What may have been overlooked in this whole argument is the way in which Western medieval hospices were constructed. Christian service had a sacred quality and in monasteries and hospices, the physical design of the service area was designed like a church. Often, these wards were long and rectangular, serving simultaneously as a dormitory and chapel. At the end of such a room, or at times in the middle,<sup>356</sup> one could find an altar, where Holy Mass was celebrated daily. Because of the particular placement of the chapel and altar, all patients, even if they were bedfast, could hear or see Holy Mass being celebrated.<sup>357</sup> It seems that the altar in the Amalfitan hospice was indeed dedicated to St John the Almoner and played therefore a prominent role in the daily lives of the patients and staff. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that this preeminence could have created the impression that St John the Almoner was the patron saint of the entire enterprise.

The general opinion among modern researchers is that St John the Baptist always has been the patron saint of the Hospital and dismiss St John the Almoner as patron saint altogether. This dismissal is further fuelled by a current popular distrust of the reliability of William of Tyre's work by modern historians in the field.<sup>358</sup>

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned compelling arguments, the existence of St John the Almoner as an early patron saint within the Latin compound cannot be dismissed simply because of the lack of positive documentary evidence. Mainly because St John the Almoner is a Byzantine saint, and it were the Byzantines who had at first settled in that same area of Jerusalem, centuries before the Latin rite Christians came to set up house there too.<sup>359</sup> The Amalfitans were Byzantine-oriented, and so was the Greek Orthodox Archpatriarch of the Latin Quarter of Jerusalem. It stands to reason that St John the Almoner was at least a patron saint of the hospital, even if it was just to please the powers that be. According to more traditional sources, during the time of Abbot Modestus, St John the Almoner, in his function as Patriarch of Alexandria, had sent money and workers to restore the churches of Jerusalem after the Persians sacked the city in 614.<sup>360</sup> Such a deed of charity also warrants patronage and fits in very well with the scope of identity building of a charitable institution. Giving alms and showing compassion are of course basic principles in pilgrimage and Christian care. St John the Almoner embodied a spirit towards the poor and needy, the *humiliores*, whom he referred to as his Lords and Masters. This approach of St John the Almoner agreed with the aims of the pilgrim hospice

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<sup>355</sup> *Idem*, 31-80.

<sup>356</sup> Wolfensberger, 1998. Beltjens, 1995, 202. This construction is also noticeable in the *Sacra Infermeria*, built in 1574 by the Hospitaller Order in Valletta. Since this main hall is 150 m long, the altar, and later a whole chapel, is placed in the middle. A similar set-up is also shown in an engraving from the *Statua Hospitalis Hierusalem*.

<sup>357</sup> Wolfensberger, 1998. This was an important feature, as in the Catholic religion it is believed that Christ is physically present during the consecration of the offerings of bread and wine. Because of His perceived presence, He could care for the paupers and the sick and support those who worked in the hospital.

<sup>358</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 3.

<sup>359</sup> Norwich, 1990, 68.

<sup>360</sup> Pringle, 2007, 192.

in Jerusalem. Even later, the Order referred to the sick as the '*Signori malati*' and at present as 'Our Lords the Sick'.

Gerard must have been painfully aware that the origin of the hospital was slightly mundane in comparison with the Benedictines or the Augustinians, or any other religious order for that matter whose founder was identifiable and renowned. A vague lineage in a Crusader world, where it was all about noble lineage and ancient sanguinity, would not be very advantageous in attracting finance and landed property, given the competition. Lineage went a long way and, in the corpus, samples of this desire to belong to the highest ranks possible can be found. In the eulogy of Grand Master Adrien de Wignacourt (r. 1690-1697) it has been written that 'The mortal remains of His Eminence, the Prince Frà Adrien de Wignacourt are resting within this marble monument. If you are questioning the splendour of his birth, you hold it in his name alone, you hold it in his almost royal kindred.'<sup>361</sup>

It may be going too far to say that there was a trend, but even the Cistercians, when they were seeking new ways to operate internationally, going beyond their long-standing Benedictine monastic model, preferred universal patron saints over local ones.<sup>362</sup> St John the Baptist is a universal patron saint compared to the localised importance of St John the Almoner. Having St John the Baptist, an apostolic saint and cousin of Christ as patron saint, together with papal recognition, would certainly help the cause of the Hospital.<sup>363</sup> There would have been no issue of two St Johns in the hospital were it not for the religious and political changes which came in the wake of the First Crusade.

#### *Effect of the First Crusade on the choice of patron saint*

After the First Crusade conquered Jerusalem in 1099, the city would remain Christian for 88 years. Political power was now in the hands of the Provençal-French and Norman-French, and as a consequence, Jerusalem had become more accessible to pilgrims, while the hospital itself went through rapid growth. Profound changes took place whereby no other religions were tolerated. Nicole Chareryon raises the question if the followers of the Greek, Byzantine and Eastern Orthodox rites were even still considered Christians.<sup>364</sup> When the Crusaders turned the Holy City into a purely Latin Christian city of their medieval European taste, they subsequently expelled all other forms of Christianity.<sup>365</sup> On entering the city, the Crusaders had caused a deliberate bloodbath among the original inhabitants, slaughtering about 10,000 people, including the Jewish population (men,

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<sup>361</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 335.

<sup>362</sup> Bartlett, 2013, 16.

<sup>363</sup> St John the Baptist appears also in the Qur'an as Yahya, a Classical prophet. Since the hospital had treated many locals, *i.e.* Jewish and Muslim patients, St John the Baptist was possibly very acceptable for the latter group. See: Qur'an, Sura 19 (Maryam, verse 7, 19: 7-10).

<sup>364</sup> Chareryon, 2005, 182.

<sup>365</sup> Daffner, 2007, 48-9. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre has a shared jurisdiction: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Armenian Apostolic, Syrian Orthodox, (Egyptian) Coptic Orthodox, and Ethiopian Orthodox, due to a verdict by Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Majid of 1852, called the *Status Quo*, to stop bickering over jurisdiction and preference.

women and children), local native Christians, Muslim clergy and Sufi ascetics.<sup>366</sup> Also, the Shi'ite population suffered significantly, and for them help was also not forthcoming.<sup>367</sup>

All this transformed the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Jerusalem into an exclusively Latin domain where even the Benedictines at *Sancta Maria ad Latinos* lost much of their influence. Moreover, all sympathy for Byzantine Eastern Christians and their norms and values had quickly disappeared.<sup>368</sup> Gerard and his successors followed the Western opinion and had taken distance from Byzantium. The latter had fallen short of Western Christian expectation since the Byzantines did not actively partake in the Crusades and their sense of honour was incompatible with those of the Crusaders.<sup>369</sup> William of Tyre, 900 years or so earlier than Carrier, disliked the Greeks too. William was thus bound to experience at first hand the resentment that those returning later Crusades felt towards the Byzantines, whose alleged treachery was seen as the reason for the failure.<sup>370</sup>

### *Motivations for changing patron saint*

It seems that Gerard judged this new situation timely and pressed for full independence, moreover as the mission statement was much more advanced than that of the original motherhouse, the Benedictine monastery of St Mary of the Latins, a competitor for funds all the same. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, especially to those places where Christ and his Precursor had been, was deemed an act of devotion. Therefore, claiming the patronage of such an important and indisputable saint as St John the Baptist is certainly an intelligent move, as the Byzantine St John the Almsgiver might not be so

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<sup>366</sup> Montefiore, 2011, chapter 21.

<sup>367</sup> Madden, 2006, 32. As has been discussed, when the First Crusade was marching through Syria, in the winter of 1098-99, smaller emirates were gladly paying the Crusaders to leave them in peace and continue to their course to Jerusalem, in the hands of the Shi'ite Fatimids of Egypt. The Turkish Seljuks, Sunni Muslims, had no interest to help either the small emirs, regarded as traitors, or the Shi'ites in Jerusalem, who, after all, had once again taken the city out of Turkish hands not a year before.

<sup>368</sup> Cuzzo, 2009, 83-114. Probably in Gerard's mind, it would not be advantageous in the present political arena of the Crusaders, a powerhouse with many Normans around, to have them reminded of the Amalfitan connection of Pantaleone, son of Mauro, who had come to Jerusalem to try to forge an alliance with Constantinople against the Normans. A loss of that particular memory would be helpful for Gerard's cause.

<sup>369</sup> Carrier, 2002, 47ff. The affair with the Trojan Horse went a long way. The Westerners found it also dishonourable that the Byzantines employed so many mercenaries, for them a sign that the Byzantines were short of courage. This shortage of courage was then linked to the perceived Byzantine lack of masculinity, which reflected the Latin disgust of the large number of eunuchs at the Byzantine Imperial Court, at times estimated as more than twenty thousand. Also, the historical opinion of the Crusaders about the Byzantines was that they were perfidious and effeminate, just like the Greeks of Antiquity, and could therefore not be trusted. Western Christian chivalry was incompatible with the Eastern and Byzantine concept of allowed deceit in battle, and this difference in opinion, or naivety for that matter, would lead to many military disasters during the Crusades and the Western presence in the Holy Land. Deceit in battle was an honoured concept of Oriental origin, practiced by the Arabs and Byzantines alike. Western chivalry was measured by knightly values such as martial honour, courage, loyalty and manliness. Arabs and Byzantines did not necessarily share these ideals. Their sense of honour was not based on Germanic tradition but was based on an Oriental design. The Orientals considered that it was just as honourable to defeat an enemy through wisdom and deceit as it was through force of arms. For the Crusader knights, battle and man-to-man fights were the benchmark of measuring one's honour. The Greeks normally avoided man-to-man fights and used arrows to maintain a distance.

<sup>370</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 336. For William's awareness of the failure of the Second Crusade as the reason for the indifference of the West, see Babcock and Krey, 1943, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 17 chapter 6.



indisputable in the pure Latin circumstances of post-First Crusade Jerusalem. There was much to be gained by choosing St John the Baptist as the sole male patron saint and it is very understandable that he had become the more sensible choice.<sup>371</sup> St John stands for a vocation of selfless giving and courage, a severe and ascetic way of life in the desert, wearing basic clothing, eating simple food, practising prayer and meditation, in short, a made-to-measure self-image for Hospitallers. Furthermore, St John the Baptist is referred to as somebody with one profound task in life, to take people out of the dark of ignorance and bring them into the light of awareness, *i.e.* of the religious truth.<sup>372</sup> He was not only the precursor and baptiser of Christ, but he was also the first martyr of Christianity, an exemplar of sacrifice. St John the Baptist was very critical and believed in what he thought was right and just. More importantly, he was willing to sacrifice his life for it.<sup>373</sup>

Besides, in accordance with the culture of chivalry, the most effective way to start a dynasty on a sound foundation was to find a claim to an indisputable Lordship. In the past, people claimed kinship from Arthur to Charlemagne, and even before that, Virgil had claimed ancestry of Aeneas for Emperor Augustus. St Augustine had claimed that 'Christ our Lord, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh.'<sup>374</sup> The choice of St John the Baptist as patron saint could, as this work hypothesises, support all claims to an indisputable Lordship, as the Hospitallers only served one lord, The Lord, by caring for the sick and poor. Saint John the Baptist as patron saint could only be beneficial to its standing and reputation and was a safe choice in terms of contemporary political correctness.

If there was a change-over of patron saint, it must have taken place shortly after the arrival of the First Crusade. A deed of Godfrey of Bouillon to the House of the Hospital of 1099 (or the summer of the year 1100, just prior to his death) does mention the following:

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<sup>371</sup> Demurger, 2013, 52. St John the Baptist is mentioned several times in the New Testament. Deuteronomy 18:15, Isaiah 40:3, Luke 1:13-17, Luke 1:57-66, Mark 1:1-45, Matthew 11:11, Matthew 17:11-13, Matthew 3:1-17, Matthew 3:13-17, Matthew 3:15, John 1:19-25, John 1:21, John 1:25, John 3:22-36, John 10:41. Luke 3: 14 states that St John was not against soldiers as such, since they were there to keep the peace and to prevent violence from happening, but St John the Baptist was in favour of the legitimacy of military life, *i.e.* he answered to some soldiers that they should not extort money and not falsely accuse people. He also told them to be satisfied with their wages. This could be interpreted in the Crusader period as a justification for the militarisation of the Order of St John. In the eyes of St John, the Baptist, a soldier should be just and true. Furthermore, he was a cousin to Jesus Christ, while he is also interpreted, based on a reading in the New Testament, as the last of the Old Testament prophets and the Precursor of the Messiah in the New Testament. In the New Testament, St John is described as living an austere life and was Christ's baptist.

<sup>372</sup> Creighton-Jobe and Paul, 2011, 300-1. See also NT: Mt. 11:11 'Among them that are born of women there has not arisen one greater than John the Baptist.' John the Baptist thought it important to be critical when a situation was in his judgment not right. Referred to is the story of King Herod and Salomé, and John's criticism on Herod's choice of second wife, which cost him his head in the end.

<sup>373</sup> In view of the arguments of Carrier, 2002, St John the Baptist was killed on order of King Herod for voicing his opinion over a principle matter and earned the status of a martyr. St John the Baptist, his lifestyle and what he represented, may have inspired Gerard further in his choice of patron saints, exemplifying the independence of Gerard's hospital. In contrast, St John the Almoner, quite exceptionally for Western Christian and Crusader opinion, had become a saint without even being a martyr. Martyrdom had become one of the pillars on which the life and death of a Latin soldier of Christ, a *miles Christi*, was based and it can be argued that his Byzantine identity and lack of martyrdom made him unsuitable for the fraternity of Gerard and the later Order.

<sup>139</sup> St Augustine, City of God, book 17, chapter 8.

Godfrey went to the Church of the Blessed Hospital, founded in honour of God, His Blessed Mother and St John the Precursor of the Lord.<sup>375</sup> In this case, it seems that the endowment went to Gerard, as apparently within one year after the First Crusade arrived, Gerard's hospital was seen as independent of St Mary's, associated with St John the Baptist and disassociated from the Amalfitans.<sup>376</sup> In 1102 an English pilgrim, Saewulf, arrived in Jerusalem and exclusively reports about the Hospital of St John the Baptist. Saewulf writes: *Iuxta quam [aecclesia Sanctae Mariae, quae vocatur 'Parva'] est hospitale, ubi monasterium habetur preclarum in honore sancti Iohannis Baptistae dedicatum.*' (next to which [the Church of Santa Maria which is called 'the small one'], is a hospital, where there is a famous monastery dedicated to saint John the Baptist).<sup>377</sup> This alone does not make St John the Baptist *the* patron saint but *a* patron saint.<sup>378</sup>

### 3.4 Further modifying the Rules

After the city was in the hands of the Crusaders, it was important to distinguish one's self now openly as a Christian, while before the public appearance of Christians was subject to the rules upheld by the Muslim rulers of Jerusalem. It probably also meant that Gerard and his hospital were absorbed into the fabric of the Crusaders, which was of an imported feudal nature and Luttrell argues that the Hospitallers belonged to the wider Holy Sepulchre movement, their neighbours from across the street,<sup>379</sup> and associated themselves with the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre and may have incorporated part of their rules into the Hospital. To confirm to the new situation, Gerard, who was still a secular administrator, together with the brothers and sisters of his institution, took religious vows to the service of the poor, the sick and the pilgrims at the hospital. They performed this ritual of solemn vows in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, while kneeling in front of the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>380</sup> They dressed thence in a plain black robe with a white eight-pointed cross on the heart.<sup>381</sup> For the Hospitaller dress code, see also chapter 3.11 *The black mantle of the noble knights of the Order*.

Pringle suggests in this matter that when the First Crusade reached Jerusalem in 1099, the hospital was run by Gerard, but with the installation of French Augustine canons in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, 'the hospital came to be institutionally detached from the adjoining Amalfitan Benedictine hospice.' According to these ideas of Pringle, the

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<sup>375</sup> Woodhouse, 1879, 3.

<sup>376</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 36.

<sup>377</sup> Huygens, 1994, Saewulf, lines 266-70: '*Incipit certa relation de situ Ierusalem.*'

<sup>378</sup> Humbert, 2011, 24-47.

<sup>379</sup> Luttrell, 2000, 13-22.

<sup>380</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. I, book I, 20. De Vertot does not say of which order, either Benedictine or Augustinian, but presumably Augustinian.

<sup>381</sup> A few remarks may be made here. Woodcock and Robinson, 2001, 1-4: Heraldry comes *en vogue* in the mid-twelfth century, as between 1135 and 1155, born out of feudal tenure, individual vanity and a need for recognition on the battlefield within bigger armies. This would mean that the eight-pointed cross, as a self-assumed design not associated with knighthood or nobility, was already worn by Gerard and his hospitallers on their black robes, from just after the arrival of the First Crusade, within Christian Jerusalem. Gerard's eight-pointed cross was not yet related to an imported European feudal system and / or battlefield needs, but most likely to the Crusader's cross, but also possibly inspired by the eight-pointed Amalfitan cross.

hospital became associated instead with the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre and may have incorporated part of their rules into the hospital.<sup>382</sup> Then, covered by the French and the Augustinians, Gerard forced his hand into a total independence from the Benedictines. Although Gerard and the hospital were then for a while associated with the Holy Sepulchre, Gerard pushed for a gradual transition towards his own institution.

### 3.5 Funding and identity

The Hospital of St John in Jerusalem rose to fame, its works of charity were deemed to be unsurpassed, at least, when one judges the many donations given to the Hospital. Gerard, from the earliest beginnings, tried to acquire landed property, a common practice shared with all religious houses and monasteries. Nonetheless, Gerard had to make clear that the hospital was a separate entity from the Benedictine monks and to make sure the money came directly to him. In the past, when the identity and the name were not so clear and separate, there were instances of donations made to St Mary of the Latins instead of to the hospital.<sup>383</sup>

After the capture of Jerusalem, the hospital was inundated with gifts, lands and new applicants. Gifts consisted not only of money and valuables, but even entire convents and monasteries with their total content, and landed gifts, such as farms, including livestock and wooded areas (trees being a strategical crop for shipbuilding). Lands including their mills were donated and some even gave ovens so that the hospital could bake its own bread. These generous people hoped for spiritual rewards in return because their donations facilitated the good work for the sick and the poor.<sup>384</sup> Blessed Gerard would target audiences in quite a direct manner, appealing to their sentiments. In a donation deed to the Hospital of the territory of Puissubran by the lords of Lauraguais (c. 1101-05), there is a document attached in which Pope Paschal II, the patriarch Dagobert of Jerusalem and Gerald, *servus hospitalis sancti Hierusalem*, will grant the remission of sins to those who which will help a certain Pietro di Raimondo in his charitable work.<sup>385</sup>

The hospital was well known for its charity, dispensing alms to the poor, either coming to the hospital or staying outside. Testimonies of visitors are plentiful, commenting on the enormous expense of the alms given, to the care, the food (fresh meat thrice a week) and on the management of the complex.<sup>386</sup> Jacques de Vitry admired the humility of the Hospitallers themselves, eating coarse-grained bread, while the patients were giving the finest bread.<sup>387</sup>

Under Gerard's command, the material and financial base had grown gradually, as well as the legal status of his hospital.<sup>388</sup> Sire adds that since the hospital had become, besides

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<sup>382</sup> Pringle, 2007, 193.

<sup>383</sup> For a detailed account, see Sire, 1996; Riley-Smith, 2012a.

<sup>384</sup> For a detailed account, see Nicholson 2007.

<sup>385</sup> Perta, 2016b, 892; Note: ed. GPT, n. XXXVIII; CGOH, n. 6; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhrich, Innsbruck 1904 (d'ora in poi RRH), 36a [orig].

<sup>386</sup> Bom, 2008, 85.

<sup>387</sup> Stewart, 1896, Jacques de Vitry *ex Historia*, chapter LXIV.

<sup>388</sup> Hiestand, 1980, 49.

the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most important Christian institution of Jerusalem, it started receiving many gifts. Within a couple of years, it owned many rich properties. One of the first Crusaders to give monetary support to the hospital is the already mentioned Godfrey of Bouillon, who endowed it with gifts as if an independent institution.<sup>389</sup> De Vertot mentions that when Godfrey visited the hospital, he witnessed how many Crusader soldiers were being treated in the hospital. Godfrey expressed his admiration of Gerard's vocation to provide this humble service to pilgrims and travellers and this encouraged most of the princes and Crusader lords present to follow suit, enriching the hospital with properties in Europe and Palestine. Groups of young Crusaders, who had just experienced Gerard's charity, were inspired to remain and devote their life to the hospital.<sup>390</sup>

### **3.6 Extending the services to pilgrims**

As has been established previously, pilgrimage was in many aspects a dangerous business. Besides the natural hostility which may have befallen travellers abroad, there was, for instance, no single currency. Pilgrims always carried some form of currency or valuable objects, such as silver coins and from c. 1230 onwards also golden coins, making every pilgrim a target. For this reason, the wealthier pilgrims travelled with an armed escort, while the poor pilgrims usually went unarmed. Over time, it had become routine for pilgrims to defend themselves on strange soil.<sup>391</sup> Death was never far from pilgrimage,<sup>392</sup> although dying in Jerusalem after visiting the sites of the suffering of the Lord was not an unattractive perspective.<sup>393</sup>

One of the principle ideas behind the Crusades had been, after all, to serve the demand of making the Holy Land safe for pilgrims,<sup>394</sup> and the hospital took the initiative to make a significant contribution to the creation of a 'pilgrim-friendly' Jerusalem and Holy Land. Parallel developments between the hospitals along the way to Compostela and to Jerusalem occurred. During the late eleventh and early twelfth century, several hospitals became small hospitaller orders, such as the hospice at Aubrac, but also those of Roncesvalles and Somport.<sup>395</sup> Reaching out to the pilgrims' world took shape by means armed escorts riding out in order to accompany the pilgrims to safety. A contemporary

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<sup>389</sup> Sire, 1996, 4.

<sup>390</sup> Riley Smith, 1999, 87.

<sup>391</sup> Armed escorts were not a violation of the pacific notion in Christendom. Gryson (ed.) 1994, *Biblia Sacra; iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Sire, 1996, 6: Psalm 68:1-3 may be interpreted as providing a similar argument in giving an impetus to actively scatter the enemies of God, to drive them away like smoke vanishing *sicut deficit fumus deficiant and fire melts the candle sicut tabescit cera a facie ignis*. Sarnowsky, 2007, 7: Probably, the overall justification of not to shun violence in this undertaking, was the same as what underlined the Crusading stimulus: the concept of justified war, explicitly allowed by St Augustine in the defence of Christians, or reclaiming of goods and territories or the protection of subjects. Madden, 2006, 9. It seems that charity and armed protection went hand in hand, an important factor for developments both in armed pilgrimage and protecting pilgrims by armed escorts.

<sup>392</sup> Montefior, *Jerusalem, the Biography* (London: Phoenix, 2012).

<sup>393</sup> Sumption, 2008.

<sup>394</sup> Demurger, 2013, 131.

<sup>395</sup> Seward, 1995, 29-30.

of Gerard was a certain Allard, Viscount of Flanders, who had built a hospice, the Dômerie, at Aubrac in France. At this hospice, a small community of priests, under the Augustinian Rule, took care of the spiritual needs of the guests. A few monk-knights were employed to police the pilgrim roads to Santiago in the area called Rouergue, in order to keep highwaymen and robbers at bay.<sup>396</sup> Charity now became a mobile concept, being better suited for the dynamic environment of Jerusalem and pilgrimages. Caoursin credits Gerard as the autonomously acting founder of the Hospital who extended its services with a group of armed escorts for the protection of pilgrims,<sup>397</sup> and linked this development also to the inspiration provided by Judas Maccabeus.<sup>398</sup>

### 3.7 Alternative entry into the religious life and martyrdom

Many reasons made membership of the early fraternity of St John's hospital very attractive. The fraternity offered the prospective members, in order to fulfil their vows made on departure from Europe, a monk's devotional life outside a convent, where they could follow both a religious vocation and take up an active role within society as monk-soldiers or monk-nurses as it was understood in that period. Penance was an aspect that pertained both to Christian care and warfare in the Holy Land, due to their permanence.<sup>399</sup> For similar reasons, participation in the First Crusade had been considered to be in some sense an alternative entry into religious life. An image appears of nomadic austerity, frugality and praying, like an abbey on the march, where everything was shared, as monks and soldiers are wont to.<sup>400</sup> Likewise, serving in the hospital in Jerusalem would indeed have been an attractive perspective for former Crusaders, providing them with a vocation and at the same time an active life in the outside world. As Crusaders, they had been pilgrims themselves, some may have even been wounded and treated in the hospital themselves. It was the right thing to give something back,<sup>401</sup> and this reciprocity created a strong image of people connected to a hospital who could be depended on for safe conduct.

Sire suggests that the abovementioned armed escorts could have been an initial form of a *caravan*, the probation period of young knights,<sup>402</sup> and that later these armed escorts gradually evolved into a larger military operation.

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<sup>396</sup> Brodman, 2009, 115-6. The general trend was set for non-military organisations, to, besides feed and shelter pilgrims, to provide armed escorts. Sumption, 2003, 284, regarding Allard, Viscount of Flanders. Anderson and Hull, 2017, 1-20, here 9: The Order of Saint James of Altopascio also protected pilgrims. It is hard to tell whether Gerard, Allard or the Order of Saint James of Altopascio were aware of each other.

<sup>397</sup> Hasecker and Sarnowsky, 2007, 50.

<sup>398</sup> Eisdem, 99. *De origine religionis: Quo fit, ut frequentia devotarum personarum peregrinorum sacra domus obsequiis sese dedicant ac pro catholice fidei defensione zelo dei inducti arma capessunt, peregrinos quoque et loca a barbarorum incursionibus tuantur. Veri igitur et clarissimi lude Machabei et devotissimi Ioannes imitatores hospitalitatem et pro cultu divino catholiceque fidei defensione arma omni studio exercent.*

<sup>399</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 33.

<sup>400</sup> *Idem*, 2012b, 6.

<sup>401</sup> Sire, 1996, 6.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.* In Malta, the probation period was measured in seasonal caravans on a galley of the Order, either three, in the sixteenth and eighteenth century, or four, in the seventeenth century.

It has been established that former Crusaders, knights and mercenaries were attached to the Hospital from 1108-10 onwards,<sup>403</sup> or possibly already in 1099, becoming over time the so-called brothers-at-arms of the Hospital.<sup>404</sup> Brundage reports that, in a much later stage, these brothers-at-arms took Hospitaller vows, which were confirmed through an investiture ceremony with witnesses.<sup>405</sup> According to Forey, all later military orders attracted outsiders to their service, either for pay or as a volunteer. Certainly, those accepted as *milites ad terminum* engaged in military undertakings for a definite or indefinite period.<sup>406</sup>

In general, one may say the Hospitallers were armed and ready to serve, years before the Knights Templar, whose starting date is established as 1120 (the year of Blessed Gerard's demise), and the formation of their military order in 1129.<sup>407</sup> Nicholson places the Hospitaller militarisation much later, between 1139 and 1143, interpreting some observations of Pope Innocent II in his bull *Quam amabilis Deo*, as that the Hospitallers hired fighting men for the purpose of escorting pilgrims.<sup>408</sup>

For many ex-Crusader knights, it would have been a great chance for practising knighthood. Often, soldiers, pilgrims and priests would serve at the hospital as a guest for a certain period, in a military or clerical function or in any other service deemed necessary. Contemporary sources inform us that before 1130 there is no documentary evidence of people serving at the Hospital for devotional reasons.<sup>409</sup> Some of those devotional visitors later on reached sainthood, such as the Dutchman Gerlach van Houthem.<sup>410</sup> Sainthood was also a formidable ingredient to shape the collective identity and corporate image of the fraternity and the later Order

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<sup>403</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 364-6.

<sup>404</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 34.

<sup>405</sup> Brundage, 1966, 234-239. These vows were taken in public or in private, but rarely in writing or by means of a notarial instrument.

<sup>406</sup> Forey, 2008, 5-12.

<sup>407</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 364-6.

<sup>408</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 10.

<sup>409</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 34-5.

<sup>410</sup> Mulder-Bakker, 1995, 13-14, 59, 151-155. Notten, 1988, 27-37. One of such guests became a saint back in his own country. Dutchman Gerlach van Houthem (c. 1100-1165) earned his sainthood by being the total anti-body of a fighting knight. Gerlach was according to the hagiographer Erasmus Ghoye a knight and highwayman. On the death of his wife, he atoned for his sins. He converted and made a pilgrimage of penitence, barefooted and dressed in rags, ending in Jerusalem. He served at the Hospital of St John for seven years, during the time of Raymond du Puy. On his return to the Netherlands he sold all his properties and gave the money to the poor. He himself lived a hermit's life in a hollow oak for fourteen years until his death. He became a saint, but not of the Hospitallers



ard.<sup>411</sup> Needless to say that all sanctified and beatified members of the Order were attributed with exemplary lives.<sup>412</sup>

Martyrdom seems to have been a normative demand, or at least a serious consideration, within the Hospitaller community. Caring for the sick includes the risks of fatal occupational hazards. This new idea of personal and practical care and devotion for the sick and the poor pilgrims for their Salvation instead of one's own, was especially appealing. This point of view never left the Order. A typical text on a slab of a professed member of the Hospitaller Order would be that of Eustacio Mederico Audoard, a Maltese of the *tongue* of Provence.<sup>413</sup> He died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1766 at the young age of 39. As a Conventual Chaplain, he cared for the sick in the Order's *Sacra Infirmeria* in Valletta. 'Absolutely not discouraged by infections he had contracted regularly in the course of his duties of Christian charity, he was killed by an attack of fever. To everyone's grief, the text continues, 'he gave up his life sooner than his work and he became a victim of his own charity.' The final lines of this slab state that his meritorious parents placed this slab for their dear son, 'overwhelmed by tears.'

It is quite possible that the practice of escorting pilgrims, the other side of charity, gave knights the freedom to fight within a Christian framework on foreign soil. It seems to be a question of moral compassing, making choices. Those who adhered to the idea of 'true knighthood' had a dislike of wealth, were sober, moderate, pious and at the same time courteous and educated. This ascetic aspect is powerful and equals the most severe monastic ideals and rules,<sup>414</sup> and it is frequently encountered in the *corpus*. Frà Carlo Francesco Doria is a despiser of vainglory, *VANAE GLORIAE CONTEMPTOR*,<sup>415</sup> while others are described, or described themselves, as moderate, frugal, prudent, charitable, generous and devoting themselves to Christ and their Order.

Anderson and Hull alternatively propose three key reasons why people would join an order with stringent rules and commit themselves to the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. First of all, strictness increases cohesion and discipline, and a unified order provides security to its members, including a financial one. Individual poverty is not an issue when one can share in the collective wealth. It also created a distance

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<sup>411</sup> The list of saints and beatified members of the Order has seventeen entries (feast day in brackets): Blessed Garcia Martinez (January 3); Blessed Clemens August von Galen (March 22); Blessed Gerard Mecatti (May 18); Blessed (Vilmos) Apor (May 23); Saint Ubaldesca (May 28); Saint Flora of Beaulieu (June 12); Blessed Gerland (June 19); Saint Nicasius (July 1); Blessed Adrian Fortescue (July 8); Blessed David Gonson (July 12); Saint Toscana (July 14); Blessed Alfredo Ildefonso Schuster (August 30); Blessed Peter Pattarini of Imola (October 5); Saint Hugh (October 8); Saint John XXIII (October 11); Blessed Gerard (October 13); Blessed Charles of Austria (October 21). Source: <https://www.orderofmalta.int/sovereign-order-of-malta/saints-blessed/> > Accessed on 17 December -12-2017.

<sup>412</sup> In this context, it is probably suitable to remark that the process for the beatification of the late Grand Master and Prince Fra' Andrew Willoughby Ninian Bertie (d. 2008) has started in 2012. <https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20120814/local/process-for-beatification-of-grand-master-andrew-bertie-initiated.432885> > Accessed on 14-08-2012

<sup>413</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 148 and no.252. In concerns inscribed Latin texts on sepulchral slabs and monuments at St John's Co-Cathedral in Valletta, Malta. The sample text provided here is a translation from its Latin original.

<sup>414</sup> Huizinga, 1985 [1919], 60-8.

<sup>415</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 34.

between the knights of the Order and the wealth of their Order.<sup>416</sup> This idea that knights were to maintain the properties and wealth of the Order without ever becoming its owner, comes about regularly in the *corpus*. Frà Mario Bichi was 'truly dedicated to his Order to which he, while living, gave his service, to which he, on his deathbed, returned all his gains.'<sup>417</sup>

As a second proposal, Anderson and Hull state that safety during battles and military engagements relies heavily on the commitments of all soldiers concerned. Unity is everything, and that also applies to their non-combatant tasks. Gabriel de Freslon of Rennes was then praised for 'inspiring military discipline.'<sup>418</sup> As a third point, they raise the importance of religion itself, in this context, strengthening group cohesion and self-image.<sup>419</sup> A shared religion is a strong religion and goes back to one of the oldest functions of religion, that of survival of the group.<sup>420</sup>

But not everyone was a Hospitaller at heart and might not have shared the ideas and ideals of the Hospital. It became quite evident that there was big money to be made in saving and escorting pilgrims through Palestine, especially the richer ones. Grateful pilgrims donated large sums of money and land to the hospital and that presumably created envy among people who thought that they could do the same and earn that money and land themselves. Riley-Smith implies that the early military arm of the Hospital transformed its relevance within the Crusader Kingdoms, from static care to active use of arms.<sup>421</sup> This further suggests that it opened up a whole set of new possibilities within the world of religious chivalry. It may also be suggested that the militarisation of the Hospitallers would not have taken place without the drive to protect pilgrims and the economy which pilgrimage represented.

Also, there is the economy of space and scale. Demurger suggests that in the post-First Crusade period in Jerusalem and the establishment of the Latin Kingdoms in the Holy Land, there was a surge in pilgrimages towards this destination.<sup>422</sup> Although the Hospital had a great capacity, it would be wiser to ensure that many more pilgrims arrived in reasonable health and safety, so that some pressure could be taken off the resources and staff.

### ***3.8 Protecting pilgrims: The sinister side***

There is also a more sinister side which presents itself here. In this particular case, of a supply and demand nature. The dependents of armed escorts and charity in the Hospital were Christian pilgrims, who, when saved from the hands of the 'barbarians' or from the exhaustion of pilgrimage itself, might donate money and/or landed properties to the Hospital. All wealthy persons were expected to donate something of value to them to the

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<sup>416</sup> Anderson and Hull, 2017, 4.

<sup>417</sup> *Idem*, no. 205.

<sup>418</sup> *Idem*, no. 243.

<sup>419</sup> Anderson and Hull, 2017, 4.

<sup>420</sup> Sherrat 2001: 200-1.

<sup>421</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 36-7.

<sup>422</sup> Demurger, 2013, 27.

hospital in Jerusalem as thanksgiving for being cared, healed and saved. The hospital's offer to accompany them, for instance, from Jaffa to Jerusalem or vice versa, increased the chance of keeping pilgrims alive and therefore the chance of reward for the hospital. This may sound vulgar but taking advantage of given opportunities has never been beyond humankind.

As hinted by Riley-Smith,<sup>423</sup> it is very well possible that a small band of knights, either engaged with the hospital as escorts or being aware of these chivalric escort expeditions, branched off on their own when the time was right. One of such groups, as suggested, would become both famous, or rather infamous, as the Order of Poor Knights of the Temple of Solomon, or later as the Knights Templar.<sup>424</sup> Although the Templar origins remain quite obscure, Barber and Bate assert that a group of nine men, under the leadership of Hugo of Payns from Champagne and Godfrey of Saint-Omer from Picardy, also acted as escorts for pilgrims disembarking at Jaffa.<sup>425</sup> Since they were former poor pilgrims, and now poor knights, it is not unthinkable, according to Sire, that they were accommodated within the Hospital of St John or formed part of the Hospitallers' set up.<sup>426</sup> Luttrell also supports this idea, and adds, as mentioned before, that both the Hospitallers and the later Templars had been part of a broader Holy Sepulchre movement, the very same force inspiring the phenomenon of the Crusade in the previous decades. In Luttrell's view, the Holy Sepulchre movement consisted of different branches: the ecclesiastics, *i.e.* the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospitallers as a charitable arm, and the *milites*, the military wing, made up of knights who, in the 1110s, were in obedience to the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>427</sup> Initially, these men performed a similar role as guardians of pilgrims as the hospital offered, but by 1120 they received permission to become independent,<sup>428</sup> and engaged in an association with the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre. In order to survive, the only way forward for both groups seemed to go their own way, although their activities ultimately overlapped substantially and led to intense competition for the same sources of income and service provision, including financial ones. They assumedly left their residence within the Hospitaller set up and obtained their own accommodation in the Holy Sepulchre and became the Order of the Knights Templar.<sup>429</sup> Riley-Smith suggests that the loss of hundreds of pilgrims on the road via Jordan to Jerusalem during Easter 1119 may have also inspired the Templars to become independent.<sup>430</sup> It is with the Templars that the Hospitallers first discover a shared common identity and self-image aspects, that of 'fighting the infidel.'<sup>431</sup> This situation also established that their

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<sup>423</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 36-7.

<sup>424</sup> Martin, 2004; Barber, 2004.

<sup>425</sup> Barber and Bate, 2002, 2-3. Many scholars have doubted the rather low number of nine men in the group. However, if they were for some time incorporated within the Hospitaller militia, their numbers would have been complementary to the larger amount of people available. In this view, there were just nine men splitting off from a larger contingency.

<sup>426</sup> Sire, 1996, 6.

<sup>427</sup> Luttrell, 2000, 13-22.

<sup>428</sup> Barber and Bate, 2002, 2-3.

<sup>429</sup> Luttrell, 2000, 13-22.

<sup>430</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 5-6.

<sup>431</sup> Sarnowsky, 2011, 1-32, here 2.

respective origins were different, the one from a hospitaller background and the other from a military background. Later on, both orders engaged in banking activities over the years.<sup>432</sup> In contrast to the Hospitallers, the Templars did not spend their money on offering hospital services to pilgrims, but concentrated only on financing crusades and providing loans to the Christian Kings of Outremer to keep their domains afloat. Later, after accumulating significant wealth, the Templars also provided loans to the Kings of France who then could finance their own needs, among others, warfare upon other Christian Europeans. Besides offering protection for high profile pilgrims and visitors, the Templars also provided financial services for those embarking on crusades with a tailor-made financial package to bridge over the time they would be absent from their homes.<sup>433</sup> The relationship between the Knights of the Hospital and Knights Templar always remained troublesome, competitive and at times hostile with a razor-sharp edge. Riley-Smith argues that, for the sake of the strength and continuity of the Holy Land, the two Orders were in agreement with each other, but at the same time mentions several occasions where they were at loggerheads.<sup>434</sup> In this respect, the narratives of Matthew Paris (d. 1259) are quite telling. He recounts one particular case when the Templars attacked the Hospitallers house in Acre, notwithstanding they had conducted a truce; several Hospitallers were killed during this action. Then, the Templars attacked the Teutonic knights and again killing some of those whom they said were friends. Paris also describes the unreliability of both the Templars and the Hospitallers in view of their Muslim counterparts and accused both Orders of betraying Christendom. Many other contemporary writers held a different, more positive view of the Orders. Nonetheless, inter-order cooperation occurred, but also the opposite.<sup>435</sup>

### 3.9 The first signs of Hospitaller memoria

Nicholson maintains that in the first two hundred years of existence, individual members of the hospital and the later Order did not have personal sepulchral slabs and monuments. On their graves, a simple cross was engraved, although some commendators had obtained a slab with an engraved image of a deceased brother.<sup>436</sup> A notable exception is the inscribed text from the tomb of the founder, Blessed Gerard, which has survived in literary sources and is probably the first prominent expression of Hospitaller *memoria*.<sup>437</sup> After a long service to the Hospital, Blessed Gerard passed away on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1120. The following inscribed text of the sepulchral slab of *Girardus Hospitalarius*,<sup>438</sup> found at the Hospital, is included in Hagemeyer:<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> Grech, 2016, 149, nt. 3.

<sup>433</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 5-6. *Idem*, 1999, 46-7. The Hospitallers had a similar role in England, but less profound.

<sup>434</sup> *Idem*, 2012b, 69-70.

<sup>435</sup> Nicholson, 1992, 68-85, provides opinions by others who question Matthew Paris's reliability as a historian.

<sup>436</sup> *Eadem*, 17-28, here 18.

<sup>437</sup> Sire, 2016, 1.

<sup>438</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 35.

<sup>439</sup> Hagemeyer, Heinrich (ed.), 1913, 642, Fulcher, *Historia*, book III, IX, 7.

*Girardus iacet hic, vir humillimus inter Eoos:  
 Pauperibus servus et pius hospitibus;  
 Vilis in aspectu, sed ei cor nobile fulsit.  
 Paret in his laribus quam probus exstiterit.  
 Providus in multis facienda decenter agebat.  
 Plurima pertractans multiplici specie.  
 Pluribus in terris sua sollers bracchia tendens,  
 Undique collegit pasceret unde suos.  
 Septies et decies orto sub Virgine Phoebo,  
 Ad superos vehitur, angelicis manibus.*

Here lies Gerard, a most humble man among those of the East,  
 a servant of the poor, devoted to pilgrims,  
 of simple appearance but shone forth with his noble heart.  
 Within these walls, it becomes clear what a virtuous person he was.  
 He was properly foresighted in his many undertakings.  
 He achieved numerous successes of various kinds.  
 He expanded diligently into many countries to supply his own [charges].  
 On the seventeenth day of the passage of the sun under the sign of Virgo<sup>440</sup>  
 the angels carried [his soul] into heaven.

In Palestine, in the time of Gerard's death in 1120, people were still living in the feudal period, and presumably there was yet a very sharp division between Heaven and Hell. Although in Late Antiquity the roots of Purgatory were slowly spreading, they had not reached the Holy Land yet in 1120. Gregory of Tours (c. 538-594) had already suggested a *purgatorium*, a cleaning phase between Death and the Final Judgment. His idea of a soul-cleaning intermediate stage before reaching Heaven reached Paris and was shaped and formed in Parisian intellectual circles between 1170 and 1180, resulting in a firm concept of Purgatory (see also chapter 6.6),<sup>441</sup> a place where the souls was cleaned with fire after the biological death of its former carrying body.<sup>442</sup> Nonetheless, there were early forms of remembering the souls of the deceased, based on a Christ-centred culture of *memoria*, rendering Christian *memoria* possible and necessary though the concept of penance.<sup>443</sup> Doing penance had become, since the eighth century, a widespread form of absolution for one's sins, often expressed by going on a pilgrimage.<sup>444</sup> In Carolingian times, *libri memoriales* or *libri vitae* were popular, in which the names of both the living and the dead were written, an idea transferred from Late Classical times. It was hoped that, when read during masses, that the names would be recorded in the heavenly Book of Life. In the scriptures, references are found regarding a Heavenly register, recording the names of

<sup>440</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1120.

<sup>441</sup> Le Goff, 1990, 41, 84. Purgatory was confirmed in the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, the Council of Florence of 1438 and the Council of Trent in 1563. <sup>441</sup>

<sup>442</sup> Illi, 1994, 59-68, here 59.

<sup>443</sup> Wehrli-Johns, 1994, 47-58.

<sup>444</sup> Risse, 1999.

people belonging to Lord God.<sup>445</sup> It remains unknown if Gerard was ever recorded in the local *libri memoriales*. In the contemporary understanding of the Gospels of Matthew and John, the good people went to Heaven, the bad to Hell.<sup>446</sup> What can be presumed is that Gerard was buried by means of a Christian ritual and commemorative masses were celebrated to remember him and his work. It is also presumed that his grave was regularly visited, and his inscription read and used as educational material, just as the *corpus* would function at St John's. Relevant in this context, is to mention that 'All-Souls-Day' had been introduced by the abt of Cluny, Odilo (994-1048),<sup>447</sup> at least 70 years before Gerard's death. It is maybe too much to suggest that his grave became a pilgrimage attraction on its own, as contemporary sources are silent about this. However, I do suggest that Hospitaller *memoria* started with Gerard.

In view of Purgatory, Gerard's personal eschatology is essentially different from those found in the *corpus*, where there is no suggestion that any Hospitaller went straight to Heaven, except those who died in battle as a Martyr of the Religion. From the above eulogy of Gerard, a few things may be deducted. It seems to confirm the opinion that Gerard was ahead of his time and he effected many changes, making his hospital a vibrant institution. The last line reads that his soul is carried straight into Heaven as if he was considered a saint. All people who qualify as the faithfully departed and who are in Heaven, are saints. Not all saints are equal, as canonised saints are selected to present the believers with an exemplary person who embodies best the ideals of the Church. In the case of Gerard, he embodied the ideals of the Hospital, so that it is assumed that the Hospitallers in the Latin Kingdom held him as a canonised saint.

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<sup>445</sup> Samples of the Book of Life in the Scriptures in Luke 10:20 and Psalms 69:28, 87:6, Hebrews 12:23, Revelation 13:8, 17:8, 21:27. Daniel 7:9-10 may be interpreted as that everyone who is found in the book [of life] will be rescued to enjoy eternal life.'

<sup>446</sup> Jezler, 1994. In the Gospel of John, there is an addition, that the half-good people were assessed by St Michael, their virtues and vices in the balance.

<sup>447</sup> Wehrli-Johns, 1994, 47-58, here 50.





Image 8: Relic of Blessed Gerard at St Ursula monastery, Valletta, Malta. Photograph: Author

Since when Gerard was called Blessed Gerard is not known. In this context, Perta shows a document written somewhere between 1100-1120, which reads '*il beato Gerardo...senadoxius e ospitalarius*,' Blessed Gerard... the xenodochian and hospitaller.<sup>448</sup> Other voices claim Blessed Gerard was sanctified in the past and should be called Saint Gerard. This position is not uncontested as the detailed research of Beltjens shows.<sup>449</sup> Notwithstanding, at one point in time, Gerard was generally considered a saint, rather than blessed. Since this tradition was never contradicted, Gerard may be regarded sanctified by tradition,<sup>450</sup> and Gerard therefore found his way into the liturgy of the

<sup>448</sup> Perta, 2016b, 891-2,

<sup>449</sup> Beltjens, 2007, 10-13. There are opinions based mainly on the lacuna of documents which would confirm Gerard's status of Blessed or Saint, and a presence of documents which deny this status. According to Alain Beltjens, the relics of a Gerard were brought over to Manosque by the commandator of Manosque in 1283, Béranger Monge, possibly to emphasise the Provencal superior ranking within the Order. However, Beltjens claims that, contrary to tradition, the body in question was not of Gerard the Hospitaller at all. Beltjens doubts that the Hospitallers believed Gerard to be a saint before 1283. Because there is no convincing documentation to prove otherwise, Beltjens claims that there was not one pope in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century who had attributed the title *beatus*, blessed or *sanctus*, saint to Gerard, the founder of the Hospital. It would, says Beltjens, take until 1613 before he was called a saint by the Order.

<sup>450</sup> The difference between a 'Saint' and a 'Blessed person' lies in the scope of the matter: devotion of a 'Blessed person', is normally localised, such a specific group or region, while a saint's devotion is worldwide. Related to this is that the Order regards itself as widespread as the Christian religion itself and not a localised cult.

Order, however, as the Blessed Gerard, not as Saint Gerard. After every official religious function of the modern Order of St John, the prayer of the Order is recited:

Lord Jesus, thou hast seen fit to enlist me for thy service among the Knights and Dames of Saint John of Jerusalem. I humbly entreat thee through the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin of Philermo, of Saint John the Baptist, Blessed Gerard and all the Saints and Blessed of our Order, to keep me faithful to the traditions of our Order. Be it mine to practice and defend the Catholic, the Apostolic, the Roman faith against the enemies of religion; be it mine to practice charity towards my neighbours, especially the poor and sick. Give me the strength I need to carry out this my resolve, forgetful of myself, learning ever from the Holy Gospel, a spirit of deep and generous Christian devotion, striving ever to promote God's glory, the world's peace, and all that may benefit the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem. Amen.

This Prayer of the Order is part of the modern Hospitaller self-image and sums up what a modern Knight or Dame stands for or should be standing for. In this manner, Gerard's memory is incorporated with the Hospital and its continuation, and the Hospitaller self-image is based on his selfless deeds, indefatigable determination, foresight and his resilience in face of adversity, not unlike the characteristics attributed to his patron saint, John the Baptist. In the *corpus*, this emulation of Gerard's character appears frequently, but without reference to Gerard himself. It had become a common good and understood where it came from.

### **3.10 Miracula and legends enforce early memory and self-image creation**

After Gerard's death, winning narratives were written and published about him in the form of miracle stories, while the foundation story of the Hospital became also wrapped in a miraculous genesis.<sup>451</sup> The resulting Hospitaller *miracula* were divided in two branches, one related to Blessed Gerard and another related to the foundation of the Hospital itself.<sup>452</sup> Those related to Gerard describe events taking place in the time just after the Seljuks had re-conquered Jerusalem from the Turks in 1098 and during the Crusader siege of Jerusalem in 1099. The other *miracula*, three in total, are related to the founding of the Hospital, and are based on *personae* appearing in the Scriptures. Gerard's *miracula* appeared 20 to 40 years after his death in 1120,<sup>453</sup> while the Hospital foundation *miracula* were probably composed between 1160 and 1170.<sup>454</sup> Riley-Smith maintains that these Hospital foundation *miracula* were around from the early thirteenth century onwards.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>451</sup> Demurger, 2013, 41.

<sup>452</sup> For a detailed account for the *miracula*, see Calvet, 2000, Beltjens 1995, Demurger 2013.

<sup>453</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 41.

<sup>454</sup> *Idem*, 34.

<sup>455</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 18-20.

Alain Beltjens uses a quotation of Voltaire to position these *miracula*, '*L'histoire est le récit des faits donnés pour vrais, au contraire de la fable.*'<sup>456</sup> Beltjens believes that the *miracula* form an integral part of the Hospitaller history, especially since these miraculous foundation stories were acknowledged in the papal bull *Quot et Quantum* of 1191, issued by Pope Celestine III, the content of which was reconfirmed by Pope Innocent IV in 1254.<sup>457</sup> With acknowledgements of the highest religious authorities, it is no small wonder that these *miracula* had a serious impact on the medieval mindset. According to Nicholson, quoting her twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources, an image held by contemporaries of the Hospitaller Order was that it used these legends and miracles to encourage almsgiving and donations. Further on the topic of the self-image, Nicholson continues to say that these legends were also used to instruct the members of the Order about its history and spiritual history, representing spiritual truths rather than historical ones, forming part of their curated self-image.<sup>458</sup> There were numerous people involved in collecting and recording documents and events of the Hospitallers. One of them, William of Santo Stefano, knew about the foundation myths and the *miracula*, but initially, he chose not to include them, presumably because of the historical improbabilities. He was of the opinion that these winning narratives were indeed fictional and only employed to obtain alms of the believers.<sup>459</sup> Riley-Smith quotes Santo Stefano (in translation): 'Our Order began in the manner I have found in histories which are received and believed as authoritative by all men. It is said that there was a more ancient beginning...but that is not to be found in any authoritative source.... Now let us leave vanity and hold to the truth, for glorifying in lies is displeasing to God.'<sup>460</sup> Demurger refers to a saying of Santo Stefano: '*Mais je crois que les quêteurs, pour gagner davantage, inventèrent cette histoire.*'<sup>461</sup>

In a wider context, *miracula* are narratives relating events experienced or interpreted as miracles and convey a meaning relevant to contemporaries, based on an interpretation of events which had occurred and serves either as a justifiable or desirable outcome or as a wish how these events should or could have happened in the logic of the day. It seems that *miracula* were mirrors of genuine devotion, trusting in the miraculous power of God, with or without the intercessory efforts of Saint Mary or all the other saints, to make

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<sup>456</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 33, History is the story of facts given as true, unlike fable.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.*; Perta, 2016b, 889.

<sup>458</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17-28, here 20-1.

<sup>459</sup> *Idem*, 31-2.

<sup>460</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012c, 233-52.

<sup>461</sup> Demurger 2013, 65. 'But I believe that the [alms]collectors, to earn more, invented this story.' On p. 42: While occupying the office of Commendator at Cyprus from 1303 onwards, William of Santo Stefano continued his historical research on his Order. In the work that followed, he did mention the myths of origin and the miracles, but as an introduction to the Rule and Statutes, and not as part of the Rule. As a conscientious historian, he also added his own version of the history, written under a nom-de-plume, a work known as *Exordium Hospitalis*. In eighty-seven articles he tells the story of the origins of the Order of St. John. He recounted the miracle stories as recorded by William of Tyre regarding Gerard and the origin of the Order, without making reference to the legends, myths and miracles. He was in favour of the account of Tyre which was, after all, easily verifiable because it was written between 1170 and 1182, a hundred years earlier.

possible the impossible.<sup>462</sup> Miraculous events are part and parcel of Christianity and of many other religions, and *miracula* may be regarded as a sub-genre of hagiography. Bartlett analyses the miracle: the beholder is in a state of wonder about the power behind it and perceives its importance as a divine sign for something done or going to happen,<sup>463</sup> in other words, authoritative insider information prior to the event. From medieval times onwards, for instance, for the canonisation process, miracles must be events which go convincingly beyond the power of nature, coming from God and not from but through a saint or a skill. Moreover, it must strengthen faith.<sup>464</sup> For this reason, St Paul tells us that *signa non fidelibus, sed infidelibus*, miracles are not for the believers but for the unbelievers.<sup>465</sup>

Many medieval institutions constructed a memory of their foundation that was steeped in legendary events, myths and miracles. The Benedictines had created foundation miracles around their founder, St Benedict at Monte Casino.<sup>466</sup> Nearer to the times of Gerard and the Hospital, miracles relating to the First Crusade were also not in short supply. There was the question how a relatively small, ill-supplied and disorganised band of Westerners, travelling 3,000 km over unfamiliar terrain, braving climate and often hostile local cultures, was able to defeat larger armies and survived to capture Jerusalem.<sup>467</sup>

The one miraculous story and the one true *miraculum* known about Blessed Gerard are summarised here, for the sake of illustrating their importance for later externalisations in art at Malta. They are related to events taking place in the time just after the Seljuks had re-conquered Jerusalem from the Turks in 1098 and during the Crusader siege of Jerusalem in 1099. The first story can be judged to have a historical event as its base, and gives a heroic account of the suffering of Gerard when he tried to

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<sup>462</sup> De Boer and Jongen, 2015, 11.

<sup>463</sup> Bartlett, 2013, 333ff.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>465</sup> 1 Cor 14:22: *Itaque linguae in signum sunt non fidelibus, sed infidelibus; prophetiae autem non infidelibus, sed fidelibus.*

<sup>466</sup> Clark, 2011, 6. Numbers, 8: 24-6. One approach was to connect the founder with persons appearing in the Scriptures. In the case of Benedict that was Moses. It was claimed that the Benedictine customs were in the message of Moses to the Levites.

<sup>467</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 91ff. For the medieval minds, the Crusades were indeed what God had wanted.

Coincidentally, there were some cosmic events occurring simultaneously and people read meaning into the appearance of comets and earthquakes (with their associated light effects) and the eclipse of the moon, when in the final stage, they reached Jerusalem in 1099. These were all naturally regarded as signs that God was on their side. Another contribution creating a miraculous environment was that with the Crusader army, many relics were carried, either taken from home with them on the journey or acquired along the way.

Constantinople was the treasure house of relics, while the Holy Land, the cradle of Christ, was a relic in its own right. When Raymond of St Giles was besieged in Antioch, the Holy Lance, with which Christ's side was pierced when on the Cross, was unearthed in the Cathedral Church of St Peter. It elated the army, as the Lance's reputation was remarkable: he who possessed the Lance would not be killed in battle. They successfully made a sortie, conquering the day. Although there was widespread scepticism about the Lance, since there was already a reputable Holy Lance in Constantinople, the euphoria of the day silenced the critics, even when stories came about of a heavenly army of saints and dead Crusaders who came to the rescue in that battle. The concept of heavily armed army and dead Crusaders was also used in the film *The Lord of the Rings*, where such an army helps in winning a battle.



protect the funds of his hospital from being plundered by the Seljuk rulers of Jerusalem. Gerard was tortured severely in the hope he would give up the perceived treasures. Although his hands, feet and limbs were forcefully twisted apart and made him a permanent cripple, he refused to tell where the money was. In the second one, a miracle is involved. Presumably a year later, the Crusaders finally arrived in front of the city, starved and tired. Gerard decided, notwithstanding his own physical condition, to feed the Crusaders by throwing bread over the walls of the city, as if he was hurling stones at them. His behaviour caught the attention of the Seljuks, and he was searched. Miraculously, all the bread in his mantle had turned into stones and he was ordered to continue throwing them at the besiegers. The real *miraculum* is then that this seemingly severely disabled person continued with his work and for another twenty years managed and developed an institution that still exists today and daily serves thousands of sick and needy people.<sup>468</sup>

As such, the *miracula* of the Order do not appear in the *corpus* itself, while the word 'miracle' appears only once. The inscribed text of Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa tells us that he, as his last wish, had 'the icon of Virgin, the Mother of God, his very own property, famous for miracles' to be placed in the chapel of Our Lady of Philermos at St John's. A miraculous event appears in the inscribed text of Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière. In this narrative, the galley of Frà Denis was, during bad weather, caught between protruding rocks. He 'went down on his knees and prayed to avert the danger,' after which the ship disentangled itself and seemingly undamaged could continue its way. After arrival at Livorno, the ship was turned aside to inspect the keel. To everybody's astonishment, a large rock, 'which had inserted itself into the boards and had prevented all the time water leaking through, fell out on its own accord, as though it had finished its duty.'<sup>469</sup>

Demurger offers some reasons why the Templars did not have their own foundation myths. Templar sources do not include myths or legends. Chroniclers, such as William of Tyre, refer instead to the Templar monastic rules, the aims of the Templar Order and its devotion to the Virgin Mary, the saints and the Church. Observations made by Demurger inform us that the foundation moments of the Templar knights were different from the other military orders, because, among other matters, it was perceived that the Templar Order was founded by a famous and saintly man, the later Cistercian saint, Bernard of Clairvaux. As a consequence, the Templars associated their order with the Cistercian Order, while the influence of the latter was also of profound influence on the later Spanish orders.<sup>470</sup> Another difference was that the other military orders had a humanitarian cause as origin, like the Hospitallers or the Teutonic Order, while the Templars were military in essence from the beginning and could not claim their foundation on any pre-existing model or continuity.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> Demurger, 2013, 55.

<sup>469</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 161.

<sup>470</sup> Sarnowsky, 2011, 1-23.

<sup>471</sup> Demurger, 2012.



Image 9: The Bread Miracle of Blessed Gerard by Mattia Preti. Oil on canvas. At the Oratory of St John's. Photograph: Author

### ***3.11 Post-Gerard: Raymond du Puy, first Grand Master of the Hospital***

With the death of Blessed Gerard ends the initial image and identity-defining period of the Hospitallers and their first attempt of memory building through establishing its independence, its own Rule and through papal support. Gerard's successor, Raymond du Puy (r. 1120-1158), would add an equally important measure of identity, that of a spiritual, military and nobiliary nature.

Around the person of Blessed Raymond du Puy hangs a lesser veil of mystery, since more is known about him than about Blessed Gerard. Raymond du Puy seems to have been the right heavyweight political candidate to run both the hospital and its military branch. Raymond came from a noble family of the Dauphine, in France, now known as Dupuy Montbrun, declares de Vertot.<sup>472</sup> Modern researchers suspect that he could have originated from the town of Le Puy-en-Velay.<sup>473</sup> Du Puy was a knight, pious by reputation

<sup>472</sup> De Vertot, 1728, book 1, 22.

<sup>473</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 39.



and references are made to him and the brothers as *paupertatis professors*, experts on poverty. He had come to Jerusalem with the First Crusade, setting out from France in 1096, as part of a group led by the papal legate Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy. At a certain point in time, he joined the fraternity of Gerard's hospital. From the beginning, it was evident that Du Puy shared its austere ethos and pathos, serving the poor and pilgrims without expecting any reward.

In post-Carolingian continental Europe, the elites had gradually acquired a military status, and Du Puy is representative of this elitist power. After the year 1000, a *miles* did no longer refer to a soldier but to a knight, *e.g. Miles de Justitia*, Knight of Justice. Simultaneously, knights were becoming a social class on their own, the lowest rank of the aristocracy, but a *nobilis* nonetheless.<sup>474</sup> Du Puy's noble descent and military background had a profound influence on the character of both the hospital and on the developing military outlook of the fraternity.

From the mid-eleventh century onwards, the Italian and future European associates of the Hospital had been brought up in a society where a noble genealogy allowed one to bear arms. Although nobility was important for entering religious houses and the higher ranks of the later Hospitaller Order, nonetheless, warns Riley-Smith, it cannot be assumed that the influence of chivalric culture was all-encompassing and of paramount importance. In terms of identity, the ethos and pathos of the first Hospitallers was biblical in outlook, living ascetic lives and against all earthly riches and privileges of high birth.<sup>475</sup> However, it cannot be denied that with the election of Du Puy as Master of the Hospital, the self-image transformed again when a process of ennoblement of the hospital was initiated. What remained the same was the principle of personal poverty while the Hospital became influential and prosperous.

Du Puy came from the top layer of the feudal society and was well aware that *noblesse oblige*, nobility obliges, meaning that high birth comes with entitlements but also with duties, for instance to give alms to the poor or to fulfill other social responsibilities. In this feudal thought, the care providers, the Hospitallers, were servants to those they cared for, no matter the costs.<sup>476</sup> In view of article 16 of the Rule of Du Puy (see Part III, Appendix II), the Hospitaller ideology was not only focused on Gerard's *servus pauperum Christi*, but from now onwards, no earthly Lord was served as master, but the patients became *quasi domini*, 'Our Lords the Sick'. By giving such dedicated hospitality, the serving brothers and sisters of this apostolic way of life, in turn, were seeking and finding Salvation through service to the poor of Christ, a basic building block of Hospitaller identity throughout its existence. Translated into image values, through their humility and care of the sick and poor, they became divine Hospitallers, a group of brethren with strong cohesion, identity and self-image.<sup>477</sup> Another aspect was that their respect for fellow human beings foreshadowed the Franciscan way, in using creeds such as 'love your

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<sup>474</sup> Wickham, 2009.

<sup>475</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b.

<sup>476</sup> Risse, 1999.

<sup>477</sup> Amouroux, 1999, 31-43.

enemies' and 'do good to those who hate you.'<sup>478</sup> From the *corpus* a few samples will suffice to tell the story:

Frà Louis de la Salle, crowned in the tender blossom of his youth with the mature reward of his beneficence, who, although patient with his very own misfortune was impatient of others', concerned himself personally with those suffering from the plague, soothingly compassionate should they perish from want and pestilence, distributed to the sick both care and goods, and returned his soul, adorned with Holy Works, to God his Creator, at the age of 50, in the Year of Salvation 1680.<sup>479</sup>

With regard the idea that nobility obliges, it seems that Grand Master Frà Alof de Wignacourt sponsored a slab for the deceased Stewart of his Magistracy, Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres. The Grand Master appears in the inscribed text, taking up half the space himself, writing that he was the Master of the Jerusalemite Hospital, Guardian of the poor of Jesus Christ,<sup>480</sup> Frà. Marcello Cavaniglia was of a humble nature instead, 'always most respected by everyone for the integrity of his life, an affectionate attendant to the poor and sick, very generous towards Christian captives.'<sup>481</sup> Frà Don Bernardo de Ezpeletay Xavier of Navarra preferred a more direct approach:

'...a most irreproachable man, most pious, most dutiful even to the poor of Christ in his time, easily the first one who had not received so much nobility from his most famous family and honour from this most distinguished Order as much as he embellished both his family and his Order with the splendour of their virtues.'

### *Advances in medicine*

Other elements of the new Hospitallers' identity were the further advances they made in medicine. It stands to reason that the Hospital, after all, run by strangers in a strange land, was eventually influenced by Byzantine or Arabic medical wisdom. It is very likely that the Hospital would have employed or hired local physicians, surgeons and pharmacists too, Byzantine, Islamic, or even Jewish, as qualified staff is always hard to come by. It is logical to assume further that the Hospital would have engaged local physicians or healers to apply local methods fighting locally caused diseases and parasites, unknown in Europe.<sup>482</sup> The Israel Antiquities Authority even mentioned that

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<sup>478</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 21.

<sup>479</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 42.

<sup>480</sup> *Idem*. This line appears in no. 207 of Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres, Steward of the Magistracy

<sup>481</sup> *Idem*, no. 9.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

the Christian hospital staff served Jewish patients kosher food.<sup>483</sup> There was also an understanding that medicine and surgery could only do so much. What was implicit was that many patients, pilgrims in this case, would be able to get on their feet again by being looked after, given a fortifying diet, washed, kept warm and nursed with care in a peaceful surrounding. Washing and treating pilgrims' feet is both a spiritual and a very practical exercise.<sup>484</sup>

Under Du Puy, both the Hospital and the militarisation aspect were greatly enlarged. The Hospital, already prosperous due to previous endowments, grew even more rapidly in size and the abbey of Saint Mary was incorporated. As a consequence, the Benedictine nuns of St Mary had to seek alternative accommodation in Jerusalem around 1130. Physically, the Hospital building also extended and encroached towards the Holy Sepulchre, its footprint covering 150 square yards to its south. At one point it rather dominated the Christian quarter,<sup>485</sup> and the double bell tower of the church of St John the Baptist was constructed directly opposite or facing the entrance the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,<sup>486</sup> causing tension with their fellow soldiers of Christ and competitors for funds, the Knights Templar.<sup>487</sup> Early sources differ regarding the capacity of the Hospital. John of Würzburg, who visited Jerusalem around the year 1160, writes about this church of St John the Baptist and the sheer size of the Hospital, observing that there was space for 2,000 patients. Twelve years later, Theodorich of Würzburg visits the same place in Jerusalem and counts 1,000 beds.<sup>488</sup>

#### *Papal recognition leading to the formation of the Hospitaller Order*

The process of becoming a full military and religious order with an official Rule was materialising, not only through the developments in the Holy Land, but also made possible through social developments in Europe. During the twelfth century, an *ordo* is described as a group of people within orders of society. A group of nuns or monks were classified as an *ordo monasticus*, with the provision that an *ordo* was a lifestyle and not

<sup>483</sup> <http://www.sci-news.com/archaeology/science-building-hospitaller-knights-israel-01285.html> > Accessed on 08-08-2013.

<sup>484</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 24-26.

<sup>485</sup> Sire, 1996, 8-10.

<sup>486</sup> Pringle, 1993, 94.

<sup>487</sup> Seward, 1995, 36.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*; Buttigieg, 2010, 95-106; John of Würzburg, 'Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*.' In: Aubrey Stewart (tr.) and Col. Sir W. Wilson notes (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1890). Chapter XV, 43-46. R.B.C. Huygens (ed), *Peregrinationes Tres* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994). Lines 1282-1306. Recent excavations, in 2012/3 by the Israel Antiquities Authorities, have brought to light some of the structures of the hospital. According to the archaeologists the hospital, identified as the Hospital of St John, could cater for 2,000 patients in case of emergency, confirming the observation made by John of Würzburg in his account of 1160. Although the Hospital in Jerusalem had a large capacity, it might not have been capable of coping with the new influx of pilgrims during the Easter week pilgrimage or a crisis of some sort. John of Würzburg also mentions that they would carry out of the hospital, day and night, about 50 patients who had succumbed, <http://www.sci-news.com/archaeology/science-building-hospitaller-knights-israel-01285.html> > Accessed on 08-08-2013. An earthquake in 1457 destroyed the buildings and it was reduced to rubble one again. At present there is nothing left of these structures, except the Church of St John the Baptist. The Hospitaller complex at the Muristan area was demolished and the whole area quarried to provide building materials for reconstructing the walls of Jerusalem in the sixteenth century.'

an institution or a rule prescribing the lifestyle.<sup>489</sup> The First Crusade brought about a new scenario of religious life in the Holy Land, that of military orders, where one could combine a religious and military life, *i.e.* a soldier's life with that of a monk. To Forey, it is unmistakably that these Christian military orders were, in contrast to an *ordo monasticus*, institutions with a rule prescribing the lifestyle.<sup>490</sup> Such orders were not only instituted in the Holy Land but also in Spain, as a result of the centuries-old movement of the Reconquista. It is generally accepted that the Templars were the first of their kind, presumably established in 1119, while in Spain the Order of Santiago was initiated in 1170.<sup>491</sup>

Forey writes that the contemporaries were very well aware that a new kind of order was being instituted. St Bernard of Clairvaux knew he had created something novel and the Templars referred to themselves as *hoc genus novum religionis*.<sup>492</sup> This was a permanent monastic vocation, including a vow of poverty, becoming a *pauper ex divite*.<sup>493</sup>

Being recognised as a military order was another milestone in memory and image building. Papal recognition contributed to the tedious process of transformation of the fraternity of the Hospital, the *fratris hospitalis*, into a religious and military Order.<sup>494</sup> The papal bull of Paschal II of February 1113 was certainly not a *de facto* memorandum and articles of association of a Hospitaller Order, but only a papal privilege protecting the hospital's properties.<sup>495</sup> At least, the historical debate tends to favour this opinion, since *Pie Postulatio Voluntatis* mentions Gerard's organisation as a *hospitalis*, not an *ordo*,<sup>496</sup> as it only recognised the hospital and its independent status from episcopal interference.<sup>497</sup> Nonetheless, it is widely regarded that this bull held much more than a papal recognition, confirmation and protection. Because the hospice had been operational for more than half a century prior to the arrival of the First Crusade, this papal bull was interpreted as the birth certificate of the Order of St John, an interpretation also found on the official website of the Order.<sup>498</sup> Nevertheless, historians do not acknowledge the bull of 1113 as the starting date of the Hospitaller Order, that comes with a next bull, *Quam amabilis Deo*, issued by Innocent II (r. 1130-43). *Quam amabilis Deo* is not dated, but was presumably issued toward the later years of his papacy, containing paragraphs borrowed from a papal letter to the Templars. The message was that the military role had been confirmed as a long-standing integral component of the Hospitaller *raison d'être* and had now been fully recognised by the Curia. More explicit recognition arrives in 1153, when Pope Eugene III confirms the Hospitaller Rule. Riley-Smith agrees that the 1153 bull

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<sup>489</sup> Forey, 2008, 5-12.

<sup>490</sup> *Idem* 1994, 175-95.

<sup>491</sup> *Idem*, here 175.

<sup>492</sup> *Idem*, here 176.

<sup>493</sup> *Idem*, here 180.

<sup>494</sup> De Palma, 2013, 483.

<sup>495</sup> Camilleri, 2002, 17-36.

<sup>496</sup> A.O.M., 6, no.1.

<sup>497</sup> Sire, 2016, 1.

<sup>498</sup> <https://www.orderofmalta.int/sovereign-order-of-malta/> > Accessed on 14-03-2016

established the Hospital as an independent religio-monastic order.<sup>499</sup> *Quam amabilis Deo* also refrains from using language which could indicate a Benedictine monastic institute, as it uses words like *fraternitas*, *fratres eiusdem loci* and *hospitalitatis domus*.<sup>500</sup> More papal support arrived sometime later in October 1154, through a papal bull issued by Pope Anastasius IV, *Christianae Fidei Religio*. This bull included some exemptions for the Hospital of St John. Clerics who wanted to serve for life were allowed to be enrolled. Also, it freed the Hospital from the authority of the diocese of Palestine, the Roman Curia and the local clergy, all furthering its independence. Those who donated to the Hospital, would be better assured of spiritual Salvation through an official ecclesiastical blessing and burial. This bull was also an ecclesiastical confirmation of the transition of the Hospital of St John into the Order of St John.<sup>501</sup> From this moment onwards, the Hospitaller Order is indeed a military order of the Holy Land, because it now fulfilled three conditions, as suggested by Demurger: there was papal recognition, a Rule and a habit (or uniform clothing, see below).<sup>502</sup>

### *The Rule of Du Puy*

Raymond du Puy can be credited with constructing the first rule, not of the hospital, but of the militarised Hospitaller institution. Scholars, who analysed the Rule of Raymond du Puy, concluded that this Rule was not at all new, containing many elements which had been brewing and stewing over many years under Gerard's watching eye.<sup>503</sup> Furthermore, Benedictine and Augustine elements joined, such as chastity, obedience and poverty, together with hospitaller specific aspects. It treated rights and duties of the brothers and addressed practical matters, such as behaviour within and outside the convent, religious services, ceremony, protocol, ritual, prayer, dress code, collection of alms, discipline and silence. There were protocols involved how to go about the deceased brothers, to observe the statutes, the manner in which brothers are received into the organisation and how the sick and poor are received into the care of the hospital. Additionally, this Rule contained organisational aspects pertaining to centralisation and jurisdiction and also dealt with ranks (lay brothers and priests) and offices (treasury, chancery). It specified that the Order's properties outside the Holy Land were expected to return *responsiones* of at least one-third of the produce of those lands and any monies (minus expenses) to the Treasury. The Rule is specific in its mission statement: the Hospitaller Order exists to serve the sick and the poor humbly, and the Hospital must raise funds, all under strict regulations. Returning profit from their commanderies is a top priority in the *corpus*, there are many samples of knights who prudently administered

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<sup>499</sup> Riley-Smith, 1976, 42-43.

<sup>500</sup> Fonseca, 2009, 17-26.

<sup>501</sup> Freller, 2003, 2-11, here 6.

<sup>502</sup> Demurger, 2013, 58-62.

<sup>503</sup> For detailed accounts on the Rule, see Beltjens 1995, Demurger 2013, Riley-Smith 2012a, Sire 1996, Vertot 1728. The Amalfitan monastery would have had undoubtedly a Benedictine Rule in the format of Monte Casino. See also Part III, Appendix II.

the Order's lands abroad and enriched the common treasury. Serving the poor and the sick reverberates throughout the *corpus* as a matter of the utmost importance.<sup>504</sup>

Although the earliest rules did not mention the armed escorts or aspect of warfare yet, the later rules are very precise in what is expected.<sup>505</sup> The date of when the Rule was introduced is still subject of debate. The earliest versions of the Rule were lost but through copies and treatments in works of writers such as William of Santo Stefano, the Rule, as enforced from 1185 onwards, is known. However, since the military role is absent, Riley-Smith suggests that the first rule of Du Puy is from the 1130s, as in 1136 the castle of Bethgibelin was gifted.<sup>506</sup> Beltjens offers a date between 1145 and 1153, but also mentions that he considers this Rule an original work, inspired by Benedictines, Augustinians and Templars.<sup>507</sup> It is also a departure of the past and represents the character and customs of the Hospitallers.

The Rule of Raymond du Puy is very much concerned with discipline, proper conduct, ascetic and humility, aspects still very much alive in the *corpus*. Accountability in collecting alms is another aspect, and brothers cannot leave the convent alone, but always with others. In the *corpus*, alms are collected and distributed while alms-houses were built by the various knights. Frà Francesco Silvestri was the *MAGNO MAGISTRO ELEEMOSYNARIVS*, the almsgiver of the Grand Master,<sup>508</sup> while the later Grand Master Frà Antonio Manoel de Vilhena was a *VERE PATER PAUPERUM* who *XENODOCHIA FUNDAVIT*, a true father of the poor who established alms-houses.<sup>509</sup> Before he became Grand Master, Frà Raimondo Despuig had done his part in *CENSU COLLATO*, collecting alms.<sup>510</sup>

Social control through cohesion was probably seen as essential to keep young men, without their family and outside their usual environment, in check and to build their character. Fear for sexual conduct and misconduct was deeply engrained, and the Hospitaller Rule prescribes rather severe punishments. This fear of moral decay, which may blemish their memory and image, remained throughout the Hospitaller history (see Chapter 6.18). Proper conduct was required when dealing with the other brothers and those lower in rank, the sergeants-at-arms. Two important concepts can be distilled from the rule: fraternal harmony and poverty. These two concepts stood at the basis of all other obligations mentioned in the Rule: humility, prayer, fasting, charity, mutual understanding, humble and uniform clothing, modesty regarding women, fraternal

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<sup>504</sup> Munro, 2005.

<sup>505</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 287. In short, the Rule tried to regulate life, death and work in the Hospitaller Order and was continuously adapted, approved, enlarged and the Rule becomes over the centuries a very complex set of rules and regulations, representing the highest ideal of Hospitaller continuity and identity. In the papal bulls of Eugene III and Lucius III there is not any room left for doubt that Raymond formalised this important Rule of conduct for the brothers in his organisation.

<sup>506</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 40-1. When Jerusalem was lost in 1187 and Acre in 1291, the original documents were lost too.

<sup>507</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 304.

<sup>508</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 283

<sup>509</sup> *Idem*, no. 217.

<sup>510</sup> *Idem*, no. 185. In this context of the Neo-Latin used at St John's, *census*, lit. 'wealth' means the same as *elemosyna* and *alimentum*.



correction, defence against false accusations and submission to justified admonishments, control of emotions, respect for one's duties and obedience to one's superiors.<sup>511</sup>

### *Class distinctions within the Hospitaller Order*

During the Rule of Du Puy, class distinctions made their appearance in the Order. The introduction of these divisions can be clearly understood from Du Puy's epitaph, as recorded by Villeneuve Bargemont. It reads in French:<sup>512</sup>

*On a dit que ces gentilshommes  
avaient été d'abord élevés des Hospitaliers.  
A Raymond du Puy, premier grand-maitre de l'hôpital,  
après de faibles commencemens  
il institua pour son orde les ceremonies du  
culte, et lui donna le manteau noir, portant la croix blanche a huit pointes.*

It has been said that gentlemen  
were first raised from the Hospitallers.  
To Raymond du Puy, first Grand Master of the Hospital,  
after humble beginnings,  
he instituted for his Order the Rules of the Religion,  
and gave it the black mantle, bearing the white eight-pointed cross.

### *Gentlemen, non-nobles and chaplains: a nobiliary distinction*

Gentlemen being raised from the Hospitallers is an important statement, as this denotes a departure from the equality among the Hospitallers as intended by Blessed Gerard and St Bernard of Clairvaux's ideology of equality among the members of the new knighthood dictated that 'among them, there the person's status is not taken into account; the better one, and not the nobleman is honoured.' Less than half a century later, this equality had disappeared. In the Hospitaller Statutes drawn up at Margat in 1206, an institutionalised distinction was made between noble knights, non-noble sergeants-at-arms and conventual chaplains. The noble knights, who took vows and thus became professed brethren, were also members of the clerical estate. Previously, before nobility prevailed, the priests had the highest standing, and due to this reversal of roles, the priests' position had suffered in all the three big orders in the Holy Land. This led to complaints and comments made in a document of 1439 of the Council of Basle, the *Reformatio Sigismundi*, stating that the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights were

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<sup>511</sup> Fonseca, 2009, 17-26. False accusations were not tolerated either. Corporal punishments and expulsion were common instruments for maintaining discipline. Clothing had to be basic and knights ought to be clothed at all times, even in bed. Silence is a much-valued virtue within the convent and during meals; even in bed the brothers should maintain silence. The Rule is also concerned with private property and how to deal with brothers who ignored the vow of poverty. Penance is strictly adhered to, either voluntarily or by force and fraternal corrections are allowed. They were indeed their brothers' keepers. The reception of the sick is organised and structured. The last article dictates that the brothers should always wear the Cross on their garments. A summarised version of the text of the first Rule can be found in Appendix A.

<sup>512</sup> Villeneuve Bargemont, 1829, 13.

disregarding the priests' status and treating them like servants.<sup>513</sup> Sergeants were recruited from the middle classes. Main reason for this distinction was that the Western-Christian noble classes in the Holy Land were retaining their genealogical purity, while the sergeants mainly came from local intermarried couples. In the Crusading world, it was deemed important to show one's virtue through a pedigree. Sarnowsky makes another link with nobility, that of the ambition for independent territorial lordships and the handling and management of landed property, as they were accustomed to in their own landed properties.<sup>514</sup> By the thirteenth century, the differentiation of ranks within the Hospitaller Order had been completed and embedded in the statutes, regulating the noble and legitimate birth of knights to obtain high positions in the Order, starting with Grand Master Afonso de Portugal (r. 1212-16) and Hugues de Revel (r. 1258-77).<sup>515</sup> Mastership of the Hospital and the Order had always been, since Du Puy, reserved for nobility. Making these distinctions between nobles and non-nobles had been a slow process compared to the Templars, who had created such divisions long before.<sup>516</sup>

Although attraction to the Order was mainly from members of the lower knightly classes, thanks to their warrior skills, they were highly valued. There was in those days no need for a very high *passaggio*, an entrance fee, as was the case for the traditional monastic orders, or as demonstrated in chapter 9 with regard the entry requirements and financial obligations of Frà Joseph Anton Ferdinand von Königsegg in the eighteenth century. Nor did these candidates need to know Latin or Greek. Through hard work, one could advance and gain access to responsible offices. To be able to enter the military orders meant a career possibility and social climbing for the lower nobility class.<sup>517</sup> Regarding the participants, Forey says that all later military orders attracted outsiders to their service, either for pay or as a volunteer. Certainly, those outsiders, or para-Crusaders, accepted as *milites ad terminum*, engaged in military undertakings for the orders during a definite or indefinite period.<sup>518</sup>

In the statutes drawn up by Grand Master Roger de Moulins, the successor of Du Puy, in 1182, a reference is made to the *fratres armorum*, brothers-at-arms. In 1160, when Du Puy died, there were three groups of brothers working at the hospital, those engaged in charity, as clerics and the newcomers, knights and mercenaries in charge of the defence of the Order's lands and properties, while also responsible for the protection of pilgrims. Freller argues that since there is no evidence of difference in social rank or status, one cannot yet speak of classes within the Order

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<sup>513</sup> Sarnowsky, 2011, 1-32, here 13.

<sup>514</sup> *Idem*, here 16.

<sup>515</sup> *Idem*, here 13-4.

<sup>516</sup> Sire, 1996, 12.

<sup>517</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 86.

<sup>518</sup> Forey, 2008, 5-12.

*The black mantle of the noble knights of the Order*

The black mantle defines the class distinction which ran throughout the whole Order, during the reign of Du Puy. Under pressure from the members coming from nobility, a distinction was made between the serving brothers and the knights. In the Convent, the noble knights, a.k.a. Knights of Justice, wore a regular habit, a black robe and a black pointed mantle, on which was sown a white eight-pointed cross, finished with a pointed cowl or hood.<sup>519</sup> The whole ensemble was called a *manteau a bec*. As monks, the knights' church robes were expected to be modest,<sup>520</sup> but as a Religious these had to be distinguishable. On a symbolic level, a Religious' church robe is of black material, as a symbol of mourning, *i.e.* the suffering of Christ (besides death, mourning, sorrow, humility and poverty), which is contrasted by the white eight-pointed cross, as white would be signifying hope and purity.<sup>521</sup> The black mantle of the Order is also a church robe, a ceremonial dress, and not to be confused with the cassock, the vocational clothing of priests.<sup>522</sup> In this respect, several papal and episcopal decrees were issued. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 states that the clerical garments should be closed in front and free of extravagances, such as fur or precious stones. The colours red and green were prohibited, the preferred colour was black.<sup>523</sup>

**3.12 Various hospices in Jerusalem**

While the Templars resided in Jerusalem, their working territory sat between Jaffa and Jerusalem, excluding them initially from taking part in the border protection of the Holy Land. Within the Jaffa-Jerusalem area they engaged in pilgrimage protection, for instance, there were many women from European countries who travelled to Jerusalem, even pregnant women. Count Dirk VI of Holland (r. 1122-1157) travelled to Jerusalem during 1138/9 with his wife Sophia von Rheineck. While travelling, she gave birth to her son Dirk, hence nicknamed *Peregrinus* (the pilgrim), perhaps at one of the hospices which formed part of the Hospitaller network set up by Gerard. After Dirk VI died, Sophia went to Santiago de Compostela, and after that twice more on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1173 and 1176), where she passed away in the *hospitale Teuthonicorum* in 1176, a German hospice.<sup>524</sup> Likewise, Sophia, as a daughter of Otto von Rheineck, count of Bentheim, would have preferred a place where she could speak in her native language. Since Sophia had a choice of hospices, demonstrates that Gerard's Jerusalemite hospital was neither the first nor the only one in town.<sup>525</sup> There was seemingly a great demand and supply of

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<sup>519</sup> De Vertot, 1770: 49.

<sup>520</sup> Izbicki, 2005.

<sup>521</sup> O'Lynn, 2007, 5-43.

<sup>522</sup> Oesterreicher-Mollwo, 1991, 149.

<sup>523</sup> Spufford, 2000, 168-9: Dyed cloth is expensive, it could amount to half of the production price. Black was particularly expensive, since it takes multiple dyeing cycles with various dyes to achieve a deep black colour. The better garments were made of dyed thread instead of dyeing the whole garment. A black garment needs to be replaced rather fast, as it also fades relatively fast. Grey is therefore much cheaper, See Cage, 2000, 31: In the Renaissance, only the wealthy and the nobility could afford black clothing.

<sup>524</sup> De Boer en Cordfunke, 2015, 54-55; Gumbert-Hepp, 2007, 190-1.

<sup>525</sup> Demurger, 2013, 43.

hospices of various culture and language groups, such as the Armenians of Cilicia,<sup>526</sup> the Hungarian hospice on the corner of the Street of the Holy Sepulchre and St Stephen's Street, and the English, French and Spanish ones, all with their own facilities, but presumably on a smaller scale than Gerard's.<sup>527</sup> One reason for the merchants of Lübeck and Bremen to set up their own hospital at Acre in 1187 during the Third Crusade (leading to the formation of the Teutonic Order) was the language question: the Germans had difficulties making themselves understood in French or Italian.<sup>528</sup>

### **3.13 Ambiguities regarding the new standing armies**

At a certain point, the papacy and the rulers of the new Latin Kingdom demanded of the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, the orders of the new knighthood, to engage in a larger scale in the defence of the Holy Land, as regular standing armies. Crusaders came and went, but the Latin Christian states needed a permanent solution. The Orders had disciplined, trained and officered troops of a much different kind than the loosely organised armies of the Crusaders.<sup>529</sup> Moreover, these military orders were fulfilling a need, protecting pilgrims, holy sites, the Holy Land or retaking Spain from the Muslim invaders. Although a large number of First Crusaders had taken Jerusalem in 1099, very few remained to defend the repossessed acquisition. Due to diseases and general discomfort, most Crusaders went back to the West, while endless war and disease, according to Forey, prevented the formation of a permanent group of committed soldiers in the early twelfth century. When the military orders shifted from protecting pilgrims to protecting the Holy Land, they were still fulfilling a need.

In the Holy Land, the newly imported Western Christian local population lived cheek by jowl with native Arab Christian populations, such as Maronites, Syrians, Melkites and Armenians.<sup>530</sup> These Christian populations were busy building up a society in hostile territories, too busy farming and surviving and not able or willing to contribute. However, they did not live in one closed territory, there were many pockets which remained unconquered Muslim territory. The new knighthood could justly be involved in defence warfare, to protect Christendom from incursions and Christians from attacks. In the case of the Templars, it also included lands held by Christians in the east, taken back from Islam. To justify offensive wars, such as the Crusades, the expansion and vengeance meted out, it was simply said that they just were righting wrongs, or as St Bernard wrote, '*Sane cum occidit malefactorem, non homicida, sed, ut ita dixerim, malicida, et plane Christi vindex in his qui male agunt.*'<sup>531</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> Huygens, 1994, line 1326.

<sup>527</sup> Bahat, 1976, 33-4.

<sup>528</sup> Seward, 1995, 95; Militzer, 2005, 12ff. This initiative at Acre was followed soon by English knights, who adjacent to a chapel dedicated to St Thomas, initiated another hospital, of which the Order of St Thomas of Canterbury came forth, a.k.a. the Knights of St Thomas Acon.

<sup>529</sup> Seward, 1995, 17.

<sup>530</sup> Seward, 1995, 25.

<sup>531</sup> Forey, 1994, 175-95, here 185. *De laude, Cap. III.* He who kills the enemies of Christ, does not commit homicide, but as it were, malecide, he does not kill a man, but evil.

By engaging in violence, the new knights often appeared as brutal killers of the enemies of their faith. At the same time, they opened themselves up to equal violence, while it was emphasised by their advocates that they were prepared to be killed rather than to kill.<sup>532</sup> Martyrdom for knights went back to the first formation of Hospitaller and Templar knighthood, and supporting narratives from the 1120s and 1130s stated that these warriors were fighting on behalf of Christ, akin to the Crusaders and should they die for this cause, martyrdom was theirs, as had been confirmed by St Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>533</sup>

Although by 1128 the Templars were engaged in the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, historians question when the Hospitallers first became involved in action as an organised militia. One of the earliest indications of a military aspect is mentioned by Riley-Smith, who states that in 1126 there was a constable of the Hospital, a person with a military role.<sup>534</sup> Riley-Smith claims 1136 as a starting date for serious military exploit, when King Fulk of Jerusalem presented the Hospitallers with the southern town and castle of Bethgibelin at the border with the caliphate of Egypt.<sup>535</sup> Nicholson places its early militarisation between 1139 and 1143, interpreting some observations of Pope Innocent II in his Bull *Quam amabilis Deo* as that the Hospitallers hired fighting men for the purpose of escorting pilgrims,<sup>536</sup> and that it also mentions sergeants engaged for security.<sup>537</sup>

The fortified town of Bethgibelin aforementioned in southern Palestine had a broad hinterland with ten villages, and became the first of the Hospitaller's military lordships.<sup>538</sup> In 1144, to stabilise the Christian power base in northern Syria, Count Raymond II of Tripoli gifted the Hospitallers the iconic castle of Crac des Chevaliers.<sup>539</sup> Current thought is that the Hospitaller Order must have had already developed dependable logistical and military skills before being entrusted with such important fortifications. There is however not so much proof of military activities of the Hospitaller Order in this early stage of their armed development on a large scale and it may be that the Order was just responsible for providing the garrisons with mercenaries and by drafting military service from the feudatories of the Crusader territories.

There was a certain doubt in how far members of a religious order could be pushed to do things which were not originally within their remit. Questions were raised if it was just to wage war on pagans and kill them. This militarisation process was pushed to whole new levels. Not everybody agreed with the fighting task of the brothers, which led to an

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<sup>532</sup> *Idem*, here 186.

<sup>533</sup> Nicholson, 2014, 101-118. Bernard of Clairvaux confirmed this idea in his letter *De laude novae militiae* of 1129, directed at Templars, that the following applied to the *milites Christi* of the new knighthood, which included the Hospitallers by inference. Bernard wrote that those who die in battle against the enemies of Christ's cross are blessed as martyrs.

<sup>534</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 34.

<sup>535</sup> *Idem*, 2012c, 233-52.

<sup>536</sup> For a general overview, see Nicholson, 2007.

<sup>537</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 48-52; Hiestand, 1980, 31-80.

<sup>538</sup> Sire, 1996, 16.

<sup>539</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 13.

early crisis. During the rule of Du Puy, the Order's pledge to engage at a standing army was not meant as an open-ended agreement to fight war for the rulers of the Latin Kingdom, they had only accepted those areas where the privileges, coming with the landed donation, had a potential to make the military commitments a profitable affair. On the other hand, Browne and Ó Clabaigh state that, should the early knights, such as the Hospitallers or their contemporaries, have had any doubts regarding this side of their duties, it did not stop their rapid expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth century.<sup>540</sup> Villeneuve Bargemont presents, in French, the inscribed text of the grave of Arnold de Comps, third Grand Master (r. 1162-3):<sup>541</sup>

*N'est point barbare qui immole des barbares  
a Arnold de Comps,  
maitre de l'hôpital de Jérusalem  
parce qu'il a délivre les chemins qui conduisaient  
à Jérusalem des Musulmans qui les assiégeaient  
et qu'il a pratiqué la justice.  
cette pierre a été posée aux frais de Trésor.*

For Arnold of Comps,  
Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem  
it was not barbaric to slaughter barbarians,  
because he both freed the roads  
that led to Jerusalem of the Muslims who laid in wait  
and practised Justice.  
This stone was laid at the expense of Treasury.

Gilbert of Assailly, elected as Grand Master in 1163 (ruled till 1171, died 1183), was the first one in the militarisation process to acclaim the brothers of the Order as soldiers of Christ, *miles Christi*, in letter where he makes reference to '*fratres nostri religion milicium commiscentes*'.<sup>542</sup> At the *corpus* in St John's, one will find this expression very frequently. Notwithstanding, brothers had asked themselves in how far they should associate themselves with engagement in acts of violence. The question was whether those who wore the habit and were professed knights of a religious order, were allowed to fight against heathens and slay them. This was answered some years later, by two consecutive Popes, first in 1171 and again ten years later by Pope Alexander III, who issued a bull *Piam admodum* in 1181. This bull repeated the old statement that the brothers first and foremost should care for the poor and the sick. Military operations should be limited to exceptional events on the condition that they would be justifiable

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<sup>540</sup> Browne and Ó Clabaigh, 2016, xvii.

<sup>541</sup> Villeneuve Bargemont, 1829, 20.

<sup>542</sup> Freller, 2003, 2-11, here 7.



and not contrary to their Hospitaller ethos or in conflict with their duties and obligations. What was being acknowledged, accepted and accommodated by the Curia was a confirmation of what the Order had already recognised themselves, namely their very ambivalent position between charity and military charity. This also brought to an end fifty years of identity searching and insecurity, although the issue of the double identity of peace and war occasionally resurfaced,<sup>543</sup> and also found its way into the *corpus* at St John's, e.g. 'Frà. Jacques de Virieu Pupetieres, a soldier of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne of the Hospital Order of Jerusalem, guardian of peace and charity, and also a tireless defender of the Catholic Faith.'<sup>544</sup>

After 1160, the Hospitallers started acquiring fortifications and its military structure became visible with offices such as Marshal and Castellan. Landed possessions of the Hospitallers in Palestine, about twenty, were organised into Castellanies (strongholds) and commanderies (landed properties), whereby smaller possessions were collectively managed by one Castellan or Receptor, or due to the size divided in manageable parts managed by a Receptor each. During the 1160s, the Hospitallers acquired a large number of strongholds, so that by 1186 they had about 27 fortified places in their possession.<sup>545</sup>

Both the institutions of the Hospitallers and Templars, albeit with different mission statements, were by the 1170s fully-fledged military Orders and had become indispensable for the defence of the Holy Land as standing armies. What made the difference was that these Orders were able to recruit Europeans to serve in the Holy Land permanently. In contrast to the Crusades, the holy war engaged in by the Orders had a much more definite character.<sup>546</sup> Desmond Seward holds that military monastic orders in the Outremer were 'the first properly disciplined and officered troops in the West since the Roman times.' He also compared them to the Church's storm-troopers for the Crusades.<sup>547</sup>

Owing to the continuous warfare against the various enemies in Outremer, the Hospitallers became skilled warriors, both defensive and offensive, and castle builders or besiegers. The titles of Castellan, Receptor or Marshal appear regularly in the *corpus*. Although the original job description could vary over the centuries in the different destinations, the titles remained. These were appointed offices based on merits and skills rather than honorary titles. Over time, the Hospitallers did not just remain in their strongholds, they started to set out on preventive or punitive expeditions (called

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<sup>543</sup> Hiestand, 1980, 31-80. Hiestand remarks that this bull was not forged as was suggested, but simply adapted by the papal chancellery. In one sentence, the word *servientes* was crossed out and above was written '*fratres eiusdem domus cum servientibus et equitaturis*,' (brothers of the same house with the servants and horses).

<sup>544</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 200.

<sup>545</sup> In times of crisis, the Hospitallers not only assisted the Frankish settlements in the Holy Land with their military forces, but also the towns of Jerusalem and Tyre (1187), Jaffa (1194), a gate of Tripoli (1196), Caesarea (1218), Ascalon (1243).

<sup>546</sup> Sire, 1996, 16; Barber and Bate, 2002, 7-11; Luttrell, 2000, 13-22.

<sup>547</sup> Seward, 1995, 17.

*caravanes* after 1263),<sup>548</sup> which in the twelfth-century context was being compared with acts of mercy. It was surely a difficult task to force the brothers of a religious and at the same time military order to participate in so much radically different undertakings, very distant from the original hospital charter. As a self-image solution, these undertakings became fused rather than remain separated.<sup>549</sup>

The military career of the Hospitaller Order was initially successful, but even the combined forces of all the military orders and the armies of the Latin Kings could not prevent the loss of the Holy Land. The way the Hospitallers and Knights Templar operated found much admiration and many other military orders came about, such as those of Calatrava, Santiago Alcántara, the Teutonic Order (Saint Mary of the Germans), St Thomas of Acre, Montjoie, St George, the Brothers of the Sword, Santo Stefano and St Lazarus. However, the Hospitallers, Knights Templar and the Teutonic Knights formed the main pillars of the Latin standing armies. During this period, the Hospitaller organisational structures were in place, and so were its rules and regulations. Although initially successful, however, many disasters would befall these standing armies.

### **3.14 The end of the Latin Kingdom in Palestine**

End of June 1187, one massive Latin army was assembled, consisting of c. 1,500 knights and between 15,000 and 18,000 foot soldiers, while the legendary Saladin had gathered 12,000 cavalry and an immense host of infantry near Sinn al-Nabra, south-east of the Sea of Galilee. It was not only a clash of two armies, cultures and religions, but also a clash of unity versus division. For a long period, the Latin Kingdoms had succeeded because they were united, while the Muslims were ever divided. At this crucial moment, the roles were finally reversed and the Latin army was utterly defeated near a place called the Horns of Hattin.<sup>550</sup> Saladin gave orders to kill all captured Hospitaller and Templar knights whom he regarded as the most dangerous enemies of Islam. Saladin's impression of Hospitaller identity was, as it was reported, that he thought 'these [Hospitallers and Templars] more than all the other Franks, destroy the Arab religion and slaughter, because the triumph of Faith is sweet to them.'<sup>551</sup> In this, Saladin was not entirely wrong and the Hospitaller motto of *Tuitio Fidei* is prominent in the *corpus*, as is their fear of beheading, so aptly painted by Caravaggio in his *Beheading of St John the Baptist*, in the Oratory of St John's (see Chapter 7). As samples of this military prowess, the *corpus* yields,

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<sup>548</sup> Demurger, 2013. 239. Riley-Smith, 2012b. 72, describes one of those expeditions, recorded in 1221, when Aymar de Layron, a nephew of the Hospitaller Marshal, was commissioned as a commander of the Knights Hospitaller, to free Raymond Roupen of the House of Poitiers, the Prince of Antioch, who was besieged in the town of Tarsus. At first, Roupen had taken Tarsus with help of the Hospitallers, but was now besieged by the new regent of Cilicia, Constantine of Lampron of the Hetoumid family, which was opposed to any Western influence. De Layron, after much, or too much deliberation, set off with his small band of knights and first sailed to the Turkish coast, from where they went further on land. He was neither in time to save the town of Tarsus nor Raymond, who died in captivity.

<sup>549</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 48-52.

<sup>550</sup> Madden, 2005, 74-76.

<sup>551</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 55. In the thirteenth century Hospitallers and Templars were no longer executed by standing order, although there were exceptions.

among others, Frà Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière, who 'paved his way to the top of Princehood' because of the glory gained in 'numerous actions against the enemy of the faith,'<sup>552</sup> and Frà Hughes de Loubenx Verdalle brought shock and awe to the 'barbarian enemy.'<sup>553</sup> Other knights, such as Vincenzo Martelli, 'whose right hand, full of justice, did not draw the sword except against the enemy of his Faith.'<sup>554</sup> During the Great Siege, *Tuitio Fidei* resounded loud and clear: Don Melchior de Robles, 'fierce knight of the Order of the Sword' [*i.e.* Order of Santiago] was regarded, from his high post at Fort St Michael, as 'as the pursuer of the enemy from Heaven.'<sup>555</sup> The Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette was 'a terror to the enemy,'<sup>556</sup> These samples possibly reflect a matured opinion over many centuries of the Hospitaller self-image and memory and their contested place in the world.

Saladin continued his victorious march and within two months, he had taken all the crucial ports south of Tripoli, except Tyre. Although the Order seemed to have been defeated, thanks to its central command structure, recovery was relatively fast. Replacements came in and the commanderies sent in money, arms, horses and food.<sup>557</sup> By 1190, only a few Christian strongholds remained, including the Hospitaller castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Margat. Jerusalem was captured on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1187. The inhabitants trusted Saladin's word and surrendered. Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem were promised a safe passage to the coast after they had bought their freedom. Those who could not, disappeared in slavery.<sup>558</sup> The Hospital of St John, much marvelled by Saladin, was incorporated into Saladin's power structure. The Order regrouped at Margat, while a few years later their headquarters were at Acre, the new capital of the Latin Kingdom after its capture by Richard the Lionheart in 1196. Again, the Order built a fine hospital with pilgrims' lodgings, while the knights lived in the *Auberge* under the watchful eye of the Marshal. The auberges would play a significant role in the later island-history of the Order, when each *langue* would acquire its own *auberge*. In Acre, the Hospitaller lifestyle was rather sober and as Sire remarks, their vows obliged them not to live *cum pauperitate* but *sine proprio*, emphasising on charity rather than poverty.<sup>559</sup> Although the orders were doing reasonably well, the government of the Holy Land was weakened by the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and through internal strife of the feudatories. There is a breach in the collective identity of the Hospitallers and the Templars, as the former took the side of the monarchy and the latter the side of the baronial powers. The baronial side

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<sup>552</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 361.

<sup>553</sup> *Idem*, no. 363.

<sup>554</sup> *Idem*, no. 172.

<sup>555</sup> *Idem*, no. 179. The analogy of St Michael, coming down from Heaven to defeat Satan and his followers is inescapable. St Michael was regarded as the perfect knight, with unwavering courage and determination. At present, St Michael is the patron-saint of people who work in dangerous circumstances, such as the military, in particular of airborne soldiers such as paratroopers, but also of firefighters, mariners, police, grocers and radiologists. St Michel also weighs the deceased's virtues and vices and guides their souls accordingly the Heaven, Purgatory or Hell.

<sup>556</sup> *Idem*, no. 359.

<sup>557</sup> Madden, 2005, 60.

<sup>558</sup> *Idem*, 78.

<sup>559</sup> Sire, 1996, 13.

won the victory in the end but the relationship between the Hospitallers and the Templars was permanently damaged.

In 1258, the governmental mess was in such a state that the two orders came together again and re-found their collective identity in a pact, agreeing on a common fight against the Saracens. They spent the last 33 years of the Latin Kingdom in the East in an, albeit brittle, solidarity. However, in rapid succession, all the last Latin strongholds fell to the Saracens and by 1291 Acre was also lost. Here, the losses for the Hospitallers were dramatic: its marshals were all killed in action and the Grand Master seriously injured. Only seven knights could escape with their lives, while hundreds of knights had lost their lives in the other garrisons of Palestine.<sup>560</sup> On the side of the Knights Templar, the losses were catastrophic, as their Grand Master and the marshals had all perished.<sup>561</sup> The whole Crusading exercise had simply evaporated into thin air, a mere 200 years since the First Crusade.

### ***3.15 Pilgrimage continues notwithstanding the loss of the Holy Land***

The Crusades had, to a certain extent, held back the Muslim expansion to Europe, settled many borders and had divided their leadership. In the end, Saladin had managed to unify the Muslims and the success of Hattin was a catalyst for reconquering Palestine and the Holy City of Jerusalem.<sup>562</sup> However, after his death, Saladin's empire was apportioned among his kindred, who became as divided among themselves as ever before. This meant that the Christian borders were not their only concern. Their economy was partially based on Eastern goods passing through their territories to Christian harbours. Riley-Smith remarks that, although their idea of *jihad* remained undiminished, for practical reasons they chose for co-existence.<sup>563</sup> Something the rulers of the Latin Kingdom largely failed to do, notwithstanding the role of the Hospitallers and the Templars as advisors, mediators and negotiators.<sup>564</sup>

The loss of the Latin Kingdom did not have too much influence on Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was what it was and continued, even when all the Christian outposts in the Holy Land were lost,<sup>565</sup> factually rendering the whole exercise of the Crusades insignificant. A fourteenth-century pilgrimage account of Ogier VIII, Seigneur d'Anglure gives a description of the Holy Land after it was lost to the Muslims again. On his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, during 1395-6, D'Anglure provides a vivid description of an 'in-the-footsteps' of Scriptural travel, whereby events, people, places and the Stations of the Cross are commented on. This pilgrimage, of four people in total,

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<sup>560</sup> *Idem*, 25.

<sup>561</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b. One after the other, all the strongholds of the Latin standing armies fell like dominos: Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tarsus and Athlit, but not by violence. The Templar forts at Roche Guillaume and on the small island of Ruad were maintained till 1299 and 1302. After that, nothing remained of the Christian rule in the Holy land and Syria.

<sup>562</sup> Madden, 2005, 68-70.

<sup>563</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 68.

<sup>564</sup> *Ibid.* 69.

<sup>565</sup> Abulafia, 2011, 379.

took over a year to complete and was made to expiate the sins of D'Anglure. The party travelled from France to Venice, boarded a ship to Palestine where they visited Bethlehem, the Sinai and Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, the history of the Order, the hospital, its position and the number of beds (1,000) are mentioned. They continued to Egypt, saw Cairo and the Pyramids and made a Nile cruise, and during this cruise they were attacked by river pirates. Then further to Alexandria, boarded a ship to Cyprus and were nearly shipwrecked. The group enjoyed a stopover in Rhodes and the greenery and lushness of that island and the Knights Hospitallers are described.<sup>566</sup> On the way back to Europe, the group stopped at Cyprus, where sadly one of their travel companions succumbed to a disease. It took some serious skills to survive a medieval pilgrimage.

The *Dialogus Miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, was presumably written as a pedagogical tool for internal monastic use by 1223. Some of its narratives are about the experience of Crusading and engaging in Holy War.<sup>567</sup> Heisterbach also touches upon the human emotion of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and the reversal of fortune.<sup>568</sup>

### 3.16 Conclusion

The initial period of the hospice and the founding of the hospitaller institute as a religious and military Order, has cast the basic characteristics of the Order and its self-image. Both as a hospice and as an Order, their emic views had been formed and were able to fuse into something solid, the new phenomenon of a Hospitaller religious and military Order. The etic view would change faster and more often, and the Order had arguably little control over that.

Within the context of the spirit of the medieval ages, pilgrimage was of quintessential importance for creating both the hospice and its distinct identity. Pilgrimage had raised the awareness of providing Christian welfare and gave meaning and purpose to the hospice of Gerard. In the sense of medical and social care, Jerusalem shaped the basic conditions for founding a hospice, whereby the sanctity of the location was also of great prominence for future growth. From the early period, two important terms for image formation arise, Gerard being called *Blessed* and *hospitalarius*, hospitaller. In the discussion of this word in chapter 7.4, Cuozzo has established that the word *espitalier* was already referring to the Amalfitan hospice in Jerusalem. This quote by Cuozzo does not mention if this was before or during the time of Blessed Gerard.

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<sup>566</sup> Browne, 1975, 3.

<sup>567</sup> Purkis, 2013, 100-27. This internal use, as it has been suggested, was to facilitate monastic socialisation. These *miracula* narratives provide relevance to certain issues important for the religious teachings to young Cistercians monks.

<sup>568</sup> Heisterbach, 1851, *Distinctio prima, Capitulum XL, De mirabili conversione beatae Hildegundis virginis, quae se virum simulaverat*. In book 1, chapter 40, *De mirabili conversione beata Hildegundis virginis, quae se virum simulaverat*, there is the telling tale of Hildegunde of Neuss who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem around 1183 with her father. The father dies *en route*, and Hildegunde is left to her own devices. In order to survive, she assumes the identity of a boy. Later, safely back in Germany after many misadventures and near-escape from the gallows, she enters a monastery and becomes a monk. She dies young and at the washing of her body, her fellow-monks discover that the he was actually a she.

<sup>568</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 3-4.

The at times volatile relationships with the Muslim rulers in the Holy Land have been sketched and some of its excesses highlighted, for the better or worse. Further described is the shifting self-image of the Order during the early period in Jerusalem. The decision to transform the hospice from a closed monastery to an open convent promoted its accessibility, independent fund-raise appeal and outreach. Gerard modified the existing Rule to suit his own requirements and after the First Crusade had arrived, Augustinian elements also appeared. Gerard's adapted Rule is not only an exemplar of cohesion building and self-definition but also a sample that the house rules can and must change with the circumstances to remain relevant and successful.

The persons running the Hospital in Jerusalem were without doubt very much devoted, using the Scriptures as a blueprint for their institution. Gerard was certainly a visionary and far ahead of his time, who drew on his belief in God to set up a humanitarian society which still exists and thrives. The Hospitaller humility, dedication and vocation was noted, among others, by Godfrey of Bouillon, whose example of endowing the hospital, by now the most important Christian institution of Jerusalem next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with gifts was followed by others. Services were expanded and offered now on a basis of inclusion rather than exclusion, while the Hospitallers were not afraid to adopt new medical knowledge and practices, moving towards a palliative care system. Young Crusaders, after treatment in the Hospital, opted to stay and dedicate their lives to the hospitaller cause. It allowed them to lead a religious life within and an active life outside the convent. The open convent added the service of armed escorts, leading in the long run to the militarisation and the leap from a hospital to a religious military order. Martyrdom could be achieved through two routes, either die in battle or die of contracted diseases while nursing people in the Hospital.

Making use of the opportunities offered by the new political situation after 1099, led to an auto-shift in identity of Gerard, from Italian to French. Thenceforth, working to enhance the self-image touched upon a good number of topics, from firmly establishing reasons why St John the Baptist would be the right choice of patron saint, the claim of *locus sanctus* and a rich invented genealogy for the Hospital of St John. Gerard understood the power of money through providing dedicated services to pilgrims, the necessity of rules to create internal cohesion and networking of hospices *en route* Jerusalem for external cohesion. Although not undertaken in person by Gerard in Rome, the Hospital engaged in lobbying at the Papal Court, resulting in the issue of papal bulls to its advantage.

Within the noble and chivalric culture, coming with the First Crusade, there was the need for the Hospital to measure its foundation with their new peers, as it seemed that a mundane origin was something to be ashamed of, rather than be proud of, notwithstanding Christ's position on this.<sup>569</sup> After the death of Gerard, several image-enhancing instruments came about in the form of *memoria*, legends and miracles,

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<sup>569</sup> MT 19: 24. 'Again I tell you, it easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God.' There is a corresponding version in the Quran: Surat vii. ver. 37: 'The impious, who in his arrogance shall accuse our doctrine of falsity, shall find the gates of heaven shut: nor shall he enter there till a camel shall pass through the eye of a needle. It is thus that we shall recompense the wicked.'



including both the founder Blessed Gerard and the foundation of the institution at Jerusalem. Besides the prestige of the *locus sanctus* label, the *miracula* also had the task of stressing *le prestige d'antiquité* of the Hospitallers to stimulate the generosity of the pious benefactors.<sup>570</sup>

Importance given to matters related to image and reputation, from the new perspective of nobility and knighthood as social casts, such as armed escorts of pilgrims, the dynamics of militarisation and the need of a standing army in the Holy Land, were greatly increased by Gerard's successor, Raymond du Puy. Initial resistance to be at the beck and call of the rulers of the Holy Land was overcome but remained a bone of contention, infringing seriously on the drive for independence. A time of castle building and military management started, whereby the Order not only acted defensively but also offensively. Initially, there was much internal resistance against striking against the infidels, as morality stood in the way. Once Grand Master Gilbert of Assailly enriched the identity of a knight with the term *miles Christi*, the issue became clearer and was finally solved by papal bulls, that soldiers of Christ could indeed slay heathens.<sup>571</sup>

Receiving and caring for pilgrims became a principal and enduring feature in Christianity. Selfless giving had many shapes and formats within the Johannine context of the Hospital and was not restricted only to 'saintly men'. In the light of Hospitaller identity, pilgrimage to Jerusalem played a crucial role, especially after 1099, as the Hospital would never have had the chance to grow and develop as it did.<sup>572</sup>

Du Puy's approach to charitable services and unconditional devotion to the sick and poor, the *pauperes Christi*, became a model that was soon followed by others. The Hospitallers, while continuing to build and extend their network of charitable shelters and hospices along the pilgrims' routes, urged the European rulers and nobility to increase their sponsoring. This idea found support by some rulers, such as Frederick I Barbarossa and Pope Celestine III. The latter acknowledged the link between the Hospital in Jerusalem and Christ, as had been the purpose of the *miracula*. From the twelfth century onwards, the Hospitaller model was followed by other organisations and similar hospitals were built for a similar purpose. Support for these hospitals was there, but at times frustrated by the Black Death or wars. The Hospitaller organisational model and service provision shifted significantly due to religious, social and political influences. In the thirteenth century, Europe's population grew rapidly, resulting in urbanisation and economic growth. New sponsors were sourced, and beside kings, prelates and colleague hospital orders, a wider social basis was achieved.<sup>573</sup>

I have offered an alternative origin of the Templars in this book, in suggesting that, as also Riley-Smith has done, the Templars were originally part of the Hospitaller set up within the Augustinian context of the Holy Sepulchre and branched off. Riley-Smith does not give a reason for this development, and I am suggesting here that when the Templars

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<sup>570</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, 1897, 16; In view of identity, the *miracula* were helpful, but they were meant to be taken allegorically, not literally, and to inspire people, *i.e.* learning from the past to move forward.

<sup>571</sup> Hiestand, 1980, 31-80.

<sup>572</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 4.

<sup>573</sup> Risse, 1999.

realised the Hospital was receiving many funds and had become an economy of scale, they saw an opportunity. Although both orders had a nearly identical financial structure, the Hospitallers had the advantage of their reputation of selfless giving. From the beginning, it was evident that the Templars were not so much bothered with the selfless giving aspect, but more interested in the selfish taking of the funds under the guise of the new Knighthood. Templars were possibly closer to the Crusading ideal as financiers than the Hospitallers as carers. The Templars' interpretation of their self-image appealed to a different category of actors, namely rulers, decision-makers and the financial sector, rather than the poor, sick and pilgrims.

The legitimacy of the military role was again confirmed by the papacy and made it universally accepted, but still, the Hospitallers had their reservations. They would never incorporate in their statutes and ethos that their only goal in life was Christian knighthood. The Templars' ethos was fighting out of love for God and the duty to protect Christians and the Christian Holy sites and get paid for their efforts. The Hospitallers had as their pathos that military role, but their ethos was that they fought because of love, following their care for the poor and sick and as a consequence of their *logos*, receiving gifts for that goal from benefactors.<sup>574</sup>

The military orders had both a specific and shared collective identity and self-image features in common: defending Christendom against the enemies of their common Faith, *i.e.* the fight against pagans, infidels. The Order of the Temple was the only order in the Holy Land which was specifically created, and self-appointed, for this goal. The Hospitallers and the Teutonic knights only took up a military role later. Fighting the infidel became part of their self-image and identity, which ran a course independently of their genesis.

As with any fully-fledged military force, the stakes are much higher against an equally armed and organised opponent. Throughout the further history of the Latin Kingdom, evidently the Muslim forces would never stop until they had at least Jerusalem back.<sup>575</sup> While waiting for the inevitable to happen, the Hospitallers enjoyed some victories and suffered some defeats. Throughout those ups and downs, their image remained intact, while their self-image may have had gathered some dents.

The Hospitaller image in the eyes of Saladin was that of the scum of the earth, to be annihilated soonest. Through loss of unity in the camp of the local Christian rulers of the Holy Land, Saladin ultimately was successful and recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, while the Mamluks expelled the Orders and what was left of the Latin Kingdom from the Holy Land in 1291. The loss of Jerusalem caused great damage to the Orders' public image but was somehow repaired with establishing the Hospital in Acre. Worse was the eviction from the Holy Land, and it took a few years to mend the bruised Hospitaller ego after regrouping and restructuring in Cyprus. To the identity of the military orders, one may add the concept being under continuous threat and peril.<sup>576</sup> Next phase of the

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<sup>574</sup> *Ibid.*, 48-52. Hiestand, 1980, 31-80.

<sup>575</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 73.

<sup>576</sup> *Idem*, 2012c, 233-52.

development of the orders took place on islands outside the Holy Land, initially trying to organise another crusade with objective Jerusalem.



Image 10: *Manteaux a bec* (15<sup>th</sup> century) and suit of armour (16<sup>th</sup> century) of a Knight of Justice



## Chapter 4 Terramarique, from land to sea

### 4.1 Rebuilding of the Orders in Cyprus, Venice and beyond

This chapter relates to the post-Kingdom-of-Jerusalem-period, in which both the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers retreated to the island of Cyprus, a Latin Kingdom, to re-group and rebuild themselves.<sup>577</sup> Here they enjoyed only temporary hospitality, as the Cypriot king eyed them with suspicion.<sup>578</sup> At Cyprus, the Hospitallers realised their vulnerability, and escaped in time the dissolution and torture which befell the Templars. For the Hospitallers a sign that survival was linked to finding their own territory, in this matter observing and learning from the Teutonic Order. The latter, to further their independence, had withdrawn from the Holy Land directly to Venice and from there moved on to Marienburg in 1309 to create their own territorial *Ordensstaat* in northern and eastern Europe.<sup>579</sup> Creating independent states, first on Rhodes and later on Malta, was the road to independence the Hospitallers followed. *Memoria* and self-image developed accordingly, acquiring a naval and island character.

The *corpus* mentions in a few instances the island of Rhodes, but always in the context of knights who served both in Rhodes and in Malta. In the wider sense, at St John's and the Grand Masters' Palace, to name a few, numerous oil paintings and frescos have interpretations of events at Jerusalem, Cyprus and Rhodes, as it was understood backwards, in the philosophy of Kierkegaard. This answers at least the question that the memory to these places was maintained and remained relevant to the Order.

### 4.2 The Hospitaller island solution

After barely surviving the expulsion from Palestine, the Hospitaller Order was in dire need of reform and to save their reputation. When regrouping in Limassol in 1291, there were only forty Knights Hospitaller and ten sergeants-at-arms, each with two mounts, a squire and a page, with their resources at an all-time low. Grand Master Guillaume de Villaret (r. 1296-1305) seems to have set many wrongs straight regarding the government of the Hospitaller Order. The Order's administration was thoroughly revised and reformed into a corporation,<sup>580</sup> and Sarnowsky makes a comparison to the development of the *Ordensstaat* of the Teutonic Order. He describes the search for the Teutonic Order's own territory as a process of *Territorienbildung*, to arrive at its sovereignty or state government, also called *Landesherrschaft*, and at its reign, called *Ordensherrschaft*. Sarnowsky further describes the Teutonic Order's formation of a governing structure, possibly better referred to as going from 'consortium-building,'<sup>581</sup> i.e. the Order as a corporation, *Ordenscorporation* within the confines of the Holy Land or

<sup>577</sup> Spitieri, 1994, 14-17.

<sup>578</sup> Sire, 1996, 25.

<sup>579</sup> Militzer, 2005.

<sup>580</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 227.

<sup>581</sup> Jürgen Sarnowsky, 2007, respectively 11, 42 and 36. On self-image, see Wüst, 2013.



Venice, to a fully-fledged independent *Ordensstaat*.<sup>582</sup> Similarly, the Hospitallers started to create their own independence when in Cyprus. Over time, the most striking difference between the Teutonic *Ordensstaat* and the Hospitaller one was that the Germans increasingly became surrounded by Christians due to their forced conversion policies, while the Hospitaller islands remained surrounded by 'infidels', reminding them every day of their *raison d' être*.<sup>583</sup> To make a full transition from an *Ordenskorporation* to an *Ordensstaat*, the Hospitallers needed their own territory, and Cyprus could not offer that. This opened the way to the idea of forming an island state, first in Rhodes and finally in Malta, remaining exiles at sea, as *nautae Christi*.

While re-orientating in Cyprus, the Hospitallers needed instant reputational repair. In 1297, they started to build a new hospital at Limassol, to continue catering for the sick, the poor and the pilgrims, as a replacement of their lost hospital in Acre. Statutes from 1300 to 1304 recorded the operational activities of the Conventual infirmary at Limassol and mentioned not only the care for the sick, but also something very fundamental, namely the oaths made by the resident doctors, surgeons and the brothers.<sup>584</sup> In a March 1306 report to the King of Aragon, Grand Master Guillaume de Villaret, on a fund-finding mission, explained that the Order had no finances to maintain the sick unless they borrowed at usury.<sup>585</sup>

#### *Changing from an army to a navy*

The military orders also badly needed to present their Western public with a new and convincing military role, as after the debacle of losing the Holy Land, alms-giving was not enough to maintain a proper public image. It was therefore pertinent that the Hospitaller Order needed to carve out a new future, as the fight of the Cross against the Crescent could no longer be fought with over-land campaigns. The cause of the Hospitallers to change from an army to a navy was effected through the loss of the Holy Land and their regrouping on an island. At Limassol, the Hospitallers started to form their own navy on a larger scale. This probably constituted one of the biggest shifts in image and self-image in the Order's history.

Seafaring, as an alternative military solution, had been an indelible part of the Hospitaller image since the thirteenth century. Sarnowsky sketches a naval profile of the orders, writing that, from the very start, the orders used the sea to transport men, pilgrims, horses and equipment to the Holy Land.<sup>586</sup> With the comfort of hindsight, the Hospitallers had already set in motion a maritime branch from the 1150s onwards, using their own cargo ships, built and maintained at their own dockyard at Acre, in order to transport their troops and supplies.<sup>587</sup> All major military orders hired, chartered or

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<sup>582</sup> Miltzer, 2005, 87.

<sup>583</sup> Luttrell, 2016, chapter 2.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid*, 1994, 64-81, here 68.

<sup>585</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 227.

<sup>586</sup> Sarnowsky, 2008, 41-56; Luttrell, 1995, 177-188.

<sup>587</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 105-6.



owned ships, of various sizes and built for various localised purposes. Orders constructed, chartered, bought, refitted, reconstructed and armed ships. Some ships were donated to the orders, while the brethren could own or finance ships too.<sup>588</sup> Templar ships also transported pilgrims to the Holy Land, according to Sarnowsky's sources of 1207 and 1216. Templars and Hospitallers gave themselves no restrictions with regard to the embarkation of pilgrims, merchants and payload. This, at times, created tension, such as in Marseilles, where the local merchants and ship owners thought that the orders were competing unfairly. Restrictions occurred to Hospitallers ships and only two of their ships per year were allowed to depart from Marseilles, one in spring and one in August, limited to 1,500 pilgrims per ship in April 1234.<sup>589</sup>

As early as 1293, the Hospitallers set out in galleys in aid of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia,<sup>590</sup> and persisted in retaliatory raids on the Syrian and Palestinian shores.<sup>591</sup> On other occasions, the Hospitallers used the island of Ruad, in use by the Templars until 1302, to carry out raids in Muslim territories. Despite all of these attempts, they did not succeed in regaining a foothold in the Holy Land. In some circles, the military orders' inability to hold Palestine for Christendom, was heavily criticised and served as an excuse for revenge on the Knights Templar.<sup>592</sup> This same argument applied to the Hospitaller Order, as their public image had also been damaged throughout Europe.<sup>593</sup> Notwithstanding, the Hospitallers persisted in retaliatory raids on the Syrian and Palestinian shores,<sup>594</sup> although in the end, these Hospitaller attempts to organise a new seaborne crusade failed miserably.<sup>595</sup> Owning or hiring ships for transport or military goals is, of course, not the same as having a structurally commanded navy. When the new idea of a seaborne crusade led to nothing,<sup>596</sup> a better alternative was tabled: Instead of Crusading on land and attempting to reconquer Jerusalem or the Holy Land, they permutated their heroic self-image of *milites Christi*, formerly belonging a standing army patrolling the Holy Land, to a not less heroic one, a sailing Christian frontier defence. Policing the Mediterranean became the main task, now with their own warships and marine command structure.<sup>597</sup> The Hospitaller mission had always been in frontier positions, although at sea the fringes lie within a much vaster expanse than on land.<sup>598</sup> In this new era, it had become part of the Order's corporate identity to defend, as a self-

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<sup>588</sup> Sarnowsky, 2008, 41-56.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>590</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 128; Spiteri, 1994, 17. The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia was positioned between what is now the south-east coast of Turkey bordering on Syria.

<sup>591</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 63.

<sup>592</sup> Sire, 1996. 25

<sup>593</sup> Nicholson, 2001, 1-4.

<sup>594</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 63.

<sup>595</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 223-36

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>597</sup> Sarnowsky, 2008, 41-56, here 49-50. The Hospitallers took to build a fleet of their own, so that better control was possible, and they would be less dependent on others. A Hospitaller admiral was appointed, first one in 1299, with an additional office of conventual bailiff from 1300 onwards. When Hospitallers offered limited participation in Crusader fleets, this again caused criticism. They made good for this in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they took part in nearly all naval activities related to the Crusades.

<sup>598</sup> *Idem*, 2011, 1-32, here 6.

sacrificing spearheading force, those places of Christendom which other sovereigns could not afford or were not willing to defend.<sup>599</sup>

*Collective identities: Attempted fusions and the Templar dissolution*

When the military orders failed to protect the Holy Land and eventually lost it to the enemy, it was at Cyprus where the Knights Templar got most of the blame and they formed an easy scapegoat for King Philip the Fair of France,<sup>600</sup> who had busied himself with trying to control the Church, managing to establish the Papacy in Avignon. Although the role of the military orders in the Crusades was arguably over, Pope Clement V (1305-14), in the early days of his tenure, thought about a new crusade and asked the Orders for their logistical advice and support. He had invited both James of Molay, Master of the Knights Templar and Foulques de Villaret, Master of the Hospitaller Order, to his court in Avignon, where they arrived in May 1307.<sup>601</sup> Clement V also suggested to the Masters of both Orders that he would like to see them merge to be more efficient in the execution of a new crusade. This shows that the orders' collective identities were so close that outsiders had difficulties in distinguishing. Out of hand, both Masters, refuted this idea. Molay argued that because both Orders had the same structure and same ranks, this would surely lead to strife regarding the appointments of offices, as it would have the same effect as a hostile takeover at present.<sup>602</sup> The threat of a hostile take-over also applied to the Teutonic Order. With the shift from Acre to Venice, the Germans also changed their mission statement. They had started as a German hospital initiative in the Holy Land, and like the Hospitallers, had become militarised. Unlike the Hospitallers, the Teutonic Order placed more emphasis on its military role and redirected the hospital tasks to the background.<sup>603</sup> Where the Templars and Hospitallers had declined the fusion proposed by the Pope, so did the Teutonic Order reject a likewise encouraged fusion with the Hospitallers. Such a merger would sincerely threaten the 'German-ness' of the Teutonic Order, one of their trademark identity features.<sup>604</sup> Their stay in Venice was justified as long as they had a prospect of recapturing the Holy Land, Venice being close enough. When those prospects became unfeasible, great uncertainty arose and the

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<sup>599</sup> Of the three larger orders, the Hospitallers were the only one to make a definite switch from an army to a navy. The Teutonic Order remained an army but their knights made use of ships not only in the Baltic Sea but also to manoeuvre up rivers to continue with their conquests, to transport settlers or to build castles; with regard to naval activities on rivers, Quintano, 2003, 229 ff., reports that in the eighteenth century, the Hospitallers also engaged in a riverboat war on the Danube, assisting Austria and Russia in a failed attempt to protect Belgrade from an Ottoman attack in 1739.

<sup>600</sup> Barber and Bate, 2002, 2.

<sup>601</sup> Burgtorf, 2008, 166.

<sup>602</sup> *Idem*, 1.

<sup>603</sup> Miltzer, 2005. Nonetheless, the German Order still exists today as a charitable institution in the Netherlands, Austria and Italy, especially in the still German speaking province of Südtirol (Alto Adige), which until 1918 belonged to Austria, and afterwards was given as a protectorate of the Völkerbund to Italy. Since 31<sup>st</sup> August 1972, Südtirol has been part of Italy. See for Tirol: Sonderstatut, 1972, and also Bortolotti, 1985.

<sup>604</sup> *Idem*, 95ff. In the meantime, there were some pressing reasons for leaving Venice. Being so close to the Papacy, the Teutonic Order did not think it was safe, in hindsight a feeling shared by the Templars. The antagonism between the Holy See and the Venetians regarding their always-shifting loyalties and trade interests with the Muslims was one reason for concern.

decision was taken to concentrate mostly on the formation of a Teutonic *Ordensstaat* in Prussia and Eastern Europe.<sup>605</sup>

Amongst the sovereigns of Europe, there was undeniable disrespect for the Crusading movement and the accusations made to the Knights Templar brushed off on the Hospitaller Order too, deemed guilty by association.<sup>606</sup> King Philip the Fair's attempts to get a grip on the Church also included an attempt to exert influence on the military orders.<sup>607</sup> On Friday, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1307, many Templars were arrested and ultimately their Order was suppressed in 1312.<sup>608</sup> Pope Clement V complied and ordered a papal bull in November 1307, *Pastoralis praeeminentiae*, ordering all Christian sovereigns to detain as many Templars as they could and seize their goods.<sup>609</sup>

### 4.3 Hospitaller Rhodes

The Hospitallers felt threatened with the same fate as the Templars and in order to avoid dissolution, the Hospitaller Master Foulques de Villaret, a former Admiral of the Order, quickly increased his efforts in the developing the strategic survival of the Order. His eyes had fallen on Rhodes as its new base. Since the Aegean theatre was in utter turmoil, he saw a need suiting his Order's profile. It was not only the Ottoman principalities which fought against the Byzantines there, but also the Venetians and the Genoese were looking for new markets after Palestine was closed for the West, while the Angevins and Catalans were meddling in the Peloponnese too. In these circumstances, Rhodes seemed to be a perfectly logical choice for their frontier duties. The archipelago of Rhodes belonged to the former Latin Empire of Constantinople,<sup>610</sup> but was *de facto* ruled as an independent state. Although Rhodes island had a good harbour and fertile hinterlands, it was in a bad state after 30 years of Genoese overlordship. Turkish raids had reduced the Rhodiot population and the remainder were paying tribute to the Turks in order to avoid further attacks.<sup>611</sup>

Between June 1306 and the end of 1310, the Hospitallers acquired Rhodes, partly by conquest and by purchase,<sup>612</sup> re-populating the island soon after with Latin settlers to engage in commerce and agriculture in order to supply the island with food, commodities

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<sup>605</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>606</sup> Sire, 1996, 28-9.

<sup>607</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 2. The writing of St Thomas of Aquinas also addresses the contemporary issue regarding the freedom of the military orders from episcopal control. The papal bulls provided such exemption, but there was fierce resistance to it from the episcopal side of the matter, leading to occasional power struggles, at times a reaction to the orders' failure to protect the Holy Land. Furthermore, there was dispute to which jurisdiction they should belong. As monks to canon law, as knights to royal jurisdiction, as King Philip the Fair made amply clear in his attempt to control the Templars. He expected that any French knights should be answerable to him.

<sup>608</sup> Sire, 1996, 26-7:

<sup>609</sup> Burgtorf, 2008, 168.

<sup>610</sup> Norwich, 1991, vol 3. During the Fourth Crusade, the Venetians took control of Constantinople in 1204. The Venetian intervention, named the Latin Empire of Constantinople, ended in 1261, when the Byzantines managed to recapture Constantinople under the leadership of their emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus.

<sup>611</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 66.

<sup>612</sup> Sire, 1996, 26-39. Their possession of the island was confirmed by Pope Clement V in September 1307.

and men for defence purposes.<sup>613</sup> Although the acquisition of Rhodes was part of a larger plan to reconquer the Holy Land, the Order avoided making it look like another Crusade against the Byzantine Empire. Insofar an attack on another country can be subtle and delicate, the acquisition by force of Rhodes was explained away and justified as that the Byzantine Greeks on their own could not withstand the Turkish forces, and that it was certainly not the case that the Hospitallers had attacked a Christian nation. After all, the Order had sent an embassy to Constantinople to offer their assistance in this matter, because the Byzantine governor of Rhodes himself was ruling the Byzantine property as if it was his own state. Moreover, the Genoese and Venetian protectorates had placed the Dodecanese archipelago, positioned on the Levantine trade routes, in a precarious position.<sup>614</sup>

Pope Clement V issued a bull titled *Ad Providam* on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1312, which dictated the transfer of the property of the dissolved Templar Order to the Hospitaller Order instead of the French crown. One year and a half later, at the council of Vienna on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1313, the dissolution of the Templars and the transfer of their goods to the Hospitallers were confirmed.<sup>615</sup> The reason behind this rather bold move, in defiance of the French king, was that it could be used for the original purpose the money was donated for, namely the liberation of the Holy Land, all the more since now the Hospitallers had acquired the island of Rhodes. To complete the transaction, not only the wealth of the Templars was used, but the Order also had to borrow money from the Papacy and the Florentine banking families the Bardi, the Peruzzi, the Acciaiuoli and the Alberti.<sup>616</sup> This offered a prospect of a continuation of the Crusader spirit and rekindled the old principle that allowed military orders to hold onto lands wrested from the infidels.<sup>617</sup> Of course, the demise of the biggest competitor of the Hospitallers, the Templars, had provided an opportunity for operational growth and reputational enhancement, a new lease of life. There had been plenty of criticism on the efficiency of the Hospitallers, especially because their attempts to rekindle the Crusades had been spectacularly unsuccessful. Even their achievements of capturing the island of Rhodes had not yet yielded results for the Crusader movement. The papal pressure for reform of the military orders was reactivated, possibly by the usual fear of the secular clergy, probably jealous of the independence and privileges of the Hospitaller Order. Further motivation could be found in the criticism of the Crusader movement, claiming that the military orders did not spend enough money, time and effort in regaining the Holy Land.<sup>618</sup>

Notwithstanding the financial impetus on the coffers of the Hospitaller Order by the transfer of the possessions of the Knights Templar, it initially caused many administrative problems, such as claims for compensation by the French government and paying

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<sup>613</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 66.

<sup>614</sup> *Ibid*, 63ff.

<sup>615</sup> Burgtorf, 2008, 175.

<sup>616</sup> Grech, 2016, 148, 152

<sup>617</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 94.

<sup>618</sup> *Idem*. 54.

pensions to ex-Templars.<sup>619</sup> However, there were enough funds available to start fortifying the new Hospitaller home in Rhodes. Within a short time of settling permanently in Rhodes, the wheels of fortune turned again to favour of the Hospitallers. It seemed that being the sole beneficiary of the Templar possessions and lands, started to pay off. Nonetheless, the acquisition of Rhodes had created a substantial debt and the transfer of the Templar possessions was not a smooth affair. It seems, however, that the wealth the Hospitallers inherited from the Knights Templar was not reaching very far. The costs of the acquisition of Rhodes and its subsidiary islands of Nisyros, Kos, Symi, Halki, Alimonia, Tilos, Kalymnos and Leros had been enormous and the Hospitallers had to resort to mortgaging their revenues and twenty years later, in 1329, they were still repaying their debts.<sup>620</sup> The Hospitallers in Malta were also regularly in debt. As a sample in the *corpus*, the inscribed text of Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière, Grand Commander of the Sacred Jerusalemite Hospitality, mentions that through his work a loan could be repaid to France, Italy, Rome, and Genoa, which money had been collected for the defence against the Turks who, until the year 1643, were posing a threat of destruction to the whole Religion.<sup>621</sup>

Rhodes transformed from a troubled island into a chivalric realm of near-mythical medieval and romantic grandeur. Compared to the heat and the deserts of the Holy Land and Cyprus, Rhodes was lush and green, a pleasant place to live. It had a reputation for its beautiful native roses, woods for providing timber for the Hospitaller ships, fertile landscape and, above all, a good harbour, close to the mainland of Asia. Besides, there was ample opportunity for hunting and horse riding. The affluent knightly society built by the Order drew criticism from Pope Clement VI, accusing the knights of a lavish and luxurious lifestyle fuelled by their success, and their royal magnificence with too much secular wealth of gold and silver crockery and cutlery, fine food, rich clothes and too little religious poverty.<sup>622</sup> Moreover, he levelled further accusations to the Hospitallers of losing their vows of poverty and obedience, and indulging in a secular luxury lifestyle.<sup>623</sup>

### *Hospital building in Rhodes*

Despite the abovementioned criticism, the Hospitallers stayed faithful to their vocation and created hospitals on a grand scale in Rhodes.<sup>624</sup> Christian seafarers and the local poor could also profit from this service, as did pilgrims. Although one might have thought that Rhodes was not really on the way to Jerusalem, the Order renewed its interest in becoming a pilgrims' hub to the Holy Land. Notwithstanding their restricted budget in the second half of the fourteenth century, they managed to attract western

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<sup>619</sup> Barber 1994, 304.

<sup>620</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 65

<sup>621</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 161. Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière died in 1662.

<sup>622</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 30.

<sup>623</sup> *Idem*, 29-30; Barker, [1948] 2011), 48.

<sup>624</sup> Sire, 1996, 30.

pilgrims to Rhodes on their way to Jerusalem. Luttrell suggests, for instance, that Hospitaller Rhodes became a pilgrimage link between Tuscany and Jerusalem.<sup>625</sup>

Luttrell also comments on the Hospitaller medical tradition in the period 1291-1530 post-Holy Land when they moved to Rhodes, taking their medical tradition with them. Although their Rule demanded that the Hospitallers had to work for the poor, the sick and pilgrims, Luttrell notes that alleviating suffering seems to have become a goal in itself rather than trying to acquire Salvation through good works. In Jerusalem, the Hospital was known to give generously to the poor, employing doctors and surgeons in separated wards and maternity wards and their priests offering nightly prayers in the hospital for their supporters and benefactors. It had offered substance for orphans and lepers and financial support, medicine and food and buried those patients who had succumbed and treated those wounded in battle.<sup>626</sup> As discussed previously, this was continued in Limassol, albeit on a much smaller scale. In Rhodes, around 1310, a Conventual hospital was set up in a converted building near the sea walls, to serve the sick, the poor and the pilgrims. Traditionally, on Maundy Thursday, the Seneschal washed the feet of the poor, addressed then and now as *our lords the sick*. The Grand Master himself was called the *guardian of the poor of Christ, pauperum Christi custos*.<sup>627</sup> In 1314, a proper hospital was budgeted for. This new Conventual hospital was situated within the *collachium*, that part of the city solely reserved for the Hospitallers, as the Hospitaller identity also carried values of seclusion and exclusivity. Reports of visitors described the Conventual hospital, for instance, in 1395 Niccolò da Martoni wrote that the Rhodiot hospital provided beds for pilgrims and the sick, while doctors were on duty and priest distributed great alms, *magna kelemosina*. Some of the poor were served meat and bread at the hospital. Hospitaller tradition to serve pilgrims never slackened and remained a reality to many pilgrims in the East, <sup>628</sup> although it seems that the Hospitaller naval efforts were overshadowing the humanitarian ones.

After c. 1330 the Hospitaller hospitals had to prepare for new kind of wounds, those caused by firearms and cannon.<sup>629</sup> The use of firearms resounds in the *corpus* and at St John's. In the Maltese context of sea fights and firearms, the *corpus* has included a few very graphically described incidents. Take, for instance, Antonio Mastrillo who 'was shot lethally through and through by a scorching harquebus from a soldier of the defence. He died in Malta, a glorious death for Christ, for the Religion.'<sup>630</sup> Francesco Mingnanelli was cut down by cannon fire of the enemy, when he was in an attack on two 'pirate ships of the Tunisian King, dreadful for their size and reputation of their cannon...unchallenged, very fiery and bravely, against the enemy, longing for true glory through a violent death at their avaricious hands, already certain of victory, he was cut down in battle.'<sup>631</sup>

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<sup>625</sup> Luttrell, 1992, 192.

<sup>626</sup> Luttrell, 1994, 64-81, here 65.

<sup>627</sup> *Idem*, 68-71

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>629</sup> Risse, 1999.

<sup>630</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 302.

<sup>631</sup> *Idem*, no. 300.



Accordingly, the iconography of the *corpus* depicts many pistols, guns and cannons, supporting the inscribed text or the context.

The Catalan Grand Master, Frà Antoni Fluvià (d. 1437) left a large sum of money to build a new Conventual hospital and after many difficulties, a state-of-the-art hospital was finally inaugurated in 1483. Since in the Order's original statutes and rules hospitality prevailed over military matters, the initiative of Grand Master Fluvià gave a boost to a renewal and extension of the powers of the hospital administration. Statutes were improved and changed, now ruling that there should be 24/7 care for the sick, a daily continuance of the pharmacy and the appointment of two veteran brothers to oversee the care of the patients and the expenditure on food and medicine.<sup>632</sup> The network of a variety of hospices was growing steadily and selfless giving could result in sainthood too. St Toscana, a Hospitaller saint, worked in the hospice in Verona (late twelfth century), while another saint, St Ubaldesca (d. 1206) worked in Pisa. St Flora (d. 1347) was a professed Hospitaller nun living near Cahors, France.<sup>633</sup> Especially during their stay in Rhodes, hospices were created in a more significant quantity than before.<sup>634</sup> These medical and charitable achievements were distributed relatively fast through the Hospitaller network, thanks to the intervention of the printing press,<sup>635</sup> creating an image boost in the same breath.

#### *Fortress building in Rhodes*

The damaged Crusader reputation of the Hospitallers was repaired in the period 1310-12, when they managed to capture almost the entire Turkish fleet at Amorgos, putting the Genoese, who had been in an arms deal and trade pact with the Turks, once more firmly in place.<sup>636</sup> Under the command of Grand Commander Albrecht von Schwarzburg, the Hospitaller navy once again trashed the Turkish fleet, intended to invade Rhodes, at Lerro in 1319. This took away the momentum of the Ottoman expansionism and the Ottoman security threat to Rhodes for about 100 years, a period in which the Hospitallers not only regained their strength but also established themselves in their new role as a western frontier base, serving Christendom in hostile waters. In that quiet period of the fourteenth century, the Hospitallers were not continuously at war with the Ottomans, they also engaged in commercial treaties with them. There was also significant cooperation with Western European countries to defend Christendom in the East by means of naval leagues of various configurations. Cooperation also existed with the rulers of Egypt and Tunisia in the form of travel permits and commercial treaties.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Sarnowsky, 2011, 1-32, here 12.

<sup>633</sup> Luttrell, 1994, 75. These three saints are also depicted on the frieze of St John's, in the *Ahnengalerie* of Hospitaller Heroes, Blessed and Saints.

<sup>634</sup> *Idem*, 78. Just to name a few, at Glatz, Zittau, Breslau and Lowenberg in Silesia; at Strakonice and in 1370 at Prague and Svetla, Bohemia; Laa, Enns, Vienna and Furstenfeld in Austria; numerous hospices in the German priory. In Toulouse the Order had two hospitals, one in Naples and in Genoa a hospital by the harbour, catering for pilgrims awaiting passage to Jerusalem

<sup>635</sup> *Idem*, 73.

<sup>636</sup> Sire, 1996, 28-30.

<sup>637</sup> Soldani and Duran I Duelt, 2012, 257-70.

For too long, the Ottomans had not posed a serious naval threat and that had lured the Hospitallers into a false sense of security. Instead of constructing state of the art defences, they had been content with repairing fortifications dating from the Hellenistic <sup>638</sup> and Byzantine periods.<sup>639</sup> When Mehmed II captured Constantinople in 1453, the Order at Rhodes realised they were now promoted to the easternmost frontier of Christendom.<sup>640</sup> Capturing Constantinople had been more than 800 years in the making, much helped by the fatal weakening of Byzantium by the Fourth Crusade of 1204. A prophecy of Mohammed had been fulfilled: 'Verily you shall conquer Constantinople. What a wonderful leader will her leader be, and what a wonderful army will that army be!' <sup>641</sup>

On the other hand, fortress building had been a part of the corporate identity of the Order since their stay in the Holy Land and this would serve them in this period of renewed Ottoman strength.<sup>642</sup> Although the Ottomans engaged in unsuccessful sieges in 1320, 1444 and 1480 of Rhodes, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the pressure of the Ottoman razzias and attacks increased such that the islands were in a constant state of alert. The Ottomans could not possibly endure the continuous insults meted out by the Hospitallers in Rhodes, whose island-state was right in the middle of their principal commercial and communication sea-lanes between Constantinople and Alexandria<sup>643</sup>

For the Hospitallers, fortifying and rethinking its fortification strategy of Rhodes became a priority. The appearance of offices of military engineers, such as the *Provediteur des Fortifications* or the institutionalisation of the Commissioners of Fortifications were signs of new thinking. Titles also appear for master masons / military engineers, such as *murator et protomagister* or *muratore et capo maestro delle opera di muraglia*.<sup>644</sup> There was also a distinction between local and foreign engineers who were provided on loan by other sovereigns: the *Ingeniere della Religione*, the resident engineer and the foreign expert who came to Rhodes to provide particular expertise, *Ingegniero dell'Imperatore Massimiano*.<sup>645</sup> Long term planning was undoubtedly a strong point in both the Ottoman expansionist strategy and the Hospitaller offensive defence system.

In the last twenty years of their stay in Rhodes, the Hospitallers employed mainly Italian engineers who hastened the transition from medieval defence to a more modern defensive system, better resistant to the use of cannon fire and sapping / mining. Rhodes became a competent fortified city and during the siege of 1522, 6,000 people were in a position to withstand the attack of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent with 200,000

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<sup>638</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 59.

<sup>639</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 68-71. Few of the remaining fortifications, as many did not survive, show Crusader influences from Palestine or Hospitaller influences. They did however expand the few Byzantine watchtowers along the coast into a functioning early-warning system.

<sup>640</sup> MacCulloch, 2009, 385.

<sup>641</sup> Hadith recorded by, among others, Imam Ahmad, Al Musnad 14:331:18859, in Hughes, 2017), 1.

<sup>642</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 128; Spiteri, 1994, 17.

<sup>643</sup> Ernest Barker, [1948] 2011, 35-51.

<sup>644</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 73.

<sup>645</sup> *Ibid.*

assailants for six months,<sup>646</sup> notwithstanding the massively overpowering might of Süleyman's newly acquired cannons.

#### 4.4 From *Ordenskorporation* to *Ordensstaat*

By 1310, the Grand Master could call the Convent in Rhodes an autonomous sovereignty or an ecclesiastical principality, due to the Pope's spiritual authority over the Order. Rhodes was an ideal place for the Hospitallers to develop a novel form of commonwealth, the order state, *Ordensstaat*,<sup>647</sup> following the Templars and the Teutonic Knights on this route, another aspect of shared identity. The downside of reaching the principality status was that the Hospitaller humility suffered over time, but not only because of sovereignty. Grand Master Foulques de Villaret fell in the trap of hubris and ruled the Hospitaller island state as a despot. Soon enough, he faced a revolt and, as directed by the Pope, he abdicated. Humility had been a Hospitaller hallmark since the times of Blessed Gerard, when this characteristic had made them stand out from their direct competitors, the Templars. Humility had attracted funds to build hospitals and remains a recurrent theme in the *corpus*: 'Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière, Knight of the Sacred Jerusalemite Hospitality...Grand Prior of Toulouse...in his military heart he cherished piety, gentleness, charity towards the poor, his humility entirely suitable to a Christian gentleman and even virtue in such a way that you might say that the principles of peace and war rivalled within him.'<sup>648</sup>

Making Rhodes the centre of their universe had been a fortunate move, as it made the Hospitallers a 'strong, outer bastion in the principle area of Latin colonisation.'<sup>649</sup> It was now truly a sovereignty, both territorial and political. The Hospitaller initial form of independence in Cyprus could be classified as an *Ordenskorporation*, as not all elements to form a state were in place yet. Developing from an *Ordenskorporation* to an *Ordensstaat* required to meet a number of conditions. The Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* was implemented on islands, Rhodes (and later Malta), which initially were not theirs. All its institutions, finance and ruling elite, which made it a state like any other, however, came with them from abroad. The local populations were not involved in inviting the Order to their respective islands but were offered employment and protection instead. Essentially, the Order did not allow any oppression by the Roman Catholic Church, as had happened in Cyprus and in certain Venetian dominions, since the Order controlled the local Latin clergy, allowing for a mutually beneficial relationship with the local Rhodiots.<sup>650</sup> The presence of the Hospitallers left a huge impact on the environment through the building of fortifications, offices, *auberges*, churches, gardens and other infrastructure. As Sarnowsky had already remarked, the nobiliary elements of the Orders drove their

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<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>647</sup> Munro, 2008, 123-144. The German knights of the Teutonic Order had already created their own *Ordensstaat* in Eastern Europe during the 'Northern Crusades' of 1224.

<sup>648</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 161.

<sup>649</sup> Braudel, 1994, 603.

<sup>650</sup> Kasdagli, 2016, 6.

ambition for independent territorial lordships and handling and managing of landed properties.<sup>651</sup>

#### *The governing body of the Ordensstaat*

The Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* may be best described as originating from a hospital and later to become a 'cosmopolitan club tintured by France.' It operated in the Crusader States of the Outremer,<sup>652</sup> developing into the first overseas Roman Catholic federal republic of European nobility who were answerable to the Pope in religious matters only. Riley-Smith called it simply a *theocracy*. The Order's government, in its basic form, was since the Cyprus and Rhodes period made up of the eight European federal supranational bodies,<sup>653</sup> the *langues*. For a detailed overview of the government structure, see the Organigram in chapter 5.12.

The official *lingua franca* was Latin, although the many dealings were undoubtedly done in local vernacular, leading to an early application of the modern adagio 'think globally, act locally'. Combined with internal disciplinary measures and obedience to the Master, as set down in the Rule, this promoted unity and parity among the individual knights, rather than division and internal conflict, at least in theory. It also allowed for their cultural diversity to be continued within their *langue*, as in their collective homes, the *auberges*, they could speak their own language or vernacular, follow their own cuisine and cultural habits. The Order's collective body of knights had many needs, provided for by the local population and immigrants from the East and the West. They required workman, shipbuilders, seamstresses, artisans, craftsmen, doctors, notaries, lawyers, traders, local producers of goods and food, clerks and many more. Their slaves usually came from the Balkans and the East.<sup>654</sup>

Protecting their independent Hospitaller state in Rhodes was achieved by staying outside the reach of the European monarchs and remaining within touching distance of the Ottoman Empire, using the tactic of pre-emptive strikes on land and sea to weaken their Ottoman and Egyptian enemies. From the Hospitallers' point of view, they were not only aggressively defending their own island group with their navy, but the whole of Christendom.

Due to this geographical position, European sovereigns, such as King Francis I of France (r. 1515-57) and King Henry VIII of England (r. 1509-47) agreed with the Grand Master of the Order, now accepted as a sovereign prince of an ecclesiastical principality, that the Hospitaller position should be kept in place as an independent military and naval force.

### **4.5 The Hospitaller maritime world**

The maritime environment of Rhodes would, of course, dictate that the Hospitallers develop their navy further and engage in counter-razzias to balance the Ottoman attacks

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<sup>651</sup> Sarnowsky, 2011, 1-32, here 16.

<sup>652</sup> Barker, 2011, 48.

<sup>653</sup> Hasecker and Sarnowsky, 2007, 13-4.

<sup>654</sup> Kasdagli, 2016, 16.

throughout the Aegean Sea around Rhodes. Goals were not only to protect Christian shipping but also to apprehend Christian ships transporting slaves or war material to the enemy in defiance of papal prohibitions. Another impetus for Hospitaller marine activity was the 1307 papal confirmation of Rhodes as the Order's property, rekindling the old principle that allowed military orders to hold onto lands wrested from the infidels. Rhodes, according to this papal confirmation, was justifiably taken from the enemies of Christendom, which included *impii Christiani*, Greeks (schismatic) and Turks (infidel).<sup>655</sup> Where the line was drawn from one to another, remains everyone's guess. At times, the papacy issued letters, such as the one of 1311, in which permission was given to stop any Genoese ship breaking the embargo on trading with the enemies, deputising the Hospitallers *ad reprimendum et impediendum transgressoris*. Documentation of the early Rhodes period also indicated that members of the Order were not present on every galley. Individual Hospitallers were not prohibited from getting a corsair licence to privately fit out ships in support of the overall goals of the Hospitaller Order at sea, or to operate from Hospitaller-controlled harbours. Since the Hospitaller core fleet remained small, the strategy was always to have a few galleys close to Rhodes, while the rest was at sea. Third parties, including Knights Hospitaller private corsair vessels, would cover other sea lanes and areas. Regulations applied to the division of 'hunting' grounds.<sup>656</sup> Since the ships of the Hospitaller Order were participating in corsairing and the Order had opened its harbours for corsairs, the knights could tax the profit the corsairs made and offer employment to local sailors.<sup>657</sup> Corsairing became a Hospitaller state-controlled affair, important for their safety, economy and prestige.<sup>658</sup> By 1310, the Hospitaller navy had become fully developed. Because of these naval activities, the enemies of the Hospitallers focussed their attention on the islands. Navy is then defined as all ships used to serve the Order's needs, including corsairs.

In the meantime, during the fourteenth century, the Hospitaller Order had asserted its dominance over the Aegean Sea and the islands prospered in relative peace. The idea that Rhodes would be the basis for recapturing the Holy Land was gradually dismissed, since the power of the Ottomans was ever-growing. It became more important to resist the Ottoman ambitions for expansion and to protect the possessions of Christendom in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>659</sup> As a consequence, the Hospitallers changed from a potential new short-term Crusader initiative to a long-term agency for policing and monitoring the Mediterranean Sea, protecting Christianity against the Ottomans. They had also realised that large-scale operations on land were outside any one's financial remit and to form a front against the Ottomans was better done at sea. By turning defence on land into offence by sea, the Hospitallers made from a weakness a strength. Since the landed defences of the Ottomans were weak, the Hospitallers had a great opportunity for striking at their

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<sup>655</sup> Luttrell, 1995, 178

<sup>656</sup> Sarnowsky, 2008, 41-56, here 48.

<sup>657</sup> *Idem*, 41-56.

<sup>658</sup> *Idem*, 180-6.

<sup>659</sup> For a general overview, see Nicholson, 2007 and Sire, 1996.

enemy. It also delivered much booty to support their charity and their navy, as the yearly costs to keep a fleet operational, were substantial.<sup>660</sup>

In Rhodes, the Hospitallers found themselves amid a sea of opportunities. There was in Rhodes an infrastructure of a port, warehouses, administration, hospital, lodging, tax-farming regime, loan and credit facilities, military stronghold and a diplomatic body. The latter conducted peace treaties, truces and safe-conducts with many parties, including Mamluks and the Ottomans and offered mediation. It seems, however, that their best negotiation argument was embedded in their naval strength. Hospitaller ethos forbade direct transaction resulting in commercial profit or acceptance of individual loans. Naturally, there were ways around it by means of using intermediaries who would pay a fee, tax farming and payments in advance which were factual covert loans.<sup>661</sup>

The development of the naval force and a body of privateers can be placed firmly within the theories of Braudel, writing about defensive psychology. He finds it instructive that Christianity was building defences, fortifications and demarcation lines to protect themselves against the Ottomans. Fortification building was not the first preoccupation of the Ottomans, who followed much more the Islamic military tradition of large-scale aggressive expansionism.<sup>662</sup> It was realised that the Hospitaller aim was now to keep the expansion of their Muslim adversaries contained rather than taking back territories.

To answer the need of defence against Islam in the sixteenth century, Christianity developed a new method of defence by aggression, which was more advantageous and profitable than stationary defence, whereby 'piracy is a substitute for declared war,' in the opinion of Braudel.<sup>663</sup> As centres for corsairing and piracy, the substitute of official warfare, both sides developed harbours and markets for the booty and proceeds, the most prominent being Algiers, Tunis, Djerba, Tripoli on one side and Malta, Leghorn and Pisa on the other.<sup>664</sup>

I am proposing here that the Hospitallers, when based at Cyprus and in Rhodes, were in a Braudelian way *avant-la-lettre* with an authorised, licenced and structured corsairing system as an early state-building policy and defence mechanism against the aggressive expansionism of the Ottomans, as opposed to unregulated freebooters and marauders. Although the defence of the island was a primary motive, keeping the sea-lanes safe, their one and only logistic lifeline, was of paramount importance. It concerned the transport of provisions, goods, and funds to Rhodes and their communications back to mainland Europe. In this, they followed a very Classical combined defence strategy both on land and at sea, *terra marique*, a concept already in place in Minoan Crete. Herodotus describes *King Minos* as the earliest *thalassocrate*, a ruler of the sea, who cleared the surrounding seas of Crete from pirates.<sup>665</sup> Engaging in active pursuit was also a chief instrument of chivalry. A 'first-strike' policy was regarded as the best defence to keep the enemy at bay

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<sup>660</sup> Braudel, 1994, 603.

<sup>661</sup> Soldani and Duran I Duelt, 2012, 257-70.

<sup>662</sup> Braudel, 1992, 619-24.

<sup>663</sup> *Idem*, 624.

<sup>664</sup> Williams, 2015, xi.

<sup>665</sup> Bury and Meiggs, 1978, 12.



and also to instil fear into the enemies of Religion.<sup>666</sup> Even Maltese were involved in this stage. Captain Michele da Malta, the earliest known corsair of Malta, was recruited by the Order in 1465 to fight the Muslims. In a remarkable turn of events, he started to attack Christian ships, the ones he was supposed to safeguard. In this, he was supported by the Cypriot King James, who offered him the shelter of his harbour for a cut of the loot. In 1467, he attacked a galleot of the Order and later on a Venetian ship. As a consequence, a Hospitaller galley tracked him down while he was towing the two captured ships towards Malta. Some Knights Hospitaller boarded his vessel, shot Michele dead and took his crew as prisoners to Rhodes.<sup>667</sup>

#### 4.6 *Memoria and memory in Rhodes*

##### *Memoria in Rhodes*

Time has erased or hidden from sight much of the Hospitaller sepulchres and *memoria* in Rhodes. In the 1970s, systematic excavations took place and in the 1990s the church of St John, the Conventual church of the Hospitaller Order has yielded promising findings.<sup>668</sup> It was essential for the Order to imbue the visitors to Rhodes with the right self-image, to encourage pilgrims, Western rulers, visitors and the Crusader spirit. Its Convent radiated a self-image of an appropriate mix between austerity, social care, piety and ideological correctness, while the competition between the various *langues* provided a variety of art, personal and national status and the proper corporate image of the Order.<sup>669</sup>

A clear break with the past is presented in the later Gothic architectural style when compared to the original Byzantine architecture. Sculpture in Hospitaller Rhodes was of an imported Gothic nature, while later local artisans picked up this style to fulfil demand. Also, due to an immigration population, and the Western artistic taste of the Hospitallers, art changed from predominantly Byzantine to the acquired tastes of the ruling classes.<sup>670</sup>

According to Kasdagli, Hospitaller memory in Rhodes contains a variety of elements. First, there is the historical background, externalised by the topographical elements such as walls, fortifications, churches, hospitals etc., part of the city and landscape planning in Hospitaller Rhodes and the other islands belonging to their realm. Then there are displaced pieces and fragments, categorised as architectural pieces (such as mouldings, capitals, rib sections, door- and window frames), wall heraldry, whole and fragmented funerary art in the form of sepulchral slabs and monuments. Epigraphy is represented by scattered remains of mainly Latin inscriptions on buildings and single slabs, and the numismatic collection similarly adds to the matter of memory. The Hospitaller archives of Rhodes were transferred to Malta in 1530, where they still are in the National Library of Valletta.

<sup>666</sup> For a general view on this topic, see Kaeuper, 2009.

<sup>667</sup> Bosio, 1630, 295 and 311.

<sup>668</sup> Kasdagli, 2008, 175-188.

<sup>669</sup> *Eadem*, 2016.

<sup>670</sup> *Eadem*, 2016, 16-7.

Most of the displaced pieces and fragments of funerary art are of the Gothic taste, while many of the buildings of the past have unfortunately fallen victim to earthquakes, sieges, invasions, vandalism, erosion or re-usage by later civilisations. Particular damage to sepulchral slabs and monuments of the Hospitallers was created by the Ottomans, who destroyed or removed features they did not appreciate, such as heads of saints on statues or effigies, crosses, heraldic devices and the Hospitaller coat of arms. Other heraldic devices still show traces of being used as target practice by Ottoman soldiers. Most of the marble or terracotta floor tiles of medieval churches were either destroyed or otherwise taken away, while sepulchral monuments were stripped of possible building materials or re-used because of their decorative qualities. Also, five pieces of sepulchres were sold by the Italian consul in Rhodes in 1877 to the Parisian Musée des Thermes de Cluny.<sup>671</sup>

All those fragments which were found out of context still count as a rich source of information. There are exceptions, such as the collection of 42 surviving inscriptions at the Castle of St Peter, including 300 heraldic shields. Also, a good number of ornaments, badges and Latin inscribed texts remain. Grand Masters were engaged in advertising their self-image and that of the Order through inscriptions and their coats of arms on buildings, starting with Antonio de Fluvià (r. 1421-61) who placed an inscription on his new hospital, while Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson (r. 1476-1503) made intensive use of the stone media to his disposition.

Of the surviving inscriptions, many are of a funerary character, inscribed in Latin, either in a Gothic script or in Renaissance capitals. Dates were first rendered in Roman script and later changed into Arabic numerals. An indication when this occurred can be gleaned from heraldic devices, which have Arabic numerals by 1483. Many sepulchral inscribed texts start with *+ hic jacet*, followed by qualifications of birth, *nobilis* or of class, *venerabilis* or *reverendus dominus frates* for the Religious (professed noble knights of the Order), name and surname. Frequently the defunct's provenance or genealogy are mentioned, his offices held (*prior*, *preceptor*, *hospitalarius*, *miles*) and the date of death, *e.g. qui obit anno domini*, possibly with day and month. A recurrent standard terminal line was *cuius anima requiescat in pace, amen*. Not much variation occurred until the end of the fifteenth century, while during that same period the texts of the Grand Masters had become more elaborate, laudatory and erudite.<sup>672</sup> This particular standard of phrasing the inscribed texts, says Kasdagli, is due to both local conservatism and the use of a specific model, which was probably based on a Classical one, related to the theories of Weever aforementioned.<sup>673</sup>

The general cemetery of the Order in Rhodes, St Anthony, does no longer exist although some documentation remains, while the most important sepulchres of the Order were in the Conventual church of St John's, forming a *corpus* on their own. What has become evident is that members of the Order and laypersons (local nobility) both used the Order's Conventual church of St John's in Rhodes for their burials and

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<sup>671</sup> *Eadem*, 2016, 44, 135.

<sup>672</sup> *Eadem*, 2016.

<sup>673</sup> Weever, 1631, 8.

commemorations, while the Conventual church of St John's in Valletta catered exclusively for the *memoria* and memory of the Order. Luttrell mentions that the oldest slab in the Conventual church in Rhodes was that of a lady. This is confirmed by archaeological finds, catalogued as no. 114, dated 1308: + *hic : IACET : DOMINA NON.../ ANNO dNI ; M ; CCC ; XVIII ; DIE...*<sup>674</sup>

Rhodes had nineteen Grand Masters, of whom fourteen were buried on the island. Most Grand Masters were buried in niche tombs or beneath floor slabs at the Conventual church of St John's in the *Collachio* (cloister), *i.e.* the exclusive area of the city where the knights lived with their male staff and household (not accessible for women).<sup>675</sup>

Knowledge of these tombs was compiled by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and published in 1898. He compiled his work from both ancient sources and archaeology.<sup>676</sup> Access for Westerners to Rhodes was very much restricted by the Ottomans, who regarded the fortifications as a military secret (the Ottomans stayed in Rhodes between January 1523 and 1912, after which Rhodes became Italian). Only Colonel Rottiers aforementioned was able to have access in 1826 and published his finding some years later. Just in time, as in 1856 the whole site was destroyed by an explosion of a forgotten and hidden gunpowder store.<sup>677</sup> Grand Masters in Rhodes were generally entombed in sarcophagi with an effigial lid, *i.e.* a stone or marble cover carved in relief. One exception was Grand Master Fabrizio del Carretta, whose floor slab, a trapezoidal cist, was placed in the middle of the nave of the church. This formed the lid of a stone coffin sunk into the ground. Reasons for not having an elaborate sepulchral monument were the rejection of a proud and materialistic above-ground monument. Besides, the lid of an underground tomb lay flush with the floor and that offered possibilities for intricate marble floor designs. It was not what Giacomo Bosio suggested, namely that Carretta could not afford a monumental tomb because he had spent lavishly on building projects to restore the city.<sup>678</sup>

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<sup>674</sup> Luttrell, 2003, 43; Kasdagli, 2016, 44.

<sup>675</sup> Cassar, 2016, chapter 7.

<sup>676</sup> De Vaivre, 1998.

<sup>677</sup> *Idem*, 35-88, here 36.

<sup>678</sup> Kasdagli, 2016, 58 quotes Bosio vol.3, 134, '*il quale non fu molto ricco; per le grandi & eccessive spese, che durando il sue Magisterio fatte havesta...*'

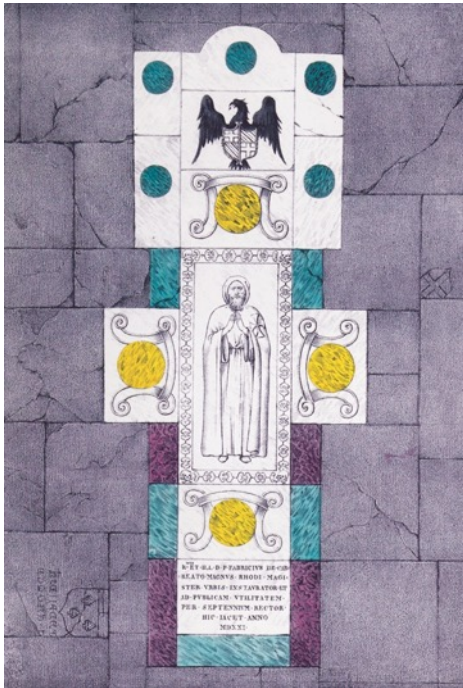


Image 11: Slab of Grand Master Fabrizio del Carretto, Church of St John, Rhodes. Illustration from Rottiers, 1828



Image 12: *Ditto*, from Villeneuve Bargeme, 1829

The inscribed text reads:

*R(EVERENDISSIMUS) ET ILL(USTRISSIMUS) D(OMINUS) F(RATER) FABRICIUS DE CAR-  
REATO MAGNVS RHODI MAGI-  
STER VRBIS INSTAVRATOR ET  
AD PVBLICAM VTILITATEM  
PER SEPTENNIVM RECTOR  
HIC JACET ANNO  
MDXXI*

The most reverend and most illustrious Lord Frà Fabrizio del Carretto,  
Grand Master of Rhodes,  
restorer of the city  
and governor of the public good  
for seven years  
is buried here  
in 1521.



After the Order was exiled from Rhodes on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1523 by Süleyman the Great, many of the sepulchres were employed for a different use. Grand Master Robert de Julliac's was entombed in the Franciscan church, which was later converted into a mosque, next to the public baths. On this engraving, from Rottiers, one can see that the tomb of the Grand Master is converted into a water cistern at the mosque. Muslims are depicted washing themselves in preparation of the religious service.

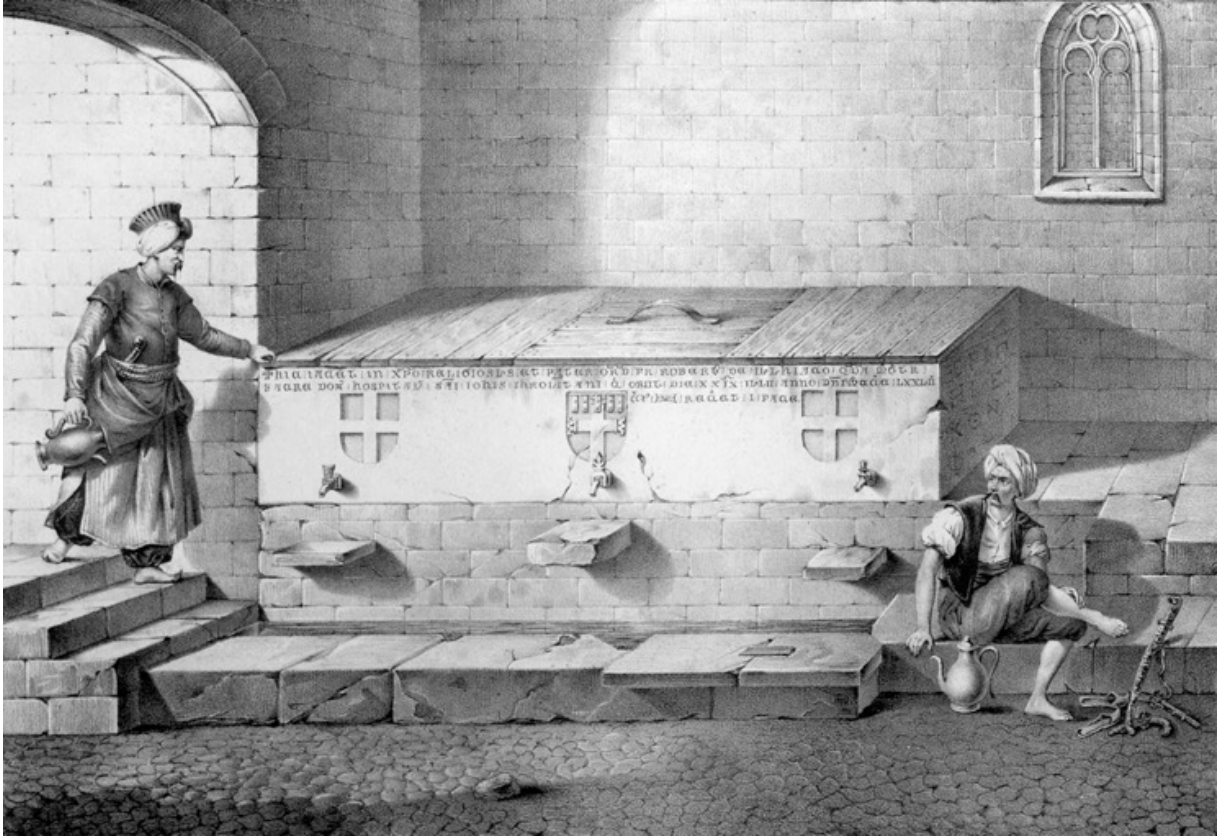


Image 13: Tomb of Grand Master Robert de Julliac. Illustration from Rottiers, 1828

### *Rhodiote miracula*

Although the *miracula* of the foundation period were no longer relevant or credible, Rhodes had its own miraculous story. The young knight Dieudonné de Gozon, later Grand Master of Hospitaller at Rhodes (r. 1346 to 1353), like St George, kills a dragon (in reality possibly a crocodile), with the aid of his two dogs. The image shows how the lid of the sepulchral monument would have looked like according to Villeneuve-Bargemont. De Vaivre discards this image of the sepulchral monument of de Gozon as a work of fantasy.<sup>679</sup> It remains unknown if this miraculous event did anything beneficial for the reputation of de Gozon or the Order. It is most likely to have been a 'St George issue,' where evil personified (as a dragon) has been disarmed.

<sup>679</sup> De Vaivre, 1998, 33-85, here 38.



Image 14: Imaginative sepulchral monument of the miraculous killing of a dragon by Dieudonné de Gozon, in Villeneuve-Bargemont, 1829

### *Our Lady of Philermos*

The Virgin Mary has had a long history with the Order and this might explain the importance of Our Lady in the identity aspect of the Hospitallers. From the very beginning of the hospital in Jerusalem, Our Lady played an important role as a patron saint.<sup>680</sup> During their stay on the island of Rhodes, the Hospitallers continued their veneration for Our Lady. The icon of Our Lady of Philermos, tempera on wood, was a much venerated Byzantine icon in Rhodes due to the miracles attributed to it, even before the first acquisition of a part of the island by the Order in 1306. It was usually kept in a monastery on Mount Philermos, from which it received its name. During the first Ottoman Siege of Rhodes of 1480, the icon was brought to safety within the citadel of Rhodes, in the Church of St Mark. After the siege was over, the Grand Master d'Aubusson had the sanctuary of the icon of Our Lady of Philermos enlarged with two chapels as thanks for Her intervention in the siege. Many knights, in their darkest hour of the siege, had claimed to have seen an apparition of Our Lady in the middle of the battle accompanied by St John

<sup>680</sup> Munro, 2009, 13-20.



the Baptist and angels.<sup>681</sup> The miraculous story of the icon continued in the second Ottoman Siege of Rhodes of 1522. Although the church of St Mark was completely destroyed, the Icon of Our Lady of Philermos was pulled out of the rubble unharmed. When the Hospitallers were evicted from Rhodes by Süleyman the Magnificent on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1523, they were allowed to leave with all their possessions, including the icon of Our Lady of Philermos. On arriving in Malta in 1530, the icon was placed in the church of St Lawrence in Birgu, the first Conventual church of the Order in Malta.<sup>682</sup>



Image 15: Former chapel of *Panagia Filermos* a.k.a. Our Lady of Philermos, Rhodes. Illustration from Rottiers, 1828

### *Pen or sword?*

It is said that the pen is mightier than the sword. The pen, in the form of the printing press, was intensively used by the Hospitallers in their struggle with the Ottomans. Especially after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 by Mehmed II, a wide discussion was triggered regarding the Turkish expansionist ambitions. Since the event coincided with the development of the printing press with moveable metal type in Europe (early 1450s),<sup>683</sup> this in turn produced large amounts of publications. European literature, especially of a Protestant nature, was blossoming and the presses were also churning out *Turcica* (see chapter 9.11) and much academic material dedicated to the Ottoman issue. The Ottoman Siege of Rhodes in 1480 irrevocably linked war to press, in which the fight

<sup>681</sup> Horsler and Leslie, 2011, 28.

<sup>682</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>683</sup> Anderson, 2006, 33-4

to stop the Turk became a medieval media event. These, and many more works, had a profound influence on the public opinion and memory about the Hospitallers and the Turks.<sup>684</sup> The Order understood very well the value of mediatization of war as an instrument for the creation of memory and self-image, and strategically used the printing press for political, financial and emotional reasons.<sup>685</sup> It was not only used in the Sieges of Rhodes, but also in the Great Siege of Malta 1565 and for perpetual fundraising.<sup>686</sup>

#### *Hospitaller memory and image creation in Rhodes*

Guillaume Caoursin's work *De obsidionis urbis Rhodiae descriptio*, a.k.a the *Descriptio*, is a rather accurate frontline account of the eight-week Siege of Rhodes in 1488. In this work, he shows great understanding of military strategy, tactics and the warfare technology of the day.<sup>687</sup> His work may be regarded as an intelligence report to be used internally by the Order and externally as dedicated propaganda, and as marketing and branding exercises, given that it was the approved version of the siege. Caoursin's work contributes greatly to the building of the corporate self-image of the Order. The Order turned the *Descriptio* into an early media event by issuing newsletters from the front to an international readership in Europe. Caoursin could be regarded as the Order's most influential historian and opinion influencer, engaging in a soft holy war.

In the opinion of Vann, this account of the siege was a clear piece of propaganda literature, carefully composed and containing all the aspects of the Hospitaller organisation that they wanted to get across to Europe. Although it might be viewed as an accurate and reliable account of the siege, it certainly was written with a purpose in mind. It was not meant to be objective but had to win public opinion over to the side of the Order. This work functioned like a memory, since it recalled the heroic fight of a small number of Knights Hospitaller, allegorised as God's Warriors, who were massively outnumbered by the Ottomans.<sup>688</sup> It was published just weeks after the siege was over.<sup>689</sup> Caoursin's work could in any case be counted among the winning narratives the Order had produced over the centuries, starting with the *miracula*. Döring writes that the products of the printing press in this siege, and other situations, became part of media events which prepared the war against the Turks with the help of the new technical possibilities of the printing press. Since the Ottoman expansionism was not only a military threat but also an ideological one to the Hospitallers, the printing press was an excellent medium to demonise the said Ottomans. As it was thought they were not only a threat to the Hospitallers but to all of Europe, spreading awareness (and fear) surely would benefit the Hospitaller cause.<sup>690</sup> The *Descriptio* also contained a description of the Grand Master d'Aubusson as an exemplary leader in those difficult times.

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<sup>684</sup> Thake, 2011, 69-75.

<sup>685</sup> Döring, 2018, 39-54, here 40.

<sup>686</sup> Azzopardi 2006, 2009; Azzopardi and Blondy 2012; Azzopardi and Freller 2012; Freller 1995, 2006, 2019; Zammit Maempel 2010.

<sup>687</sup> De Vaivre, 2008, 224-239; De Vaivre and Vissière, 2009, 193-201.

<sup>688</sup> Vann, 2015, 43-73.

<sup>689</sup> Döring, 2013.

<sup>690</sup> *Eadem*.

Between 1310 and 1522, the Rule of the Order, the *Regularis Concordia*, became a growing body of regulations and new aspects were added to it regularly, without cleaning up the older, no longer applicable elements. Hence, one compilation of rules was piled upon the other. An overhaul and reorganisation of the Rule had become inevitable during the Order's stay in Rhodes. The *Ordensstaat* clearly needed more sophisticated rules than the militarised Hospitaller Order under the Latin Kings of the Holy Land. A reform commission was established and Guillaume Caoursin was the right man to take the job in hand. He worked on the new Rule, the *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum sacri Ordinis S. Johannis Hierosolimitani*, hereinafter referred to as the *Stabilimenta*, between 1489-93. Caoursin's new Rule was officially approved by the Order on 10<sup>th</sup> October 1489, and by Pope Innocent VIII on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1492.<sup>691</sup> Caoursin led a team of people who, from the mountain of regulations, filtered out those rules and traditions which were still relevant and could be enforced within the administrative limitations of the Order. Obviously, since the times in Jerusalem, some regulations had lost touch with reality. Nonetheless, the Rule had always been venerated as a sacred text. Distinctions, in retrospective, were made between habits, traditions and rules. Caoursin respected the legends of the foundation of the Order and these, although edited and shortened, kept their place in the *Stabilimenta*. However, the *miraculum* of Gerard no longer featured in the first chapter of the *Stabilimenta*, *De origine religionis*.<sup>692</sup> Caoursin changed the organisation of the Rule from an accumulative chronological order (oldest entries from the twelfth century), to the thematic approach found in the *Stabilimenta*. Caoursin's version permitted expansion per theme and still allowed an overview of the ever-increasing amount of regulations. His system survived, although occasionally modified, until the *Code Rohan* of 1776-79.<sup>693</sup>

#### 4.7 The loss of Rhodes

Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam was forced to surrender Rhodes to Süleyman in 1522, not by his own volition, but by the pressure of the local Rhodiots. These were ready to accept the honourable surrender offered by Süleyman, lest they would all be killed in the final act, while L'Isle-Adam was prepared to fight to the death,<sup>694</sup> and subsequently cause the extinction of the Hospitaller Order. There is little cause for doubting the genuineness of Süleyman's sentiments when, as was reported, he turned to his Grand Vizier and said: 'It is not without some pain that I oblige this Christian at his age to leave his home,'<sup>695</sup> referring to Grand Master L'Isle Adam, an old man by now, probably even more aged due to the siege. Young Süleyman showed himself a gentleman and allowed the Order to leave Rhodes with honours of war. And indeed, although disillusioned, the Hospitallers left Rhodes on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1523, taking everything with them which would fit on their ships. Emperor Charles V reputedly had acclaimed, in

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<sup>691</sup> *Eadem*.

<sup>692</sup> Hasecker and Sarnowsky, 2007, 42-4.

<sup>693</sup> *Idem*, 14-6.

<sup>694</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 66-7.

<sup>695</sup> Bradford, 2011, 14.

admiration of the heroism of the Knights Hospitaller, that 'Nothing in the world was so well lost as Rhodes.'

#### 4.8 Conclusion

The loss of the Holy Land was a serious threat to the image and self-image of the Order, so that gaining the Mediterranean was the next step in the image adjustment and re-development of the Order. At first, the Knights Hospitallers contemplated to pursue the idea of recapturing Jerusalem, but after some reality checks, this proved to be futile. Plan B came into action, policing the Mediterranean as an independent *Ordensstaat*, against Muslim threats and Christian renegades, without losing their initial objective: providing a hospital service for the poor and the sick. This new direction provided a much stronger public image, as it showed resilience in the face of imminent danger, a David versus Goliath situation.

They aimed at Cyprus, but overall, this was an option that did not work out altogether satisfactorily. In Cyprus, the Hospitallers would escape royal terror of French King Philip Le Beau, where the Templars could not. His power dissolved the Templars, while the reputation of the Order only got a few extra dents, which were polished away through papal support and receiving the Templar properties as an inheritance. The self-image and self-respect remained intact.

Fear of further interventions though, led to the hostile acquisition of Rhodes, becoming the first independent island-home of the Hospitallers. The Hospitaller future was through independence, but at a distance of other, much more powerful sovereigns, and also away from the one they were ultimately responsible to in matters of religion, the Pope.

At Cyprus, the drive to independence showed early signs of pseudo-state formation in the opinion of Sarnowsky. The latter makes a comparison of similar efforts of the Teutonic Order, preferring to describe the search for its own territory as a process of *Territorienbildung*, to arrive at its sovereignty or state government. He further describes the Teutonic Order's formation of a governing structure, possibly better referred to as consortium-building,<sup>696</sup> i.e. the Order as a corporation.<sup>697</sup> On the island of Rhodes, the Hospitaller Order changed from an independent military Order into a true *Ordensstaat*, with an independent territory, state form, finances, defence, foreign policy, memory, culture of *memoria* and Rule. The Hospitaller Rule had been revised thoroughly by Caoursin and became a mature piece of legislation, the *Stabilimenta*, which prepared the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* much better for its tasks and operation. The printing press became another weapon, both to enhance the Order's changing image with the public in Europe and to illustrate the image of their heroic the fight against the Ottomans to protect Europe. *Turcica* was then one of the printed means to demonise the eternal Ottoman enemy.

Hospital building was taken up with new vigour, as was the art of building fortifications and their sea-faring structure matured. Thanks to a few successes over the

<sup>696</sup> Sarnowsky, 2007, respectively 11, 42 and 36. On self-image, see Wüst, 2013.

<sup>697</sup> Militzer, 2005, 87.

Ottomans, the Order had created a lull of safety in which the knights could thrive and develop further. Success also gave way to an accusation of a luxurious lifestyle contrary to their vows and mission. However, this may have been misunderstood, strengthened with a pinch of envy. In order to maintain their hospital and charity ideals, they needed substantial income, otherwise they could achieve little. Employing corsairs was just one of those means to increase income, enabling them to finance their humanitarian goals, including freeing of Christian slaves, at times, to the cost of other people being enslaved.

While the Hospitallers had built up their self-image and identity in the Jerusalem period as a single institution, in the later period in the Holy Land and the period at Cyprus, many of these aspects were shared with the other two orders, the Templars and the Teutonic Knights. With the former, collective identity forming stopped after their dissolution in 1312, while the latter gave a sample of building a consortium and developing that further into an independent state on its own independent territory. The Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* blossomed in Rhodes and would continue in Malta. In Rhodes and Malta, self-image and identity building were back to a singular institute, as there were no more comparable orders left.

Rhodes also saw the maturing of the Hospitaller sepulchral art and the power of images to enhance the mental representation of the Order. The self-image and the corporate identity of the Order was embodied by coats of arms, inscriptions, coins and many other memory devices, publicly visible and available. With regard to the culture of *memoria* and memory, a canon seemed to have been formed, certainly in the use of Latin stock phrases. The meaning and significance of visual memory and *memoria* did not escape the Ottoman invaders, as they embarked on an iconoclastic expedition to destroy the faces appearing in religious images and on a campaign of *rasura memoria*, to erase, among others, coats of arms of the Order and its knights. Since the Ottomans were also very practical people, materials from sepulchres were reused and some sepulchral monuments were reconditioned for other usages. The earliest sepulchral slabs in St John's Conventual church in Valletta, in the Crypt of the Grand Master, do somehow resemble the ambiance of Rhodes.

These successes also rehabilitated their failed reputation of saviours of the Latin Kingdom in the East. Policing the Mediterranean had become another core business, jealously guarding the sea lanes against other pirates, building up an international standing. Fortification building became an important part of the reputation after the Hospitallers realised that they were a sitting duck, after the Ottomans managed to take Constantinople in 1453. Both the Ottomans and the Hospitallers had the same strengths and weaknesses: Their landed defences were rather weak and their naval defences powerful. In numbers, the Ottomans were overwhelming, while the minute size of the Hospitallers was compensated by the quality of their fleet, as suggested by Williams in the following chapter, 5.11.

The next Hospitaller development phase was on Malta, where they arrived as beggars, with their self-image shattered and their self-respect at low tide. Nonetheless, they still believed in what they were, although, at least temporarily, gone were their independence, luxury, safe distance from Europe and their *Ordensstaat*. Malta, in their opinion, was a

desolate place with bleak future perspectives compared to lavish Rhodes. In a very vulnerable position, reduced to a semi-Spanish vassal, they were taken advantage of to fight the enemies of Spain. That the enemy of Spain, the Ottoman Empire, also was their own enemy, could be considered as a consolation prize. Hence, the question arose how to deal with the challenges Malta provided, a barren rock and pirates' nest, and how to repair their battered image, reputation and self-esteem.



## Part II

### Chapter 5 State building in Malta

#### 5.1 Towards Malta

After Süleyman evicted the Hospitallers from Rhodes on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1523, disenchanted and impoverished, the Hospitallers sailed to Rome in order to request the assistance of Pope Adrian VI. Besides that, with their sovereign image still able to allow ambassadorial contacts, they approached Henry VIII in the matter of finding them a place to settle the Hospitaller Convent, as the Pope's predecessor, Leo X, had given Henry VIII the title of *Fidei Defensor*, 'Defender of the Faith.' The Hospitallers, aware that Henry VIII was at that moment married to Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V, needed his help in influencing Emperor Charles V of Spain for the acquisition of a new Hospitaller territory. Both Charles V and Henry were in alliance against the French, and from this position, Henry VIII was quite willing to intervene with Pope Adrian VI on behalf of the Order. Henry wrote a letter on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1523 to Grand Master L'Isle Adam, informing him that he had the welfare of the Hospitallers at heart and therefore had written Charles V with the request to grant Malta to them.<sup>698</sup>

In this chapter, the *corpus* has things to say about the Great Siege, Lepanto, heroism, the formation of the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* as the Catholic Republic of Malta, its fortifications, fleet, hospitals and the state of affairs regarding morality or the lack of it. No mention is made in the *corpus* about Reformation, Protestantism or Counter-Reformation, although the effect of the latter is one of the reasons why the *corpus* exists in the first place and that the interior of St John's is an ultimate form of festive Baroque art.

#### 5.2 Medical tradition continues in exile

While waiting for an answer, the mobile remainder of the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* would drift fruitlessly for seven years along the Mediterranean coast, only receiving temporarily shelter in Crete, Messina, Civitavecchia, Viterbo, Villefranche and Nice.<sup>699</sup>

Despite being homeless, the Hospitallers kept on with their mission.<sup>700</sup> Arriving in Messina in 1523, the Order created its Conventual hospital in the Priory building. During an epidemic of plague, the hospital soon overflowed. In the summer of 1523, the Order transferred its Conventual hospital to a galleon of the Prior of Saint Gilles, sailing north to avoid the plague. Landing west of Naples, the harbour still in quarantine, they set up

<sup>698</sup> AOM 412, ff.254v-255. Copy of letter from Grand Master L'Isle Adam to Emperor Charles V informing him of the decision to accept Malta, Gozo and Tripoli and requesting him to formally concede them to the Order. Send from Corneto on 10<sup>th</sup> July 1527.

<sup>699</sup> Hoppen, 1997, 4.

<sup>700</sup> Williams, 1994, 97-102, here 97.



their Conventual hospital in a deserted coastal area. Over time, the hospital moved to Viterbo, Corneto, Villefranche, Nice and Syracuse.<sup>701</sup>

One of the reasons why the gift of Malta took so long to materialise was that in the meantime mutinous Spanish troops had engaged in the sacking of Rome in 1527. Francesco Guicciardini vividly describes this tragic event, in which Charles V crushed the League of Cognac, a temporary alliance between France, the Papal States and several Italian city-states. After this victory, Charles V lacked the money to pay his soldiers, who consequently went ransacking the city, an event known as the *Sacco di Roma*.<sup>702</sup> After the event, settlements were reached in the years 1529-30, whereby Charles V became the *de facto* overlord of many Italian city-states such as Milan and Florence. Because of this critical event, Grand Master L'Isle Adam visited Henry VIII in England, discussing Malta. The deal was settled only after peace was restored between Charles V and Pope Clement VII, in February 1530. Building further on the results of the Reconquista and his status as Italian overlord, Charles V was now in a much better position to expand further eastwards to protect the 'frontiers of Christendom' in the Mediterranean and Hungary, to counteract the Ottoman expansion. Being on the fringes of Christianity, Malta was now thought to be indispensable,<sup>703</sup> and as Dalli expresses it, already had the bitter experience of being *in frontera Barbarorum*, always waiting and ready for 'the Turk'.<sup>704</sup> Charles V granted Malta to the Order on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1530, ratifying the gift as an eternal fief on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1530. Three months later, the Order arrived, on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1530. In the end, as previously mentioned, Henry VIII's love for the Order was relatively short-lived, suppressing the Order in England in 1540, during his 'Dissolution' campaigns.<sup>705</sup>

### 5.3 Malta as a *fronteria Barbarorum*

In order to understand the identity and self-image of the Hospitallers on Malta after 1530, one also needs to know what shaped the Maltese. About 1,800 km away from Rhodes and the Holy Land, lies the island group of Malta. It can be presumed that the Knights Hospitaller were mainly ignorant of its existence, except that they knew it was a pirates' nest, reminding them of the affair in 1465 with the earlier mentioned corsair, Michele da Malta. Piracy has been a long-standing menace in the Mediterranean Sea from the Bronze Age onwards, since better navigation and ships allowed crossing open sea rather than hugging the coast. Although Malta is a small island, its very irregular and rugged coastline is about 150 km long, dotted with rocks, bays and high cliffs. During the medieval ages, it was practically indefensible for the about 10,000 to 15,000

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<sup>701</sup> *Idem*, here 80.

<sup>702</sup> Guicciardini, 1763.

<sup>703</sup> Williams, 2015.

<sup>704</sup> Dalli, 1996, 115-126.

<sup>705</sup> Sire, 1996, 32. With regard to Henry VIII, see Acevedo, 2013, 125-37: What has become known as Henry VIII's 'Great Matter,' surfaced around 1533 when he wanted to divorce his wife Catherine. Papal dispensation was refused, presumably not to upset Charles V, the most powerful man in Europe, still with the Sack of Rome of 1527 fresh in mind.

inhabitants.<sup>706</sup> Malta had a long history of piracy, being a pirates' winter base. In Cicero's *In Verrem* (written in 70 BCE), he accused governor Caius Verres of Sicily to have acted in Malta as someone who managed piracy and pirate ships, enriching himself illegally in the process.<sup>707</sup> It was only in 67 BCE that Pompei mostly cleared the Mediterranean of pirates.<sup>708</sup> There remained a grey and blurred area between raiding and trading and this is probably why Hermes is the patron saint of merchants, thieves and seafarers.<sup>709</sup>

As long as Rome had been dominant, the *Mare Nostrum* was a relatively safe place, but after the breakdown of the Central Roman administration in 476, the Maltese archipelago found itself usually in troubled waters. With shifting powers between the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, Malta's ownership was transferred to the Eastern Roman Empire, Byzantine, and its strategic position reached beyond its size, writes McManamon.<sup>710</sup> Abulafia regards the rise of Islam in the Mediterranean and the consequent Islamic invasions a paradox to the idea of the *Mare Nostrum*, *Our Sea*. The Muslims established an Islamic hegemony on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, breaking the cultural unity of the Mediterranean drastically.<sup>711</sup> Within 120 years after the death of Mohammed in 632, the Muslim forces had conquered an area radiating from the Arabic peninsula to the North African coast, to the Levant and stretching to India and up to what is at present Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.<sup>712</sup>

In 647, the Arabs took over the North African coast from the Byzantines and it remains unknown whether the Arabs started attacking Malta thence. The Muslim North African economy was based on slavery and the Maltese islands could have easily been regarded as reservoirs of fresh slaves. By 831, the Muslims had captured Palermo and by 868, there was a large-scale attack on Malta, resulting in a failed siege.<sup>713</sup> In the following years, it remains unclear if it was 869 or 870, the Aghlabid Princedom of Tunisia managed to conquer Malta and take it out of the Byzantine realm into the Islamic one. The violence was unprecedented, the attack left Malta largely depopulated and in such a state of

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<sup>706</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 10.

<sup>707</sup> Younge, 1903, Cicero, Act 2, book 4, chapter 21: *Navem imperare ex foedere debuisti; remisisti in triennium; militem nullum umquam poposcisti per tot annos. fecisti item, ut praedones solent; qui cum hostes communes sint omnium, tamen aliquos sibi instituunt amicos, quibus non modo parcant verum etiam praeda quos augeant, et eos maxime, qui habent oppidum oportuno loco, quo saepe adeundum sit navibus. Phaselis illa, quam cepit P. Servilius, non fuerat urbs antea Cilicum atque praedonum; Lycii illam, Graeci homines, incolebant. Sed quod erat eius modi loco atque ita proiecta in altum, ut et exeuntes e Cilicia praedones saepe ad eam necessario devenirent, et, cum se ex hisce locis reciperent, eodem deferrentur, adsciverunt sibi illud oppidum piratae primo commercio, deinde etiam societate.* (It was your duty to require them to furnish a ship, in compliance with the treaty. You remitted it for three years. During all those years you never demanded one soldier. You acted as pirates are accustomed to act, who, though they are the common enemies of all men, still select some friends, whom they not only spare, but even enrich with their booty; and especially such as have a town in a convenient situation, where they often, and sometimes even necessarily, put in with their vessels).

<sup>708</sup> Cassar, 2002, 56.

<sup>709</sup> Grimal (ed.), 1991, 197ff.

<sup>710</sup> McManamon, 2003, 34.

<sup>711</sup> Abulafia, 2011, 246.

<sup>712</sup> Kinder and Hilgeman, 1987, 135.

<sup>713</sup> Mercieca, 2010, 87-102.

devastation, that it appears that Malta remained uninhabitable for 150 years. People only sailed to Malta to fish, cut down trees or collect thyme-honey.<sup>714</sup> The history of piracy around Malta all started anew as a consequence of this invasion.<sup>715</sup> Presumably, the remainder of the able-bodied Maltese had fled to the sea and made a living as pirates, since all other means had been taken from them, such as agriculture, husbandry and fishing.

King Roger I, earlier in life Count Roger I de Hauteville, captured Malta in 1091, an event conceptually in line with the Reconquista, six years ahead of the First Crusade. He established Norman rule over the islands but left the local government in the hands of the Muslims in exchange for an annual tribute. His son, Count Roger II, had to recapture Malta in the year 1127 to strengthen Norman rule,<sup>716</sup> which allowed the Maltese to return and re-establish Christianity.<sup>717</sup>

In the *corpus*, there is a strand of memory to the first event, featuring Count Roger I. 'Frà Nicolao Cavarretta from Trapani, engaged in the plight of the Jerusalemite Militia in the year 1570, following the extremely old tradition of the soldier Gualterio Cavarretta, who, under the leadership of Count Roger had helped bringing Sicily to liberty and rightly deserved from him the Barony of Sicamino.' Gualterio Cavarretta, the relative of Frà Nicolao Cavarretta, must have been a soldier somewhere between 1060 and 1094, serving Roger I when he brought Malta under his dominion in order to protect Sicily against sea raids from the south, presumably also organised from Malta as a Muslim pirate nest.<sup>718</sup>

Nonetheless, the Muslims still formed a part of the Maltese population, together with a small Jewish community and a growing number of Christians,<sup>719</sup> resettling on the islands the late 1190s. By 1224 or 1245, the re-Christianised population felt there was a need to expel the Muslim population.<sup>720</sup> Muslims were either integrated forcefully or expelled from Malta; many of them were deported to Lucera (Italy), which operation was concluded by 1246.<sup>721</sup>

Defence measures in Malta and Gozo during the medieval ages were twofold: There was an early-warning system by means of a series of watchtowers, manned by a civic militia on a rotation roster around the two islands and last-resort defence works, such as the *castrum maris* at Birgu, Mdina and the *Citadella* in Gozo.<sup>722</sup> Following the expulsion of

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<sup>714</sup> Blouet, 2004; McManamon, 2003, 32-58.

<sup>715</sup> Buhagiar, 2007, 1-16.

<sup>716</sup> Luttrell, 1975, 25-33.

<sup>717</sup> There is still the ongoing debate whether Christianity survived the depopulation of 870 on land. It seems that those who could took refuge on the sea, and I would like to suggest that Christianity went with them. During the Arab period, they may have occasionally touched upon the shores of Malta, and presumably Gozo too. After the Normans made it possible for the Maltese to return, they re-introduced Christianity to their island(s), St Paul landing for the second time.

<sup>718</sup> Luttrell, 1975, 29ff.

<sup>719</sup> Blouet 1993, 53.

<sup>720</sup> Johns and Jamil, 2015, 123-88. Dalli, 2006, 101-3.

<sup>721</sup> Metcalfe, 2009, 275-98.

<sup>722</sup> Fiorini, 2012, 1-6. Wettinger, 1975, 181-216.

the Muslims, Malta seemed to have gone through an initial phase of protecting its Christianity by sea rather than only on land.

In 1282, Malta passed on to the Aragonese political and cultural realm, and stayed there under various circumstances and rulers, often alternating between royal Aragonese or Castilian cadet families and Sicilian Hispanic magnates until 1530, the arrival date of the Order of St John.<sup>723</sup> With the Spanish influences came influential families, from Spain and from Hispanic Sicily, such as the Inguanez, Gatto Murino, Sant Manduca, Trapani Galea Feriol and Testaferrata, Consoli Palermo Navarra, 32 in all. Many of these lineages settled in Mdina, where a good number of these names can still be noticed on house or as street names. There is also the list of the Assembly of recognised titleholders of the Maltese nobility.<sup>724</sup> Luttrell writes that many Sicilian barons were originally from Spain but had possessions and family ties throughout the Spanish realm, into which Malta was being integrated.<sup>725</sup>

Throughout the fourteenth century, there were no recorded incidents, but during the fifteenth century, Muslim attacks on Malta were increasing. Ferocious Ottoman attacks in 1419 were a reason for concern, as the goal seemed to be to reduce Malta once again to a 'state of destruction.' This was followed by Moorish attacks in 1423-4. Then followed a Moorish Hafsids invasion in 1429, in which more than one-third of the population was taken away into slavery, *i.e.* about 4,500 people.<sup>726</sup> Consequences of the Ottoman expansion had become painfully clear, as within one generation after Mehmed II took Constantinople in 1453, the eastern Mediterranean Sea had become dominantly Turkish.<sup>727</sup>

As an outcome of this Ottoman threat, the Spanish rulers of Malta commissioned privateers and by 1520 their roles were legitimised, even receiving Spanish royal privileges.<sup>728</sup> The question can be asked if it was the Maltese participation in the *corso* that caused these incursions as revenge? In 1410, local authorities claimed that by not sending out privateering ships, this had led to an increase of incursions and raids.<sup>729</sup> The latter argument confirms the idea of the unstoppable dynamism of the Muslim expansion in those days throughout the Mediterranean.

During the sixteenth century, the attacks on Malta continued unhindered. In 1527 a certain Sinan landed in Northwest Malta and even sacked the city of Mosta, which is in the centre of the island.

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<sup>723</sup> Dalli, 2006 144; Luttrell, 1975, 41. Dalli holds as date 8<sup>th</sup> July 1283 when the Battle of Malta occurred between Aragonese and Angevin contenders, while Luttrell keeps 1282 as the starting date for Aragonese control. The Spanish influence would last beyond the year 1530 when Emperor Charles V gave Malta to the Order of St John as an eternal fief.

<sup>724</sup> <http://www.maltesenobility.com/assembly-of-titleholders-committee/>

<sup>725</sup> Luttrell, 1975, 48; Buhagiar and Fiorini, 1996. A comparison of architecture confirms a strong Sicilian influence.

<sup>726</sup> Luttrell, 1975, 51

<sup>727</sup> Dalli, 1996, 115-126.

<sup>728</sup> McManamon, 2003, 42-7.

<sup>729</sup> Dalli, 2006, 238.

#### 5.4 Inspection of Malta

Since the Order was mostly unfamiliar with Malta, the Order had commissioned a reconnaissance mission, to inspect the islands of Malta and to take stock of the situation.<sup>730</sup> Malta was, in many ways, not an appealing prospect to the Order of St John, but they could not look a gift horse in the mouth. After green and lush Rhodes, Malta seemed a bare rock, blistering in the sun, with little or no water and an impoverished, rocky soil. As mentioned before, the island had been frequently the victim of Muslim raids and slave trader drives. This had caused depopulation, disruption of trade and the cultivation of the land, while the remaining population was left demoralised. As an overall result, in Mdina, the fortified capital city, there were many homes abandoned and many hamlets and villages were deserted. What was left of the medieval fortifications, was dilapidated and certainly not *prova di bomba*, i.e. able to resist cannon shot.<sup>731</sup>

Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam also understood that with Malta as a base, they were actually in a better position to continue their task of policing the Mediterranean than in Rhodes. Malta is in the middle of the Mediterranean and that gave a strategic advantage, that is, to disrupt Ottoman and Muslim shipping and much shorter logistical lines for their own supplies to defend, while the supply lines for the Ottomans increased in length.<sup>732</sup>

There was enough resilience to rise again after disaster had struck, to regroup and to start afresh somewhere else. Based in Malta, the Order could also easily reach the Aegean Sea, an area from where Süleyman had thought he had chased away the Order. This part of the sea was regarded as Ottoman territory, *Akdeniz*, or the White Sea, as they called it,<sup>733</sup> in which they would not tolerate any competition. Part of the Hospitaller identity seems then to persist in their old ideals and fulfilling their self-appointed task of creating a buffer zone between the expanding Ottoman Empire and Christendom, even when Christendom was not always aware of this or thought that the Hospitaller Order was no longer relevant. This might have been true for Elizabethan England, but the German Emperor thought differently. While the Order protected the sea frontier, the Germans were occupied in protecting those land frontiers where the Ottomans threatened to invade via the Balkans. Süleyman had designed a pincer-movement, where simultaneously he would attack Europe from the Balkans and via the Mediterranean, to close in on his ultimate goal, the Vatican. Malta was the pivot where the pincer-movement went off the rails after the Great Siege of 1565, and subsequently, the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.<sup>734</sup> Continuous expansion was what had driven the Ottoman Empire until so far, as the opportunities to do so were offered by the weakness of the Byzantine Empire and the

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<sup>730</sup> AOM 411, ff.202v-203. Copy of instructions given to the eight commissioners of the Order sent to inspect the islands of Malta and Gozo and the fortress of Tripoli. They left Viterbo on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1524. Luttrell, 1975, 1: The original report is lost but some details are preserved in other works. Sometime later, Jean Quintin d'Autun also visited the island and produced the first description of Malta, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio*, published in France, Lyon, in 1536.

<sup>731</sup> For a general overview, see Hoppen, 1979, Spiteri, 1994.

<sup>732</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 106.

<sup>733</sup> Abulafia, 2011, 386.

<sup>734</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 121.



Arabic world.<sup>735</sup> In the work of David Abulafia and Fernand Braudel, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, many mentions of conquests can be found,<sup>736</sup> illustrating this pincer-movement via the Balkans and the Mediterranean as a tool of expansionism. A likewise list can be gleaned from, among others, Riley-Smith and Sire, who describe several Spanish conquests along the North African coast, possibly in the hope arriving in Jerusalem through the other side of the Mediterranean.<sup>737</sup> Whatever his future plans, L'Isle-Adam's first task was to make Malta, the disreputable pirates' nest, safer than it was before his arrival. Could he turn all this privateering around to the advantage of the Hospitallers?

### ***5.5 Harvesting the sea: Corsairing and privateering***

Little is known about piracy during the interim period leading to Malta's medieval ages, but the period 1203-30 provides a fair idea. Malta then belonged politically to the realm of the Kingdom of Sicily but economically it was also under the influence of the north-Italian maritime republics. Genoa used Malta as a naval/pirate base to protect its long-haul route to Egypt and the Holy Land. Competition between the Italians was rather violent and Abulafia says that the use of violence along the commercial sea-lanes was as common as the use of capital on the foreign markets.<sup>738</sup> In particular, the activities of the independent Genoese corsair and nobleman Enrico Pescatore caused international problems. Not only did he protect Genoese interest at sea, but also the scale of his piracy empire brought whole convoys of competitors in grave danger with dire consequences for the other Italian maritime republics. As Abulafia describes him, he was a protector and persecutor in one.<sup>739</sup> By comparison, this will fit neatly with many other occurrences of piracy and corsairing, including the Hospitallers and their outsourced privateering. After the Crusades had opened the Levant for European shipping, the free flow of goods attracted the attention of pirates of an international garnish. Christian corsairs, Muslim marauders and godless but fearless pirates of all sorts, soon made life at sea treacherous. Malta was not a safe place and both the larger islands, Malta and Gozo, were regularly raided. The small, uninhabited island in between, Comino, was in use as a Muslim pirate base. In order to defend themselves against pirate attacks and razzias, the Maltese had employed many devices, as the barrenness of their islands was also to their advantage.<sup>740</sup> For the Maltese, to sustain their livelihood, it was easier and more profitable to harvest the sea than their land. In the pre-Hospitaller time of 1530, the Università, the local self-government of Malta under Norman rule, had encouraged piracy because it brought in

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<sup>735</sup> For a detailed account, see Goodwin, 1999.

<sup>736</sup> For a general overview: Abulafia, 2011; Braudel, 1992; Horden and Purcell, 2004.

<sup>737</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 106.

<sup>738</sup> Abulafia, 1975, 104-125.

<sup>739</sup> *Idem*, 106.

<sup>740</sup> Sire, 1996, 69.

revenue and kept the enemy at a distance.<sup>741</sup> In the early sixteenth century, the Maltese population had grown to about 20,000 and had developed a dependency on the sea to sustain their livelihood on land. Corsairing, including robbing grain from other merchant ships, and the export of their cotton harvest of September paid for the imports of grain from Sicily,<sup>742</sup> a bartering system organised and maintained by the Università.<sup>743</sup> The relatively small part of the land that could be tilled, subsistence crops such as wheat and barley were valuable.<sup>744</sup>

When the Hospitallers were in charge after 1530, trade was stimulated, as they needed many materials, goods and victuals to maintain the garrison and fleet. Practically everything had to be imported, since these were not available in Malta on the required large scale. Malta's Grand Harbour was made a safer place due to the Hospitaller presence with their galleys, increasing the security as a safe trading port, providing warehousing and healthcare. Nonetheless, at times, the Order decided to import the necessary goods with their own galleys, as benevolent rulers of the Hospitaller republic.<sup>745</sup>

Suitable to the Hospitaller ideas of defence, the piracy of the Maltese was adapted and legalised, and henceforth was classified as corsairing and privateering. This legal framework made them pro-active defenders, similar to what the Order had practised in Rhodes as a form of *thalassocracy* within the structure of their *Ordensstaat*, but not very much different in character than what the Maltese had done in an unstructured manner in order to survive the harsh realities of living on an indefensible island surrounded by hostile neighbours always at the horizon. Defending Malta followed the same strategy as in Rhodes, by land and by sea, while attacks on enemy strongholds were carried out to prevent the Ottomans to obtain logistical support points near Malta, as the supply train from Istanbul to Malta was simply too long and complicated. Attacks on enemy ships were carried out by the Hospitaller navy and by a fleet of corsairing ships, licenced by the Order. These would be the same ships which made up, in alternating configurations, the galley squadron of the Order. Often there were early sightings of enemy ships through the system of 33 watchtowers and larger forts additionally built by the Order to either replace or complement the medieval ones around the coast of Malta and Gozo. After a sighting at sea or signalling from watchtowers, ships would engage in pre-emptive strikes

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<sup>741</sup> Cassar, 1960, 137-156. Probably there were earlier, unrecorded raids against Malta and Gozo. Seen in a larger picture, the first raid on Syracuse was recorded as early as 652, just 20 years after the death of Mohammed, and by 902 Sicily was firmly in Muslim hands.

<sup>742</sup> Vassallo, 1997, 1

<sup>743</sup> Blouet, 2004, 57-8.

<sup>744</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 116. *Idem*, 57-8: Initially, the Order did not judge Malta as a successful trade centre. Although there was a Maltese trade tradition, as it had little produce to export but needed to import substantial amounts of food and commodities. This trade deficit was probably covered by piracy. Luttrell, 1975 14-16, says that island life can be very archaic and isolated, where farmers are nearly immune to change. In the fourteenth century, Malta stopped exporting grain, but not cotton and cumin. Grain and wine needed to be imported from Sicily, making Malta near-dependent on its bigger sister. N.b.: Cotton was mostly grown in the summer and edible produce in winter, when there were less pirates around in search of food, agriculture as a defence mechanism.

<sup>745</sup> Cassar, 1960, 137-156.

when the enemy was found.<sup>746</sup> The *corpus* informs us that Grand Master Martin de Redin strengthened the island with bulwarks and watchtowers, the cities with ramparts.<sup>747</sup> Frà Paul Antoine De Viguier is mentioned as the Grand Prefect of the Watchtowers,<sup>748</sup> while Grand Master De Valette's inscribed text makes mention of chasing away Turks and pirates from 'each side of this sea' [meaning both the Western and Eastern basis of the Mediterranean] and building the new capital city of Valletta.<sup>749</sup> Frà François de Cremaulx...'defeated decisively pirate ships near the island of Crete and the island of Gozo in memorable combats.'<sup>750</sup>

Grand Masters, knights and wealthy Maltese alike fitted out many ships for the *corso*, and about 20 to 30 native corsair ships would use Malta as their harbour base, but also foreign privateers would operate from Malta. In 1603, the Order launched a galley, *San Luis*, purposely built to intercept enemy ships for plundering their food supplies, *carichi di frumento*, to alleviate famine in Malta, *presenti penurie at caristie*.<sup>751</sup> Between 1660 and 1680 alone, the Order had issued 98 corsairing licences, sailing under the Order's or the Grand Master's personal flag. The vessels licensed by the Hospitallers were infamous for attacking not only Muslim vessels but also those under flags of Greek Orthodox or Latin Christian states. Greeks were regarded with particular antipathy, partly due to their role as principal shippers of Ottoman goods and partly due to the long-standing hatred caused by the differences in religious interpretation. The *corpus* apprises us of several knights of the Order were also in the corsairing business, such as Jacques de Fouille d'Escrainville (d. 1703) who 'initially, furnished a ship at his own expense, next he undertook the Captaincy of a galley, afterwards he was in charge of the Flagship itself...he put to flight, spoilt, captured as many as possible ships of the enemy...',<sup>752</sup> and Mazzeo Grugno (d. 1705) fought vigorously to capture the Flagship of the Turks.<sup>753</sup> More challenging to the Ottoman pride were the exploits of Franz Sigismund von Thun (d. 1707): 'The Turks, should they deny, may read his history of [their] abandoned fierceness in the subdued arrogance of [their] heavy-loaded ships. The blood of Sigismund already wrote triumph in a wound, and also his blood speaks from the wound,'<sup>754</sup> while Louis de Fleurigny's (d. 1716) epitaph informs us that 'as a brilliant Captain of a corsair ship he waged war against Mohammed.'<sup>755</sup> This means that a Hospitaller Knight, whether on board a galley

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<sup>746</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 10.

<sup>747</sup> See Part III, Appendix I, no. 184.

<sup>748</sup> *Idem*, no. 15.

<sup>749</sup> *Idem*, no. 359.

<sup>750</sup> *Idem*, no. 175.

<sup>751</sup> Gaposchkin, 2003, 1-26. The vessel named *San Luis*, is probably named after the French King Louis IX (1214-1270), who, as a Crusader participated in the Seventh and Eighth Crusades. He stimulated artistic and intellectual developments. More importantly, he was a reformer of the justice system, the economy and a promotor of peace. When he was crowned king, he made a vow to be God's lieutenant on Earth, working for the glory of God and the good for his subjects. Louis, a devout Catholic, showed exemplary compassion for the poor and the suffering, as the Hospitallers did. Pope Boniface VII canonised King Louis in 1297. King Louis died during the Eighth Crusade (1270).

<sup>752</sup> See Part III, Appendix I, no. 105.

<sup>753</sup> *Idem*, no. 288.

<sup>754</sup> *Idem*, no. 273.

<sup>755</sup> *Idem*, no. 94.

of the Order or on board (his own) corsair ship, could qualify as a hero. As stated before, the fleet of the Order was strengthened with an auxiliary fleet of privateers.<sup>756</sup> Although the Hospitallers had made the vow of poverty, there was apparently enough private money going around to fit out corsair ships.

Scores were also settled with the prosperous Venetians. Two pretexts were offered to allow for crossing the line into purportedly forbidden territory. At times, wars between allies of Christian states offered the privateers an opportunity to prey on Christian ships from rival alliances, no longer partners in the struggle for religious hegemony. At other times, privateers used the excuse that Christian vessels might be smuggling Muslim or Greek goods on board. The admission that such was the case was not infrequently beaten out of a ship's captain. Thirdly, the Order's privateering may perhaps, as Michel Fontenay has suggested, be seen as part of the broader phenomenon of banditry in the increasingly impoverished world of the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century,<sup>757</sup> notwithstanding the investment opportunities. However, in the *corpus* nothing than good things about the Venetians: 'Frà Jean François Chevestre de Cintray, twice joined the Venetian fleet near the Peloponnese, at first performing the office of Vice-Admiral, then declared Lieutenant General of the Sacred Church.'<sup>758</sup>

It is not without reason, that modern authors are critical about this situation. Ultimately, says Fontenay, the Hospitallers were the Christian equivalent of the Barbary corsairs, two sides of the same coin.<sup>759</sup> He continues to say that the popularity and profitability of privateering led a Christian frontier society under the governance of an approved religious order of the Roman Catholic Church to adopt practices at odds with the charitable ethos of the Religion.<sup>760</sup>

Perpetual warfare caused by policies of expansionism existed between the two most significant states in the Mediterranean, the Spanish positioned on the western end of the sea, and the Ottomans in the eastern corner. This became polarised as a fight between Christendom and Islam and did not always allow free and flourishing trade. As a result, brigandage was camouflaged as 'holy war' on either side of the divide.<sup>761</sup> Due to this mutual expansionism, Hospitaller Malta found itself in the middle of the fracas, which quite obviously created grounds for tension and corsairing opportunities. Given that the east-west line was a rather elastic political fault line, the southern part of the sea was a critical one for Malta, as a strategically placed island in the middle of the Mediterranean. From here it was possible to close off the channel between Sicily, Libya and Tunisia with some Hospitaller galleys and control passage to and from the east and west basins of the Mediterranean, an ideal catchment area when one is in the business of corsairing and has powerful galleys to one's employment.<sup>762</sup> As long as the Ottomans and the North African

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<sup>756</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 10.

<sup>757</sup> Fontenay, 1988, 48-49.

<sup>758</sup> See Part III, Appendix I, no. 108.

<sup>759</sup> Fontenay, 1988, 48-49.

<sup>760</sup> *Idem*, 47.

<sup>761</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>762</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 106.

Muslims were expansionists and actively attacking Christendom, although not so much in unity, the privateers under the Order's flag prospered. However, this activity 'suffered' when Europe sought to establish regular trading with the Ottoman Empire and the North African communities. After 1530, the Ottoman Empire became a participant in the internal Christian wars of religion of Roman Catholics versus the Protestants, since the Ottomans supported France.<sup>763</sup>

Policing the Mediterranean had its consequences of attracting the attention of the Ottomans and North Africans. In Malta, there were three basic groups who practised corsairing: Firstly, privateers, Maltese or foreign – often Italian, French and sometimes Spanish – who received a licence to fly the flag of the Order; secondly, rich knights, on a private ticket, owners of vessels or galleons, including Grand Masters like Cardinal Hughes de Loubenx de Verdalle (r. 1582-1595) and Alof de Wignacourt (r. 1601-1622); thirdly, the Order's galley squadron which, accompanied by other vessels of the Order, organised its annual corsairing campaigns, *caravans*, against Muslim shipping and towns. There was a detailed legislation on the division of spoils: ten per cent went immediately to the Order or the Grand Master for a variety of purposes, the captain received his own share of eleven per cent, bondholders were repaid for their advances, and investors were compensated proportionately. In Malta, a lively trade in venture capital was built around corsairing, with a high risk of losing money, but with a 30 per cent interest when things went well.<sup>764</sup> Virtually all levels of Maltese society – from knights to artisans – found privateering an acceptable risk when investing in venture capital.<sup>765</sup> The Order, the Grand Master, individual knights, the Church, local nobility and population, all made their investments.<sup>766</sup> Given the range of investors involved in the business and its attractiveness to natives and foreigners, corsairing seems to be less a case of banditry than one of 'legitimate' business on the archipelago.

### **5.6 Improving the fortifications of Malta before the Great Siege of 1565**

The defence-by-sea option was necessary as the state of the existing fortifications in Malta was grossly insufficient.<sup>767</sup> The tactic of pillage and plunder by the Turks and North African Muslims went on even after the arrival of the Order of St John in 1530. The unremitting attacks on Malta were part of a larger story. Christian powers tried to get a

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<sup>763</sup> Phillips, 2015, 33.

<sup>764</sup> Aquilina, 2011, 65-71.

<sup>765</sup> Cassar, 2004, 28-34. The fact that privateering by licensed vessels proved a fairly lucrative venture for the Hospitaller of Malta, is suggested by the government's regulation of the business. There were strict regulations about licensing and using the Order's flag. Vessels needed a letter patent from the Order to engage in privateering under its flag. By adopting this naval flag, the operators of the ship had to bring all goods seized at sea to Malta for sale. Disputes over profits were adjudicated before special courts set up by the knight. Aquilina, 2011, 65-71: Also, a percentage had to be paid as consideration to the Ursuline sisters in the monastery in Valletta, who prayed continuously for the success and safety of the Hospitaller sea-farers and privateers. This is known as the institution of the *lancia*. Part of the booty was valued and divided in five equal monetary parts, the *Cinque Lancie*. The nuns of St Ursula, who had offered their spiritual support, received each time *una lancia*, by Magistral grace.

<sup>766</sup> Aquilina, 2011, 65-71.

<sup>767</sup> For a general overview, see Hoppen, 1979, Spiteri, 1994.

foothold on the North African coast, to disrupt the expansion of the Ottomans. As a reaction, the Ottomans claimed that the Christians had broken the truce of 1554, because along the Hungarian frontier they had built fortifications, and this was considered equal to declaring war.<sup>768</sup>

In 1540, 1544 and 1545, Dragut Reis (b. in Bodrum 1485 – d. in Malta 23 June 1565), an Ottoman naval commander, nicknamed the *Drawn Sword of Islam*, attacked Malta and Gozo. Between 1547 and 1554, he carried out at least another seven raids on Malta and Gozo. In this period, up to 1552, the frequency of razzias by Ottoman and Barbary corsairs increased.<sup>769</sup> These attacks, bad enough as they were, still could be regarded within the context of raids rather than attempts for permanent occupation. The year 1551 was a particularly bad year for the Order, as the tone changed. Dragut Reis attacked Malta, ransacked Gozo and overrun its stronghold, the *Citadella*,<sup>770</sup> indicating that neither the land nor the sea defences were adequate. The capture of Gozo was one of a terrible error of judgment on the part of the Order's Governor of the *Citadella*, Frà Galatian de Sese. It seems that he surrendered without a fight, an act of cowardice in the opinion of the Grand Master D'Omedes. The entire population of Gozo, bar a few, of about 6,300 persons were carried off, while the death count in Malta was about 3,000 persons.<sup>771</sup> After this wholesale emptying of Gozo, it took more than 150 years to repopulate the island.<sup>772</sup> In August 1551, barely one month after the attack on Gozo, Dragut struck at the stronghold of Tripoli. Its governor, Jean Parisot de Valette, the later Grand Master, found himself outnumbered. A combined naval force of the Ottomans and of Dragut Reis eventually took the fort of Tripoli from the Order. Of course, this deeply worried the Order, as it was regarded as a failed obligation towards Charles V.<sup>773</sup>

The Ottoman attack of 1551 on Malta and Gozo also matured the Order further and hastened the decision to build new fortifications on the peninsula of Mount Sciberras. At present, the capital city of Valletta is located there, built after the Great Siege of 1565. The 1551 raid had emphasised both the weaknesses of the Hospitaller defence and the seriousness of the Turkish intent. The vast majority of the fortifications in Malta were not yet present when the Order arrived in 1530. It was in Birgu, a peninsula in the Grand Harbour, where they set up their Convent and headquarters, as it was the only town in medieval Malta situated on the coast. It had a fortified tower, the *castrum maris*, which was at the moment of arrival in a half-ruined state and not capable of withstanding modern warfare; other defence works were in a similar dilapidated state. Modern fortifications elsewhere were already designed with gunpowder artillery in mind, both used by the defenders and seaborne/land-based cannon by the enemy.

With these techniques available, work was started to modify and strengthen the existing fortifications although not wholeheartedly, since the Order was not sure they

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<sup>768</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 266.

<sup>769</sup> *Idem*, 240.

<sup>770</sup> De Boisgelin, 1804, vol. II, chapter 6, 38-41.

<sup>771</sup> De Vertot, 1898, vol. II, 122.

<sup>772</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>773</sup> Finkel, 2005, 135-6.



would engage in a long-term stay in Malta.<sup>774</sup> Pope Julius III himself had advised that the Order should remove itself from the island, retreat to Sicily and leave only a small garrison behind. Here the Order showed its independence, and instead, De Vega, the Sicilian Viceroy, was asked for assistance in the form of military engineers and architects. Due to the sense of urgency, two main strongholds in the Grand Harbour, Fort St Elmo and Fort St Michael, were ready by March 1552.<sup>775</sup> The town of Mdina was also strengthened, and the defence works of the harbour area were consolidated, in order to prevent another 1551 walkover.

For 268 years, from 1530 to 1798, when the French expelled the Order from Malta, the Hospitallers improved and rebuilt existing fortifications and built state-of-the-art gunpowder bastions as a static defence against the Ottomans and the North Africans, with a total length of about 65 km. These bastioned fortifications were designed and adapted to the natural rocks and cliffs of the Maltese coastline, following their natural pattern and were able to resist prolonged artillery bombardments, while allowing return fire to the besiegers. Great care was taken to ensure that the defence system of Malta not only matched contemporary standards but was also exemplary of progress made in this field.<sup>776</sup>

### 5.7 The Order decides to stay in Malta

One of the main issues prior to accepting Malta as a new home for the Order, was that the Order's members were mainly French and these knights did not see much good in becoming a dependent institution for the eternal French enemy, Spain.<sup>777</sup> Whatever reservations the French knights may have had, these evaporated after the *razzia* of 1551. They finally accepted the Spanish gift as a new opportunity for the Order to continue the defence of Christendom,<sup>778</sup> and chivalric honour and the greater good of the Order and Christendom prevailed.<sup>779</sup> After all, Malta was a privileged place and a frontier *par excellence* for a confrontation between Christendom and Islam in the Mediterranean, as Brogini writes.<sup>780</sup> The Order had decided to stay in Malta and seriously considered improving the shortcomings of their new home,<sup>781</sup> as Malta provided a chance for the fighting-brothers not to be missed. After all, the fight against the enemies of the Religion was part of the two-pronged motto *Tuitio Fidei* and *Obsequium Pauperum*, and even more importantly, it was a statutory requirement. If the French knights had not accepted to

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<sup>774</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 23.

<sup>775</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 267.

<sup>776</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 10.

<sup>777</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 116-7. There was also the issue of grain. Malta was dependent on grain from Sicily, and the Kingdom of Sicily could easily manipulate this situation when suspicious of too much French influence in Malta. On occasion, the grain supply was indeed halted, causing famine for the Maltese population. In the past, the Maltese local government in Mdina, run by Spanish/Sicilian noblemen, the *Università*, had been responsible for the grain imports from Sicily.

<sup>778</sup> Sire, 1996; Nicholson, 2007.

<sup>779</sup> For chivalric attitudes, see Kaeuper, 2009, chapter 1, 4-7.

<sup>780</sup> Brogini, 2013.

<sup>781</sup> Spiteri, 1994, 261-2.

stay in Malta and fulfil their vows, they might have lost their standing, as the statutes are very clear about this. De Vertot produces an overview of the *Old and New Statutes* of the Order, until 1726. The last paragraph of Custom 2 is very clear about shunning one's duties: 'Such as shall be convicted of having prevaricated in their duty, or having declined, fled or deserted the occasions offered them thereof, and of fighting for the interests of Christianity, shall, for a terror to evildoers, and for the praise of such as do well, be severely punished...' <sup>782</sup> Confrontation with the Ottomans led to another shift in the Hospitaller self-image, a resolve that the Ottomans must be stopped at all cost.

### **5.8 Remembering heroism in Rhodes and the Great Siege period in Malta**

Traumatic as it had been, the loss of Rhodes had understandably left traces in the Hospitaller memory and in the *corpus* in Malta, demonstrating that the Hospitaller cohesion and self-image were able to survive disaster, remain mobile and show great resilience.

Strangely enough, Rhodes features only twice by name in the *corpus* in Valletta, and on a few occasions it is known that the person commemorated served in Rhodes. The inscribed text of Frà Philip de Villiers l'Isle-Adam, Master of the Sacred Order of the Hospital in Rhodes, is short about the loss of Rhodes and the topic is only implicitly mentioned: 'When, after he bore the greatest toils by land and sea, he had departed from life in Malta and was buried at the citadel of Saint Angelo' (d. 1534) <sup>783</sup> Frà Pietro del Ponte was already a veteran during the 1522 Siege of Rhodes and died in Malta merely fifteen months after succeeding Villiers l'Isle-Adam as Grand Master (d. 1535). <sup>784</sup> In contrast, Frà Pietro del Monte was a very young man during the Siege of Rhodes. His monument reads that he, 'the son of the brother of Pope Julius III, was tirelessly keeping his post when Rhodes was in ruins.' The text shows regret for his premature Death preventing his intentions not only to fortify the bulwark (Fort St Angelo) but also to revive the morals and the condition of both the Order and the Militia to the old standard. This standard is understood to be the discipline and moral compass of the Hospitallers at the Holy Land (d. 1572). <sup>785</sup> No criticism is brought forward in the text of Grand Master Juan d'Omedes (d. 1553), under whose watch the Ottomans raided Malta and Gozo in July 1551 and captured the bulwark of Tripoli in August of the same year. <sup>786</sup> Young Jean Parisot de Valette, the later Grand Master who would lead Malta through the Great Siege of 1565, had paid close attention to the endplay of the Siege of Rhodes, in which the local population played a decisive role in the outcome of the siege. When he was in comparable

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<sup>782</sup> De Vertot, 1728, *Old and New Statutes*.

<sup>783</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 358, Frà Philip de Villiers l'Isle-Adam was born in Beauvais in 1464 and died at Rabat, Malta on 21 August 1534. Grand Masters were previously buried in the citadel of Birgu, Fort St Angelo, before they were transferred to the St John's Conventual church in Valletta after 1571.

<sup>784</sup> *Idem*, no. 355.

<sup>785</sup> *Idem*, no. 154.

<sup>786</sup> *Idem*, no. 354.

circumstances during the Great Siege of 1565 in Malta, he did his utmost to keep the population on his side, as he understood that they were key to survival.<sup>787</sup>

Süleyman sets the tone of the seriousness of the 1565 conflict in which the goal was a total annihilation of the Hospitallers. He felt slighted by the Hospitallers' continuous naval raids and by their ridicule of his magnanimous gesture in 1522 to let them leave Rhodes with honours of war. He was hellbent to destroy the Hospitallers and Malta this time round and declared, before the Divan of 1564 when unfolding his planned invasion Malta: 'Those sons of dogs whom I have already conquered and who were spared only by my clemency in Rhodes forty-three years ago – I say now that for their continual raids and insults, they shall be finally crushed and destroyed'.<sup>788</sup>

Those of the older crop of knights who survived both the Siege of Rhodes in 1522 and the Great Siege in 1565,<sup>789</sup> set the standard for uncompromising heroism and piety. This heroism became of all-encompassing importance, causing a near-obsession to meet those standards, as will be discussed in the following chapters 7 and 8. Some texts of the *corpus* illustrate the heroism of those who served during the Great Siege of 1565. A Spanish commander, Melchior de Robles, who was not a Knight Hospitaller, but a knight of a Spanish Order of the Sword (of Santiago), is one of the recognised old-style heroes of the Great Siege. De Robles' presence in Malta is described as follows: 'in the grimmest siege of Malta, while forcing his way through countless troops of Turks, he came with a subsidiary legion straight on to the aid of the already utterly shattered bulwarks.'<sup>790</sup> De Robles is seen as a 'faithful disciple of Saint James, indeed a fearful scourge of the hideous Ottoman militia, whose fortunate military standard, by its redness, was like a comet to the worshippers of Christ; the pale Cross shone forth, the shining Crescent faded.' As the Commander of the garrison of the Saint Michael Bastions at Senglea, he was regarded as 'the pursuer of the enemy from Heaven who, in this duty, was the first casualty, slaughtered in the battle. Yes indeed, for a drop of blood, he saved the lives of a hundred, brought about the death of a thousand [Ottoman enemies], alas, he died.' The 'drop of blood' refers to the fatal head wound he received. De Robles was examining the state of the fortification walls, and just as he had taken off his helmet, perhaps to inspect the walls at closer range, an Ottoman sniper shot him in the head. An allusion presents itself here, where De Robles is compared to St James in the (imaginary) battle of Clavijo. De Robles was perched high on St Michael's Bastions and from that vantage position had a good command over the fighting. Likewise, St James came down from on high, on horseback appearing from the sky and dealt a decisive blow to the enemy. De Robles' conduct was so exemplary heroic, that he became an embodiment of heroic behaviour, nearly at par

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<sup>787</sup> Bradford, 1961, 8.

<sup>788</sup> *Idem*, 18.

<sup>789</sup> The first seven Grand Masters in Malta would have served in both sieges of Rhodes and Malta: Philippe de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam (r. 1521-34); Pietro del Ponte (r. 1534-35); Didier de Saint-Jaille (r. 1535-36); Juan de d'Omedes (r. 1536-53); Claude de la Sengle (r. 1553-57); Jean Parisot de Valette (r. 1557-68); Pietro del Monte (r. 1568-1572). Except Saint-Jaille, all are buried at St John's.

<sup>790</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 179, Melchior de Robles died a hero in the Great Siege of 1565.

with Jean Parisot de Valette. It is very thinkable that his conduct also helped to determine the benchmark for heroism at the *corpus*.

Undoubtedly, the most celebrated hero on the side of the Order was the abovementioned Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette (d. 1568). De Valette's inscribed text sets the tone regarding the Order's opinion about its own position in the world and that of the Ottomans shortly after the Great Siege, his tomb being on public display. Although the Order and Malta survived the Great Siege, the Order's finances were in a perilous state, about half the brothers had been killed, their mercenary army halved and the Maltese population decimated, while the countryside lay in ruins.<sup>791</sup> From this text, the message emanates that the small island of Malta could hold out against the Ottomans, no matter the size of their empire and the might of their military apparatus, because of de Valette's courage and insight, but above all, God's help. The text further praises this Grand Master and all his achievements. It firmly cements his reputation as a saviour in his own right of the Order, Malta and the whole of Europe.

The sepulchral text of de Valette, possibly written by his Latin secretary, Sir Oliver Starkey, further praises this Grand Master and his achievements and consolidates his reputation as a fearless soldier and forward-looking leader. However, de Valette did not have an impeccable reputation and was at least twice imprisoned for violent offences.<sup>792</sup> More seriously, he was blamed for the loss of the stronghold of Tripoli.<sup>793</sup> It seems though, that his resilience was a winning ticket. Jean de Valette, giving chase in 1541 to a corsair named Abd-ur-Rahman Kust Aly, met with disaster. He lost his ship, the galley *San Giovanni*, and was badly wounded. De Valette became a captive and served for a year as a chained galley slave. Dragut Reis, a.k.a. Dragut, his old enemy, met by chance with de Valette and arranged somewhat better conditions. When Dragut was captured eight years later by Genoese admiral Giannettino Doria and became a galley slave himself, de Valette reciprocated the compliment.<sup>794</sup>

Jean de Valette's epitaph reads:

To God, Supreme and Almighty.

In eternal memory of a most illustrious man, Frà. Jean de Valette, a Frenchman, who, after he strenuously and successfully had fulfilled numerous and various duties on land and at sea, not only at Tripoli in Africa and all Numidia but also verily throughout all Greece, was elected by general consent of the whole Order as Master and Prefect. Long ago he had opened the narrow-minded opinions about himself in another way when in the Year of the Lord 1565 he freed Malta from the siege of Soliman. Notwithstanding the Christian Princes delaying action, he saved the old city [Mdina] and fortress [St Michael], chased the Turks from the whole island and

<sup>791</sup> Blouet, 2004, 81.

<sup>792</sup> <http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2012-02-05/news/the-misdeeds-of-the-grandmasters-305368/>

<sup>793</sup> Finkel 2005: 135-6.

<sup>794</sup> Bradford, 1964.

swept clean each side of this sea of pirates, and constructed the new city of Valletta, extremely safe against the enemies of our Faith, a bulwark and eternal monument of de Valette and French reputation, with utmost speed and wonderful skill. He died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, in the Year of the Lord 1568, on the very day on which he, eleven years earlier, had entered into the Magistracy of the Order. He was a terror to the enemy, dear to his own, whence not without reason he was called the guardian-of-the- people and the curse-of-the-enemy by everyone. He lived for 73 years, 6 months, 17 days.

Frà Louis de Mailloc Saquenville, a knight of the aforesaid Order, Lord of Crucibria and San Malvito, Steward of the afore-mentioned most invincible Prince, not heedless of the benefices he received from him for his service, arranged to erect this tomb at his own expense in the Year of the Lord 1580.

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To God, Supreme, Almighty, Sacrosanct

He was the dread of Asia and Libya and once the Guardian of Europe, after he had subdued the Turks by means of his Sacred Arms, the first to be buried in this propitious city which he founded. Here lies de Valette, worthy by eternal honour.

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Frà Louis de Mailloc Saquenville and Frà Jean de Soubiran Arifat, in the Year of the Lord 1591, raised into more prominent splendour so great a memory of so great a man, so great a stimulus of virtue for the Jerusalemite soldier, previously lying underground.<sup>795</sup>

(This last part indicates that de Valette was first buried in the Our Lady of Victories Church and that now, re-buried in the Crypt of the Grand Masters at St John's, his memory is in the shape of a sepulchral monument).

An analysis of the above-inscribed text of Jean Parisot de Valette contains several significant matters. His own self-image is prominently displayed, and without a hint of humility. Indeed, after the Great Siege was over, de Valette was showered with compliments from all the Sovereigns of Europe.<sup>796</sup> The writer cleverly uses the Hospitaller cohesion ('the general consent of the whole Order') to justify his election to Grand Master and to criticise the 'narrow-minded opinions about him', regarding his imprisonments and the loss of Tripoli to the Ottomans in 1551. De Valette vents some criticism, when he comments on the delayed arrival of the Grande Soccorso, the large relief fleet, during the Great Siege. The line 'Notwithstanding the Christian Princes delaying action' was written out of de Valette's frustration that the promised help was so slow to arrive. De Valette may or may not have been aware of the prevailing principles

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<sup>795</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 359, Grand Master Jean de Valette Parisot, died 1568. The French reputation possibly refers to French chivalric heroes as one can find in the *chansons de geste*, like the Chanson de Roland. Later, as de Valette came from the Gascoigne, some of his compatriots become literally very famous, such as the Three Musketeers and Cyrano de Bergerac, all literary characters known for their love of a good fight.

<sup>796</sup> Bradford, 1964, 225-6.

and objectives of Philip II of Spain. This King, who had two titles, the Prudent King and His Holy Royal Catholic Majesty, had to safeguard at all cost his high-grade galleys, which were nearly impossible to replace. These galleys served as a means of communication between Spain and Hispania (Sicily, Malta, Italy) in the other objectives, the fight against the Ottomans to defend borders from danger from outside, and the fight against what Philip II regarded as the Protestant heresy, to protect the realm from danger from within.<sup>797</sup> Williams further describes this two-pronged ambition of Philip II that he, with those galleys, pursued the cause of God', driven by chivalric honour into enemy waters, but with the utmost 'worldly prudence' to preserve the galleys at all costs. In 1561, de Valette had already sent a letter to Phillip II about his spies confirming the rumours of an impending massive attack on Malta. Philip II was convinced about his duties towards holy war, while on the other hand, he appreciated the irreplaceable value of his galleys and the obligations of his feudal vassals to defend themselves well. Philip II agreed that the Hospitallers could ship double the amount of grain from Sicily and informed the Viceroy in Sicily to assist the Hospitallers to evade any impending danger, as Malta was valuable to the King. To de Valette he wrote a different message, that the King had confidence in the capacities of the Hospitallers to prepare in such a way that the Ottomans would desist from invasion; should they invade nonetheless, then the King was equally convinced that the Hospitallers could successfully defend their fortress island. He also asked de Valette to send his galleys to Messina in May 1561 to assist the Catholic Armada in guarding Christendom. In order to protect his own galleys, he rather made use of the Hospitaller galleys. This indicates that these galleys were of great value and the quality of the galleys and their oarsmen much appreciated. When the Great Siege was in full swing in 1565, the Viceroy asked specific instructions of Philip II regarding the relief force to save Malta, who answered that under no circumstances he must confront the Ottoman fleet at sea. Preserving the Spanish galleys was more important than saving Malta, arguing that should Malta be lost, it could be recovered at a later stage, but if the galleys were lost, Spain could not re-arm itself for many years, making itself vulnerable to attack. It was his frustration with these prudent policies that probably made de Valette's complaints find their way onto his sepulchral monument. What probably had also irritated de Valette was that Pope Pius V in 1568 had declared that His Catholic Majesty was the sole Defender of Christendom, while the Hospitallers just had defended Europe through the Great Siege and came out of it barely alive.<sup>798</sup> The juxtaposition of the words 'de Valette and French reputation' is rather strange, as one would have expected that the text would have said 'Provence', since that is where he came from (La Valette) and because the Provence was the most prestigious *langue*.

On the floor of the Grand Master's Crypt, where the sepulchral monument of de Valette is situated, there is a small slab with a poem by Oliver Starkey, his Latin secretary, as

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<sup>797</sup> Williams, 2015, 43-6

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*



previously mentioned. Starkey's rank was a Pro-Turcopolier of the English *langue*.<sup>799</sup> The poem repeats some of the abovementioned lines of de Valette's epitaph: 'He [de Valette] was the dread of Asia and Libya and once the Guardian of Europe, after he had subdued the Turks by means of his Sacred Arms.'<sup>800</sup> Historians, like Caroline Finkel, place the victory of the Order over the Ottomans and the epitaph 'Guardian of Europe' in a totally different light. She writes that this Ottoman failure to take possession of Malta was regarded, like all other Ottoman failures, as a triumph of Christendom, instead of regarding it as a result of a collective European failure towards a Mediterranean policy and strategy.<sup>801</sup> In real terms, the failure to conquer Malta did not limit the military might of the Ottomans, nor did it change the balance of power in the Mediterranean greatly.

### **5.9 Fr. Roberto: Exemplary heroism of a Capuchin friar during the Great Siege**

Heroism was not only for knights, soldiers and Maltese. There were other heroes of the Great Siege who have not been commemorated at St John's but are nonetheless part of the common identity of Knights Hospitaller. Friars of other religious orders could also exhibit heroic behaviour worthy of Hospitallers and reference is made here to the documented story of Friar Roberto d'Eboli, the first Capuchin friar of Malta. Fr. Roberto was already preaching in Malta before the Great Siege started.<sup>802</sup> Giacomo Bosio, the official historian of the Order, highly regarded Fr. Roberto and mentions him in his narratives.<sup>803</sup> Turkish corsairs had captured Fr. Roberto in 1553 while he was on the Salernian coast and shipped him to Tripoli as a slave, only to regain his freedom again in 1564, after a period of eleven years of slavery. His fellow Christian slaves had collected money for his ransom, and he was brought to Malta in early 1565. On his arrival, he started preaching straightaway and preparing for the Lenten ceremonies at the Church of St Lawrence in Birgu, at the request of the Grand Master and the Bishop of Malta. In view of the threat of an imminent Ottoman invasion, he assisted in preparing the people for the inevitable.

Fr. Roberto voluntarily went to Fort St Elmo to embolden the hearts of the knights and soldiers, who knew they were all soon going to die in this battle, with no hope of survival. He took great risks, although he cared less of being killed than of being enslaved again by the Ottomans. On his arrival at Fort St Elmo, on 9<sup>th</sup> June 1665, he had learnt that all the combatants were ready to die fighting as heroes rather than to surrender as cowards, as Bosio lets us know. Less than a week later, the Grand Master commanded him to return

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<sup>799</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 162. A large number of the Hospitaller mercenaries were Turcoples, a variety of mounted cavalry, European and indigenous (*τουρκόπουλοι*, 'sons of Turks'). Turcoples became a semi-permanent fixture in the Hospitaller army, from 1203 onwards. The Turcopolier was the commander of the Turcoples. By 1303 this office had reached the same rank as a conventual bailiff. A Pro-Turcopolier is then the top rank among Turcopoliers. However, Starkey was the only Turcopolier left in Malta.

<sup>800</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 353.

<sup>801</sup> Finkel, 2005, 160-61.

<sup>802</sup> Azzopardi, 1965, 96-110. Little is known about the personal details of friar Robert. He was probably born somewhere between 1510-20 in Eboli or Evoli, 60 km southeast of Naples and could have entered the Capuchin Order between 1528-35.

<sup>803</sup> Bosio, 1598, 3, XXVII, pp. 521 C and 558 B.

to Birgu with the wounded, while two other priests of the Hospitaller Order remained behind.<sup>804</sup>

After a procession and a full day of devotional services, Fr. Roberto came out of the Church of St Lawrence, carrying a crucifix in the right hand and a sword in the left and he continued to persuade the soldiers for the love of the Redeemer to manfully keep on fighting. What is striking in this situation is that there no longer seemed to be any distinction between a monk or a soldier. This episode at St Lawrence was highly symbolical in order to give the people courage. During the later battles in the Great Siege, when the thick of the fighting shifted to Birgu and fort St Michael at the Senglean peninsula, Fr. Roberto was praying as hard for the defenders as he was fighting. It was only after he was seriously wounded that he had to give up the actual physical fighting. Bosio remarks that those 'having seen the Brother Capuchin remained in awe. And later, in the company of Commendatore Broglia, he and many injured were returned to Birgu. Nothing else could be done but celebrate and with great wonder preach the miraculous endurance that the great God had granted on the souls of the Fallen of St Elmo, which gave the impression that these were not less than the ancient Maccabean saints.'<sup>805</sup>

### **5.10 Post-Great Siege and Lepanto**

Although Mustapha Pasha had given the order to withdraw on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1565, the story was not over. Historians claim that if he had waited a few days longer, he could have been victorious. However, the sea becomes unpredictable in September, so he lifted the siege and sailed east to Constantinople, with the Habsburg fleet on his tail, before Pasha shook them off.<sup>806</sup> This failure to capture the Ottoman fleet also strengthened the resolve of the Hospitallers, and the local Maltese population, who simultaneously celebrated their victory over the Ottomans, while mourning their losses. Both parties vowed to continue to protect Christendom and Malta against the Ottomans 'as their most persistent enemies', this 'unholy dread from the East.'<sup>807</sup>

After the Great Siege, a busy time ensued for Malta, as the retreat of the Ottomans was regarded as something temporarily. Money came in from Europe, encouraged by the outcome of the Siege. Filling the coffers also offered a way forward, the Order investing immense energy, time and capital into fortifying Malta. Warwick Ball has his own pro-Turkish view on the Great Siege, and with the luxury of hindsight the Maltese did not have in 1565, he is allowed to remark that fortifying Malta after the Great Siege was a case of 'locking the stable door after the horse has bolted.' Valletta and the Grand Harbour became very heavily fortified and Ball calls it a testimony to the near-paranoia held by

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<sup>804</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>805</sup> *Idem*, 521 C: *Il che havendo veduto il Frate Capuccino; rimase tutto pieno di maraviglia, e distupore. E dopo, ch'in compagnia del Commendator Broglia, e di molti Feriti su ritornato al Borgo; satiare non si poteva di celebrare, e con maraviglia predicare la miracolosa constanza, che'l grande Iddio ne gli animi de Disenditori di Sant'elmo impressa haveva; sores non inferior a quella di gli antiche, e santi Machabei.'*

<sup>806</sup> Cassola, 2005, 105; O'Shea, 2006, 30.

<sup>807</sup> Setton, 1984, 609, 758.

Western Europe for the power of the ‘Terrible Turk.’<sup>808</sup> Others would say that this was a logical conclusion of fear for the return of the Ottoman powers. After all, they had undertaken many attacks on Malta, also orchestrated through their corsairs and pirates. Hence, the expectation was that another attack would be a foregone conclusion.<sup>809</sup>

In the post-Siege epoch, the Hospitallers further cemented their image as defenders of Christianity. Not only did they patrol the Mediterranean to protect Christian shipping and freeing Christian slaves, they would also renew their efforts regarding proactive operations and pre-emptive strikes at sea aimed at Ottoman and North African ships. Moreover, aggressive attacks were carried out on enemy territory, attempting to deliver the maximum damage to the enemy strongholds and communities.<sup>810</sup> It followed that it was deemed strategically wise to keep the enemy weak and tactically take out any ship they could, as they had done in Rhodes. Subsequently, the Order was responsible for frustrating the Ottomans to gain a serious foothold on the North African coast, Crete, or in any place where they could hurt their enemies.<sup>811</sup> From the *corpus*: Frà Jean de la Baume de Foursat was described as a knight with great courage, who ‘disregarded his fear of Death when he, near Levkás, with equal valour, drew blood from the enemy and got wounded himself...’.<sup>812</sup> Frà Marcel de Gallèan of Châteauneuf was known for his nobility, though better known for his virtues, still coming to maturity, as a Lieutenant of a galley, he gave an example of his extraordinary courage in plundering the pirate fleet near Roccella.<sup>813</sup>

The Hospitaller fleet and the fleet of privateers went about looting and raiding enemy ships and taking captives. These were important because they could be exchanged for enslaved Christians.<sup>814</sup> The strategy was to weaken the enemy at any chance, to protect Christian shipping and to free Christian slaves was regularly successfully employed. Hospitaller ships and their corsairs would land on enemy coast, making use of the often weak fortifications, ransacking the town, burning ships or confiscating them if they were of quality while carrying off booty. If there were no Christian slaves to be freed, inevitably they would enslave the resident Muslims of the locality they attacked. Such slaves were sold on the slave market of Valletta or, if capable, used for rowing their galleys. De Vertot describes such an action, taking place in 1609; ‘The chevaliers Fresenet, Maurot and Gaucourt surprise the fortress of Lajazzo in the gulf of that name; they make their way into it by means of a petard which blew up the gate; they take great booty and after blowing up the fortifications of the place, carry off 300 slaves.’<sup>815</sup>

One unintended consequence of the Great Siege of 1565 for the Ottomans was that their expansion throughout the Mediterranean came slowly to an end, with the *coup-de-*

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<sup>808</sup> Ball, 2013, 129.

<sup>809</sup> Dalli, 2006. Part of the book title.

<sup>810</sup> For a general overview, see Riley-Smith, 2012b.

<sup>811</sup> Williams, 2015, 43-66.

<sup>812</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 181.

<sup>813</sup> *Idem*, no. 63.

<sup>814</sup> Soldani and Duran I Duelt, 2012, 257-70.

<sup>815</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, book XIII, 60. Block Friedman and Mossler Figg (eds.) 2000, 326: The Gulf of Ljazzo (Laias, Layas, Ajas or Ayas) was a major medieval seaport of Cilician Armenia, near modern Yumurtalik.

*grâce* delivered to them at Lepanto six years later. The Battle of Lepanto took place on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1571 in the Gulf of Patras, where the Ottoman fleet was confronted by the Holy League, comprising of galleys of the Spanish Empire, the Venetians and three Hospitaller galleys. In the year before, the Hospitallers had lost three galleys, including the flagship, to the Turkish corsair Ucciali, near Manchiaro, Sicily. Nonetheless, at Lepanto the Hospitaller galleys made the difference and ultimately outsmarted Ucciali when they were confronted with his galleys once more. In the end, both sides lost vast amounts of men and ships. Boisgelin reports that the Ottomans lost 140 galleys, 30,000 troops, 5,000 officers and soldiers were captured. More than 20,000 Christian slaves were freed from the Ottoman galleys, while the Holy League lost about 7,600 men.<sup>816</sup>

It is usually argued that both Spain and the Ottoman Empire abandoned the Mediterranean after the Christian victory of Lepanto and the Ottoman victory in which Spain lost Tunis and La Goletta in 1574. Philip II of Spain took the crown of Portugal and its inheritance of the overseas territories in the New World in 1580. From 1568, Spain engaged in wars against the Netherlands (the Eighty Year War), fusing this war with other wars, against Elizabeth I in 1590 and 1592 on behalf of the Catholic League against France. The Ottomans were busy fighting wars in Asia and against Shi'ite Muslims for religious supremacy. In reality, the fighting never stopped, the Hospitaller navy and the privateers and corsairs from both sides filled up the vacuum. It was a pan-Mediterranean war of pinpricks, causing local disasters on both sides.<sup>817</sup>

Grand Master Pietro del Monte, who on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1568 became the successor of de Valette, not only survived the sieges of Rhodes and Malta, but also managed to live to see the Christian victory in the Battle of Lepanto. Of these three events, the Great Siege of 1565 was probably the most important event involved in creating a benchmark of identity, chivalry and Hospitaller heroism. From the *corpus*: Frà Pietro del Monte reputedly was tireless in keeping his post in the defence of the peninsula of Senglea when it was besieged by the Turks in the year 1565.<sup>818</sup> Although Frà Pietro del Monte lived to receive the news of the victory at Lepanto, no reference is made to this battle in his inscribed text. He died on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1572, just shortly after Lepanto, having been involved in three of the most prolific events of the Order.

A question which could be raised after the Ottomans lost interest in the Mediterranean is: 'What is St George going to do after he killed the dragon?', in other words, was there a future for the Hospitallers policing the Mediterranean beyond the retreat of the Ottomans? The answer seems to have been 'yes', there seemed enough to do for the Hospitallers. Although the mother of evil, at least in their eyes, had turned her attention elsewhere, there were plenty of eggs being hatched. This has led historians to conclude that the fighting diminished or that the fighting continued, but on a different scale, and was reduced to skirmishes.<sup>819</sup> However, the *corpus* shows a continuity regarding the fortifications and both the defence and offence against the Barbary Coast corsairs and

<sup>816</sup> De Boisgelin, 1804, book 2, chapter 1, 135.

<sup>817</sup> Williams, 2015, 40ff.

<sup>818</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 352.

<sup>819</sup> Hoppen, 1979, 155.

Ottomans. Sire notes that the Barbary corsairs started to be a serious problem after Barbarossa made Algiers, with its dreaded slave market, his capital.<sup>820</sup> In the sixteenth century, some smaller Muslim states, such as Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, developed as corsairing states, harassing regional commerce, including the trade routes between Malta and Spain.<sup>821</sup>

In addition, the catalogue of attacks from this chapter 5.3 and 5.6 shows that there were enough enemies to keep the Hospitallers going, maybe not in the sense of great, cataclysmic sieges, but surely with many smaller actions. Hence, the heroes of the Great Siege and Lepanto made way for a new kind of knighthood, warrior elites on land and at sea.

### ***5.11 Good galleys, bad galleys and warrior elites***

The naval war between Christianity and the Ottomans and Muslims in the Mediterranean Sea was the most prolonged and continuous of that era. According to Williams, most of the naval battles and naval wars fought in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth and seventeenth century were between those who had a few good galleys against those who had a lot of bad ones.<sup>822</sup> William's theory makes a distinction between powers with a few good galleys and those with many bad galleys and poses that a few good ones would always be superior to many bad ones. This theory also connects to the theory of warrior elites, as proposed by Anderson and Hull. To their category of warrior elites belong those military orders, such as the Templars and the Hospitallers, who became not only powerful and wealthy, but also gained political influence over time. These Orders are described by Anderson and Hull as warrior monks, appearing after the First Crusade and disappearing in the industrial age with its centralised modern governments. Few of such orders of warrior elites were founded in the Holy Land, the

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<sup>820</sup> Bradford, 1971, 400-07. Khizr, better known as Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa (c. 1475-1546), Barbarossa, was born on Lesbos. Together with others, among which his brother Baba Aruj, he developed corsairing to a proper menace in the Mediterranean. After the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, in the 1492 Reconquista, many wanted revenge on Spain. Through corsairing this revenge was carried out. Khizr was as ruthless as he was intelligent, made himself master of nearly the entire North African Coast. He submitted to the Ottoman Sultan, who rewarded him with ships, crew and money to continue his activities. Algiers became the biggest and most cruel slave market in the Mediterranean for his thousands of victims. He took on the name Redbeard, Barbarossa after the death of his brother, Baba Aruj. Barabarossa is a corruption of his brother's name. Hayrettin, or Kheir-ed-Din means Protector of the Faith. See also Sire, 1996, 89.

<sup>821</sup> Quataert, 2003, 38-41.

<sup>822</sup> Williams, 2015, xi, xii.

majority in Western and Eastern Europe.<sup>823</sup> Anderson and Hull do not provide a precise definition of what a warrior elite exactly is but provide a concept instead. A corps of warrior elites is a full-time specialised force which has a moderate share of a region's military presence, however with disproportionate strength. Besides, these warrior elites created their own niches within Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and generated their own wealth through acquiring and managing property and property rights (see chapter 4.5 and 5.16). Warrior elites, driven by religious nobility, may also be regarded as a particular social development of the European nobiliary and chivalric classes, filling a void in places where there was no unified power structure. Most, if not all of the orders, dispensed with social services and served the common good, such as health care and distribution of bread, but also used their military powers to protect pilgrims and to ransom Christian captives.

These orders appeared and operated in areas where Christian sovereigns could claim very little power, allowing them to outsource, as a low-cost alternative, some of their military tasks. For these rulers, the military orders remained both an asset and a liability, especially when the orders had accumulated great wealth. When an area was reunited under one ruler, these orders had soon outlived their usefulness and were either repressed or weakened. Kings could demand, for instance, loans or outright contributions, or more relaxed membership conditions and rules, so that the internal cohesion of an order would loosen and therefore be less efficient, *i.e.* less of a threat. As a sample, the Spanish Order of Santiago de la Espada (founded in 1171), at its apex owned two cities, 178 boroughs, 200 parishes, five hospitals, five convents and one hospital and many possessions abroad. King Ferdinand, having persuaded the Pope to give him authority over this Order, ended their independence swiftly. This opportunity only occurred when the Reconquista had been concluded at the end of the fifteenth century, letting the Crown regain control over the whole of Spain.<sup>824</sup>

The Hospitallers were the only Order of warrior elites that had taken to the sea, a strategy that saved their independence, staying far out of reach and surviving well into the industrial age. This made it difficult to get control over the military power of this elite group, especially when the European sovereigns could not establish the same kind of power in the Mediterranean themselves.<sup>825</sup>

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<sup>823</sup> Anderson and Hull, 2017, 1-20, here 7: Their list of warrior elite orders is:

- Baltic region: Livonian Brothers of the Sword, Order of Dobrzyń, Teutonic Knights.
- France: Order of the Faith and Peace, Militia of the Faith of Jesus Christ, Order of Aubrac.
- Holy Land: Teutonic Knights, Hospitallers of Saint Thomas of Canterbury at Acre, Knights Hospitaller, Knights Templar, Order of Saint Lazarus, Order of Saint Maurice.
- Hungary: Order of the Dragon.
- Italy: Order of Saint Stephen Pope and Martyr, Militia of Jesus Christ, Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Order of Saint James of Altopascio.
- Portugal: Order of Aviz, Order of Saint Michael of the Wing, Order of the Knights of Our Lord Jesus Christ.
- Spain: Order of Alcántara, Order of Calatrava, Order of Monfragüe, Order of Montesa, Order of Mountjoy, Order of Santa María de España, Order of Santiago, Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy.

<sup>824</sup> *Idem*, here 5.

<sup>825</sup> *Idem*, here 9.



Mediterranean warfare was by oared warship, the galley, both a characteristic and objective of war. As a warrior elite, the seven or eight galleys the Hospitallers operated, equipped with arms, supplies and a trained fighting crew, gained admiration. Slaves, added to the crews of oarsmen, were continuously trained and exercised. Good oarsmen were a rare commodity, while the cost to fit out a ship was considerable. A Hospitaller galley was propelled mainly by convicts, slaves, indebted persons and professional rowers, the *buonavoglie*, a combination usually producing superb rowing teams. The Inquisition was probably the largest supplier of rowers to the galleys, targeting people convicted for a crime, heretics or people who had sold their debt to the Inquisition and had to row for some seasons.<sup>826</sup> Many captured enemies had to spend time oaring the galleys, similarly to knights when falling into the hands of the enemy.<sup>827</sup>

The advantage of oared warships over fortifications and harbour strongholds was that the latter would have no definitive hold over land and sea, since their weak point was the logistics and supplies. A fortified oared warship would be independent, could handle headwinds or windless days, could speed up to outrun or overtake an enemy ship and was highly manoeuvrable. Although restrictions applied regarding the small number, a smaller fleet is often more agile and mobile, an advantage used by the Hospitallers in their pinprick tactics against the much larger enemy. Galleys could bring soldiers to nearly everywhere, supply fortresses and could close off narrow straits. Galleys were employed to protect friendly shipping and to chase unfriendly ones. In order to maintain the natural aggression needed from soldiers, life on board was hard, but still attracted many young men eager for a fight and booty, thus releasing society from their antisocial behaviour at home. One of a galley's weak points was in high waves and bad weather, which could easily break such a long and narrow ship, hence, winter sailing was mostly avoided. The best employment of a Hospitaller galley was to defend their own waters and try to clear the seas of Muslim corsairs, while trying not to get involved in actions inside foreign seas and outside the safety of calculated risk.<sup>828</sup> Greece and the Greek islands were at times still considered as within that comfort zone. In the inscribed texts of the *corpus*, one finds Frà François de Cremaulx, who was the Marshal of the Order and at the same time Captain-General of the galleys. As a marshal, he was not only 'a most ardent defender, but also a most irreproachable guardian of Law and Justice.' As a Captain-General he defeated decisively pirate ships near the island of Crete and the island of Gozo in memorable combats. 'Equal to the best and second to none in all military affairs, equal at or at odds with the Turks, he was always a threat on land and sea, and he conquered them as often as he attacked them, with speed in pursuit, courage in danger, strength and persistence, never knowing how to yield in battle.'<sup>829</sup> Even their enemies recognised the Hospitaller galleys as 'good galleys.'

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<sup>826</sup> Grima, 2005, 113-126.

<sup>827</sup> Williams, 2015, 51-5.

<sup>828</sup> *Idem*, 43-66.

<sup>829</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 175 (d. 1644). Frà François de Cremaulx is documented to have been the Captain of the Order's flagship in 1610 and also fought in the sieges of Navarino and Corinth in 1611.

An Ottoman spy, working from Paris, Mahmut the Arabian, reported to the Grand Admiral at Constantinople. He detailed that the island of Malta was hard to find on maps and at sea, a mere atom of invisible earth, but the knights are master of it, who publicly rejoice their victories over the Muslims. Mahmut describes the knights as ‘the bravest sparks in Christendom, picked out from amongst the most illustrious families. These persons know not what fear is; they have imposed upon themselves the necessity of vanquishing or dying...with the few vessels they have, they make the Ottoman fleets tremble.’ Or, as Miguel Juan Cotoner, who instantly succumbed to Death’s command in a fight against the Barbary Coast, while experiencing the difference between *MARTIS* *Y* *MORTIS*, martial and mortal.<sup>830</sup> Mahmut the Arabian further writes that once again the infidels were causing great distress and prejudice to the Mahomedan name by sinking a number of warships, killing over six hundred Muslims, capturing eight other ships and taking them back to Malta. This event took place near Goletta in a fight against the Admiral of Caragoe, along the Tunisian coast in 1640. While Mahmut the Arabian spends a whole paragraph on this matter,<sup>831</sup> de Vertot mentions it only in one short sentence.<sup>832</sup> For the Hospitaller *memoria*, it was a substantial victory, and two knights in the *corpus* refer to this battle. Frà Carlo Gattola, ‘a man, extremely humane, whom they witnessed against the [Admiral of] Caragoe at La Goletta,’ *CONTRA CARACOGIAM GOLETTA*. Gattola survived and lived to the age of 70, while Frà Giovanni Battista Macedonio, Commander of the Flagship, who ‘offered his life at the decisive moment. After he was rowed back to Malta, decorated with spoils of the barbarians, while he was near the capital city with its military citadel [Valletta], he was raised to the Heavenly Capital [Jerusalem], separating himself from the earthly yoke.’<sup>833</sup>

The Spanish and the Hospitallers went for prudence, accepting that the Ottomans would always outnumber them, but that the dedicated quality of their ships and crew was superior to those of the Ottomans. Better to have a small number of good galleys than a large number of bad ones. The Ottomans instead went for prestige and aggressive attack, for which they paid dearly. On the other hand, the Ottoman command was unified, while the Christians were extremely divided and could not hold coalitions for long.<sup>834</sup>

Ottoman galleys were thought to be manned with large numbers of ‘weak or novice oarsmen’, while the mix of oarsmen on board a Christian galley, propelled by slaves, convicts and professionals was much more reliable and successful. Christians, in general, hardly had any qualms in condemning other Christians to the oar, while they also were not too keen on having converts on board, as these might carry a risk. Recruiting and training oarsmen or retaining them as paid professionals were other tactical advantages.

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<sup>830</sup> *Idem*, no. 141.

<sup>831</sup> De Lucca, 2018, 476. [https://archive.org/stream/letterswrittenby01mara/letterswrittenby01mara\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/letterswrittenby01mara/letterswrittenby01mara_djvu.txt) > Accessed on 17 April 2019.

<sup>832</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, book 9, 71.

<sup>833</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, respectively no. 77 and 299. I have not been able to verify the exact location of Caragoe or its spelling. Presumably it is Turkish, *kara* meaning ‘black’, ‘terrible’ or ‘fearless’. It could even be the name of a ship, e.g. *Karakogia* (approx. ‘The Fearless Imam’). Frà Giovanni Battista Macedonio’s slab was placed five years later, in 1645

<sup>834</sup> Williams, 2015, 43-66.

The Ottomans always needed new rowers and many of these were Turkish peasants. Not being familiar with the sea, they were of little or no use and many would die behind the oars. According to Islamic law, Muslims could not be convicted *en galere*, unless sentenced for serious crimes, although many got away from the galleys by paying an indemnity, one reason for many Christian slaves to convert to Islam and avoid the galleys.<sup>835</sup> The drafted Ottoman peasants who disliked the galleys with a passion and did not want to re-enlist; one of the reasons why Ottoman galleys did not come close to the coast was that many oarsmen would jump overboard and swim towards freedom.<sup>836</sup>

Within this context, one sample of this comparison between good galleys and bad galleys, is an account of Frà Oppizio Guidotti of the galleon *San Giovanni*. Guidotti was on a patrol trip and on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1608, near the harbour of Scopoli, he sighted a Turkish *caramousal* and engaged. Coming closer, the Turkish crew jumped overboard and swam towards the coast. On inspection, the ship was dilapidated, had nothing of value on board and was not fit to serve in the Hospitaller fleet. A decision was made to leave it drifting to its own devices. A week later, on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, two other similar Turkish ships were sighted in the same spot. This time the crew stayed on board, but to no avail. It brought the Order two operational ships, a cargo of grain and other valuables, plus 178 crewmembers to be sold as slaves.<sup>837</sup> This illustrates that some Turkish ships were bad in the sense of not maintained and bad in the sense of unmotivated crew and officers.

Concerning booty, Malta was often the victim of famine. When the harvest failed in Sicily, Malta could not buy its grain from there. Ships of the Order were used to buy grain and transport it to Malta. This was seen as their duty of charity and hospitality. Of course, any cereals which could be taken from the Ottomans, meant less famine on the island.<sup>838</sup>

The *corpus* of inscribed texts at St John's provides samples to illustrate the above arguments of good galley versus bad galley. Obviously, from the *corpus* one can only obtain samples of good galley management. Little room for underachievement was left, since there was a harsh command and control structure of the Order, together with a strict discipline, applied throughout all the ranks on board a galley. Frà Don Giovanni Battista Brancaccio was 'Captain-General in opposition to the Turks of eight Maltese auxiliary and five Pontifical galleys. Under his leadership in a successful war at Levkás, Nicopolis and Corone, both booty and hostages were claimed by the Christian troops commanded by his relatives Lelio, Marco Antonio, Giovanni Battista, Giuseppe Brancaccio, Priors of the Sacred Jerusalemite Religion.'<sup>839</sup>

It was only very late that the Hospitallers started using sailing ships, and they applied the same principle of quality over quantity. The invention of the round ship and the gun-ports, rows of guns not only on the top deck but also between the decks on the broadsides, had forced adaptation to keep up with the needs of the friendly nations who often requested ships of the Order to complement fleets assembled for a certain purpose and

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<sup>835</sup> Williams, 2015, 43-66.

<sup>836</sup> *Idem*, 43-66.

<sup>837</sup> Lib. 413, f. 14.

<sup>838</sup> Blouet, 2004.

<sup>839</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 125.

with the changing threats of enemies and competitors.<sup>840</sup> Frà François Antoine de Castel St Pierre became the first Commodore of the fleet of sailing ships of the Order in 1702. He 'had established his name most firmly on the French shores as soon as the fleet of sailing ships was built. He was chosen as the Supreme Commodore and Lieutenant General of the whole naval militia in the year 1702, and after holding this position for nearly three years, he seized the Tunisian Flagship in the year 1706, and in the following year he was present at Oran with the auxiliary troops.'<sup>841</sup> After that, the Hospitaller sailing ships engaged in much the same manner as the galleys used in the defence of Malta and patrolling the Mediterranean. 'Admire the virtue of Frà Scipione de Raimond d'Eaux,' who had held various offices in the Jerusalemite Militia and was promoted to the command of the sailing ships *San Vincenzo* and *San Giovanni*. His inscribed text continues that Frà Scipione was 'admired by his men and feared by the enemy.' He had given chase regularly to hostile ships, 'simply by looming up on the horizon,' conquering an Algerian *Grand Gazelle* after a 22-hour battle. 'After so many illustrious deeds, he was struck by an awful disease, hence praiseworthy by far for his unconquered endurance, finally laid down here his mortal remains to live forever on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of February in the year 1758, at the age of 78.'<sup>842</sup>

### **5.12 *Ordensstaat in Malta, Grand Master and Prince***

It was Grand Master Hughes de Loubenx de Verdalle (r. 1582-95) who established the princely status of a Grand Master and was instrumental in creating a European identity for the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* in Malta. This was a much-needed status, since it re-elevated the Hospitallers to the status they had enjoyed in Rhodes, to the same level of their contemporaries, such as Genoa or Venice. More importantly, he achieved equal status with European Sovereigns. Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt was honoured with the rank of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, with the corresponding title of 'Serene Highness.' Pope Urban VIII, in view of this unwanted competition, introduced the title 'Eminence' for cardinals in 1630. Since Grand Masters could opt to accept the style of Cardinal, Pope Urban VIII had hoped that the title of 'Eminence' would be preferred, as he was not on too friendly terms with the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>843</sup> Undoubtedly, this princely status had lifted the Hospitaller status to unparalleled heights, with a Grand Master, who was a Prince and entitled to the title of Cardinal, again at the helm. To signal this new political reality, the Hospitallers' newly found political status was widely broadcasted overseas.<sup>844</sup> This was to be heightened further by Grand Master Pinto da Fonseca, who, after his election in 1741, followed the cardinals of the House of Rohan, who had fused two titles into a new style, that of 'Eminent Highness.' Besides this new style, Pinto da Fonseca also enjoyed a design used by sovereign princes of the Italian city-

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<sup>840</sup> Quintano, 2003, 3 ff.

<sup>841</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 102.

<sup>842</sup> *Idem*, no. 225.

<sup>843</sup> Sire, 1996, 221.

<sup>844</sup> Blondy, 2005.

states, that of sporting a closed crown of royalty (with a black velvet lining and an ermine lining of his magistral robe),<sup>845</sup> instead of an open crown of aristocracy, signifying that he was an absolute monarch.<sup>846</sup> Pinto spent lavishly on building projects and also founded the University of Malta.<sup>847</sup> After his death, the Order was left with a two million *scudi* debt as a result.<sup>848</sup>

De Vertot styles the state form as the 'Noble Republic', as it resembled that of Venice.<sup>849</sup> In de Vertot, a large section of vol. II is dedicated to the structure of the state and its rules and regulations. The oldest reference in the *corpus* of the inscribed texts at St John's regarding the concept of 'republic' as a Hospitaller state form and Hospitaller commonwealth is from Frà Martino Garzes (d. 1601). The inscribed text in the *corpus* reads: '...who was celebrated for successfully governing the Sacred Republic of the Jerusalemite Hospital at home and abroad, while he pursued the art of peace and war during this period of six years.'<sup>850</sup> Frà Justin Fay Gerlande also served the Sacred Republic,<sup>851</sup> and in the inscribed text there is mention of the 'Members of the Republic Council.' The adjective 'Jerusalemite' also appears once with the noun *Republic*, showing that the Order in Malta regarded itself as the Jerusalemite Republic.<sup>852</sup> However, the noun *Republic* appears also on its own, while at times there are occasions when the state form of the Order of St John in Malta is called the Christian Republic, the Sacred Republic, Sacred Republic of the Jerusalemite Hospital, or the Maltese Republic. As a concept, the Hospitaller Republic was a reference to their internationally recognised state of sovereignty, hence the coat of arms of the Order shows an open crown over the escutcheon.

Although the Grand Master in Malta ruled as an absolute prince, his power was not limitless. The ancient rules and statutes of the Order provided some guarantees for good practice. On acceptance of his elected post, the new Grand Master had to swear an oath that he would uphold and maintain abovementioned ancient rules and customs and that he would consult with his brothers on the way forward. He also had to promise that he would control and enforce the rule of law with all his subordinates.<sup>853</sup> Nonetheless, his executive powers were formidable. The Grand Master was the general administrator, controlled the finances, the final step in the judicial process and could absolve totally or punish severely his brethren. He also could take up the highest command during a campaign and could call and preside over the Chapter General, the highest form of consultative governance. The latter institution initially met every five years, and it indeed was called about 15 times between 1530 and 1612. Then a gap of nineteen years till 1631 and then even a bigger gap of 145 years till 1776. Sire gives an explanation that, similar

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<sup>845</sup> Sire, 1996, 221.

<sup>846</sup> De Lucca, 2019, 225.

<sup>847</sup> In 2019, the University of Malta exists 250 years.

<sup>848</sup> Sire, 1996, 221.

<sup>849</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, Chapter XIII, 123-4.

<sup>850</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 357, died 1601.

<sup>851</sup> *Idem*, no. 169, died 1644.

<sup>852</sup> *Idem*, no. 187.

<sup>853</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 66-7.



to other parliamentary bodies in Europe, it was shelved due to pressure of absolutists rulers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Europe.<sup>854</sup>

Since the Order had grown exponentially over time, it could neither remain a one-man show, nor was the time frame of five years sufficient to rule the day-to-day affairs in the Convent and beyond. Directly below the Grand Master were the Conventual Bailiffs a.k.a. *Piliers*, who were the heads of the *Auberges*, the inns of the *langues*. These Conventual Bailiffs outranked the capitulary Bailiffs or Priors, who were stationed abroad in the Order's Priorities. The Bailiffs *ad honores* were bestowed with the rank but not with the powers that go with it. What would pass as a cabinet at present, was in eighteenth-century Malta called the Congregation of State. Here the Grand Master, Bishop of Malta, Prior of St John's, Conventual Bailiffs and the Grand Crosses came together to rule the *Ordensstaat*.

The election of a Grand Master was a complex affair. Within three days after the demise of a Grand Master, elections must be held. This haste was to prevent interference from the Vatican and other external factors. Elections were held at St John's. In order to avoid lobbying of powerful candidates and briberies, each *langue* met in their respective chapel and elected one representative. After 1634, this was raised to three representatives per *langue*. These then elected a President of the Election and a triumvirate consisting of one knight, one chaplain and one sergeant, each from a different *langue*. Then the triumvirate elected a fourth member, these four chose a fifth, the five chose a sixth, always from different *langues*, until their number reached sixteen, with the proviso that there would be at least eleven knights, but none of them could be of the rank of Grand Cross. Those sixteen, finally, elected the next Grand Master by a simple majority. Although this system was on purpose complicated, so that it would be as clean as possible, favouritism and promise-making of influential Conventual Bailiffs, usually the most likely candidates, could not be totally prevented. The circus started when there was a first rumour of a Grand Master not being well, swelling to a crescendo during the three days after death and the following period of voting.<sup>855</sup> In the *corpus* there are some instances mentioned about elections. Frà Giovanni Francesco Habela was involved as an elector, while it remains unclear whether he was a member of one of the seven committees of three or of the actual triumvirate in the election of Juan de Lascaris-Castellar as Grand Master on 13 June 1636.<sup>856</sup> 'The Most Eminent Frà Annet de Chattes Clermont Gessan was unanimously elected, from his position as Bailiff of Lyons, as the Grand Master and Prince of Malta...the voting had never been encroached, but his virtues won the election as his merits had raised him to the top well before.' He was elected on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1660, but died soon after, on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1660,<sup>857</sup> succeeded by Raphael Cotoner, who was elected by a committee that included 'Frà Ottavio Solaro, distinguished among the Jerusalemite Knights for his Bailiwick at Santo Stefano [Capitulary Bailiff]. In his last duty he was given to deputise for the whole Order in the election of the Most Eminent Grand Master de

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<sup>854</sup> Sire, 1996, 81.

<sup>855</sup> *Idem*, 82.

<sup>856</sup> See Part III, Appendix I, no. 160.

<sup>857</sup> *Ibid*, no. 173.



Clermont Gessan. He followed in funeral the aforesaid Grand Master after a short while, for he died on the 27th of June in the Year of the Lord 1660, at the age of 75.<sup>858</sup> In the same election of Clermont Gessan, Frà Jean-Jacques de Verdelin was involved. In this case there is a clear indication what position he held in this election, namely as the Knight-Elector (together with a chaplain and a sergeant).<sup>859</sup>

#### *Membership requirements for the Order over the centuries*

Membership requirements of the hospice and Order have shifted substantially over the centuries. In the initial periods, set within Muslim-governed Jerusalem during the Amalfitan period, from c. 1050 onwards to c. 1070, Benedictines were in charge, who had their own rules of reception. In Gerard's time, from c. 1070 to the arrival of the First Crusade in 1099, lay persons were engaged. A distinct hospice rule was introduced, requiring discipline and commitment of those working in the hospital,<sup>860</sup> while there was no official process of entry. After the arrival of the First Crusade, the idea of armed escorts takes shape. Ex-Crusaders and knights enter the Hospital, where there is still an equality among the early Hospitallers, although priests had a position of superiority. This changes after Du Puy becomes the second master of the independent Hospital in 1120. Nobility comes with him, introducing a class distinction between nobles and non-nobles. This renders nil the ideology of St Bernard of Clairvaux of equality among the new knighthood. St Bernard wanted to honour the better man, not the one of noble descent. In 1160, when Du Puy died, three groups of brothers were present at the hospital: charity dispensers, clerics and knights / mercenaries. In the time of Grand Master Roger de Moulins, the successor of Du Puy, in 1182 brothers-at-arms are mentioned, also responsible for the protection of pilgrims. Military services started in the Order during Grand Master Gilbert d'Assailly (r. 1163-71), when reference is made to '*fratres nostri religion milicium commiscentes*'.<sup>861</sup> An institutionalised distinction in rank and standing between noble knights, non-noble sergeants-at-arms and conventual chaplains came into force in 1206.<sup>862</sup> These three classes would remain throughout the Order's history. Noble knights (Knights of Justice),<sup>863</sup> took vows, becoming professed brethren and lay members of the clerical estate, outranking the priestly class. Sergeants-at-arms came from good families or lower nobility, but without a pedigree.<sup>864</sup>

In De Vertot, the whole reception process on new members is described, while chapter 9.7 shows documentation of an entry process of a son of a noble family, in minority, from Germany, the von Königsegg. A person needed to proof his noble descent, generally eight generations down the line of the nobility of both their parents, the German langue required sixteen quarterings. A local commissioner investigated. Four kinds of proof of nobility were necessary: Testimonial, *i.e.* reference by four nobles; literal proof (writings,

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<sup>858</sup> *Ibid*, no. 319.

<sup>859</sup> *Ibid*, no. 159.

<sup>860</sup> Beltjens, 1995.

<sup>861</sup> Freller, 2003, 2-11, here 7.

<sup>862</sup> Statutes of Margat. Sarnowsky, 2011.

<sup>863</sup> De Vertot, 1770, 49.

<sup>864</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b.

deeds, contracts, marriages, family tree, coat of arms); local proof, by local witnesses; secret enquiry to avoid any prejudices or false allegations. Two newly appointed commissioners examine and verify all the proof. This proof, and the blazon, is sent to Malta. Permissions were then issued, and payments made. New knights were allowed in the following age groups: of minority (infants, with the most expensive *passaggio*), as pages of the Grand Master (12 to 15 years of age) and of majority (16 years or older).<sup>865</sup>

### *Organigram of the Order*

Supplementing the Organigram in this chapter 5.12 (based on A.O.M 2226), <sup>866</sup> are recorded all the higher offices of the Order: Grand Masters, Lieutenants of the Grand Master, the Bishop of Malta, Prior of St John, *Piliers* or Conventual Bailiffs, Priors, Castellan of Emposta, Bailiffs, Grand Crosses *ad honorem*, lieutenants of the *Piliers*, Councillors of the councils of each *langue*. The number of commendators, the knights running the overseas estates and taking care of the *responsiones*, numbered into the hundreds too, forming a complicated machinery. A commendator represented the Order and the Grand Master in a 'geographically or legally defined area.'<sup>867</sup> Then there were the less prestigious offices, open for non-nobles, providing jobs for thousands of people, such as secretaries, chaplains, soldiers, sailors, rowers, able-bodied seamen, seamstresses etc., in short, a whole infrastructure allowing the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* to function as it did. On the following pages, various tables and descriptions give an overview of the offices of the *Ordensstaat* and the command structure within set time frames.

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<sup>865</sup> De Vertot, 1728, chapter XIII, 122.

<sup>866</sup> The dates of the offices awarded, range from 26th August 1534 to 4th June 1798 (fourteen days later the French arrived and expelled the Order from Malta).

<sup>867</sup> Burgtorf, 2008, 252. For a very detailed comparison of the command structures of the Hospitallers and Templars on Cyprus, see Burgtorf.

Table 1: The Grand Master's personally appointed staff

**The Grand Master's personal staff:**


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- Turcopolier or General of the Cavalry	- The Captain of the Guards
- Seneschal of the Grand Master (held the position of Turcopolier after the Dissolution)	- Three Auditors
- Receiver of the Grand Master's revenues	- The Almoner and four Chaplains
- The Master of the Household	- Four Chamberlains
- The Grand Master's procurator in the Treasury	- Four Secretaries for the Latin, French, Spanish and Italian languages
- The Grand Chamberlain	- The Credencier or Clerk of the Kitchen
- The Deputy Master of the Household	- The Grade-Manger, or, Keeper of the Pantry
- The First Gentleman of the Horse	- The Keeper of the Wardrobe
- The Falconer	

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Table 2: Delegates of the Chapter General

**Delegates of the Chapter General, chaired by the Grand Master:**


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Bishop of Malta	- Capua	- Lyons
Prior of St John's	- Castellan of Emposta	- Manosque
The <i>Piliers</i>	or Grand Prior of Aragon	- Brandenburg
	- Navarra	- Caspa
The Grand Priors of:	- Germany	- Lora
- St Giles	- Ireland	- Aquila
- Auvergne	- Bohemia	- Lango
- France	- Hungary	- Leza
- Aquitaine	- Catalonia	- St Sepulchre
- Champagne		- Cremona
- Toulouse	The Bailiffs of:	- Neuvillas
- Rome	- St Euphemia	- Acre
- Lombardy	- Morea	- La Roccella
- Venice	- Venusia	- Armenia
- Pisa	- St Stefano	- Carlostad
- Barletto	- Majorca	- St Sebastian
- Messina	- St John of Naples	- The Grand Treasurer

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Table 3: Organigram of the Order and the personal staff of the Grand Master

Organigram  
of the Hospitaller Order in Malta.  
Sources: De Vertot, 1728, book, 13, pp, 144ff and Sire, 1996.

					Grand Master		Elected for life through a multi-stage _____ secret ballot	
					Conventual Bailiffs or <i>Piliers</i>			
					Venerable Council, or in 18 <sup>th</sup> century the Congregation of State (cabinet): Grand Master, Bishop of Malta, the Prior of St John, Conventual Bailiffs, Grand Crosses			
The eight <i>langues</i> of the Order in Malta. Each <i>langue</i> was subdivided into Grand Priories or Priories, Balliwicks and Commanderies. Each <i>langue</i> had an auberge or an inn at Valletta, headed by a <i>Pilier</i> or Conventual Bailiff. Each <i>Pilier</i> held the following office:					Other councils: Ordinary Council Criminal Council Secret Council Chamber of the Treasury			
<u>Langues</u>								
<u>Office</u>	Provence   Grand Commander	Auvergne   Marshal	France   Grand Hospitaller	Italy   Admiral	Aragon   Drapier or Grand Conservator	England   Turcopolier	Germany   Grand Bailiff	Castile   Grand Chancellor
<u>Task</u>	Finance	Armed forces	Medical Services	Administrative command only	Clothing, uniforms and material logistics	General of the Cavalry	Fortifications and landed defence	Chancery and foreign office

Priories and bailiwicks abroad with Capitulary Bailiffs

Provence	Auvergne	France	Italy	Aragon	England	Germany	Castile
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Grand Priory of Toulouse (with 35 commanderies)</li> <li>- St Giles (with 54 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Manosque</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Grand Priory of Auvergne (with 40 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Lyons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Grand Priory of France (with 45 commanderies)</li> <li>- Grand Priory of Aquitan (with 65 commanderies)</li> <li>- Grand Priory of Champagne (with 24 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Morea</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Grand Priory of Rome (with 19 commanderies)</li> <li>- Grand Priory of Lombardy (with 45 commanderies)</li> <li>- Grand Priory of Venice (with 27 commanderies)</li> <li>- Priory of Barletto and Capua (with 25 commanderies)</li> <li>- Priory of Messina (with 12 commanderies)</li> <li>- Priory of Pisa (with 12 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwicks of St Euphemia, St Stefano, Venusia and St John of Naples</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Aragon, Catalonia and Navarra form the <i>langue</i> of Aragon</li> <li>- Grand Priory of Aragon, a.k.a the Castellany of Emposta (with 29 commanderies)</li> <li>- Priory of Catalonia (with 28 commanderies)</li> <li>- Priory of Navarra (with 17 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Majorca</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Caps near Tripoli (command given over to the Order in Malta in 1530)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- England, Scotland and Ireland formed the Grand Priory of England, a.k.a St John of London (with 32 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwick of l'Aigle (Eagle)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Grand Prior of Germany is also a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, based at Heitersheim (with 67 commander-ies)</li> <li>- Priories of Bohemia, Hungary and Dacia</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Sonneberg</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Brandenburg</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Castile and the Kingdoms of Leon and Portugal form the <i>langue</i> of Castile</li> <li>- Priory of Castile and Leon (with 27 commanderies)</li> <li>- Priory of Portugal a.k.a Crato (with 31 commanderies)</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Bouëde</li> <li>- Bailiwick of Negropont common to the <i>langues</i> of Castile and Aragon (with 500 commander-ies)</li> </ul>

Table 4: A.O.M 2226, higher offices in the Order in Malta

**A.O.M 2226**

Folio	Higher Offices
001	<i>Em(inentissi)mo e Rev(erendissi)mo Sig(no)re G(ran) Maestro</i>
003	<i>Il(ustrissi)mo Sig(no)re Luog(oten)te del Gran Maestro</i>
005	<i>Il M(agnificen)to Rev(erendissi)mo Vescovo di Malta</i>
007	<i>Il M(agnificen)to Rev(erendissi)mo Prior della Chiese</i>
009	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Gran Commendatore</i>
011	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Marescialle</i>
013	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Ospitaliere</i>
015	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Ammiraglio</i>
017	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Gran Conservatore alias Il Drappiero</i>
019	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Turcopliero</i>
021	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Gran Baglio</i>
024	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Gran Cancelliere</i>
026	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di S.Gilles</i>
028	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior d'Alvernia</i>
031	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Francia</i>
033	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior d'Acquitania</i>
035	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Champagne</i>
037	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Tolosa</i>
039	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior de Roma</i>
041	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Lombarda</i>
043	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Venezia</i>
045	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Pisa</i>
048	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Barletta</i>
050	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Messina</i>
052	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Capua</i>
054	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Castellan d'Emposta</i>
056	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Portugallo</i>
058	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Navarra</i>
060	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior d'Inghilterra</i>
062	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Hibernia</i>
064	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior d'Alemagna</i>
066	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Bohemia</i>
067	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Catalogna</i>
069	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Ungaria</i>
071	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Dacia</i>
073	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Castig(li)a e Leon</i>
074	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Prior di Bavaria</i>
085	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio di S(an) Eufemia</i>
087	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio della Morea et de Cury</i>
089	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Negroponte</i>
091	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Santo Stefano</i>
093	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Venosa</i>
095	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio S(an) Gio, a mare di Napoli</i>
097	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio</i>
099	<i>Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Manoasca</i>



- 101 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Leon oggi di Bourganeuf*  
 103 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Caspe*  
 104 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Nourbourg*  
 105 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Brandenburg*  
 107 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio dell'Aquila*  
 109 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Lora*  
 111 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio del S(an)to Sepolcro-di Toro*  
 114 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Loza*  
 115 *Il Ven(eran)do Tesoriero Generale*  
 117 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Cremona/Torino/Pavia*  
 119 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio de Acri*  
 121 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio de las Nuevevillas*  
 123 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio de Armenia*  
*La Gran Com(men)da di Cipro con la Com(men)da de Treviso ad essa unita*  
 124 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio de Pinos e Rocaberti*  
 125 *Il Ven(eran)do Prior de Baliaggio della Roccella*  
 126 *Il Ven(eran)do Prior de Baliaggio della Bagnara*  
 127 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio de San Sebastian di Barberrino*  
 127 *Il Ven(eran)do Balio di Giuseppe in Carlostato*  
 128 *Gran Croce ad Honorem*  
 129 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo Carafa*  
 130 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo de Wignacourt*  
 131 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo de Perellos*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo de Zondadari*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo de Vilhena*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo Despuig*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo Pinto*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo Ximenez*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo de Rohan*  
 132 *Gran Croce ad Honorem fatti del Em(inentissi)mo Hompesch*  
 133 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Gran Commendatore*  
 135 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Marescialle*  
 137 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Ospitaliere*  
 139 *Luogotenente del Ven(eran)do Ammiraglio*  
 141 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do G(ran) Conservatore*  
 142 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Turcopoliero*  
 143 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Gran Baglio*  
 146 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Gran Cancell(ie)re*  
 149 *Luog(otenente) del Ven(eran)do Tesoriezo Generale*  
 151 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua di Provenza*  
 154 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua d'Alvernia*  
 157 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua di Francia*  
 160 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua d'Italia*  
 163 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua d'Aragona, Cata(luna) & Navarra*  
 165 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua d'Anglo-Bavara*  
 166 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua d'Allemagna*  
 169 *Consiglieri del Complito per la Ven(eran)da Lingua di Castiglia e Portogallo*  
 173 *Gran Com(men)da di Cyno con l'aggiunto de Treviso quispatriato di Casa Cornaro*
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Table 5: Offices within the Convent

**Offices within the Convent for Knights of Justice, Knights Grand Cross, Brother of Obedience, Serving Brothers, Brothers Chaplains, Lawyers, Doctors of Law**

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Armoirer or press-keeper
Auditors (7) of the accounts of the Treasury
Belfry-keeper
Candle-keeper at St John's
Captain of the Grand Master
Captain of the Grove
Captains (7) of the hamlets and villages in the countryside
Captains of the galleys
Captains of the Sailing Ships
Castellan of the Castellany
Commander of the Artillery
Commissaries (2) of the Soldiers
Commissioner (3) of the Alms
Commissioners (2) for regulation the caravans
Commissioners (2) of Health
Commissioners (2) of the Chest of the Flags
Commissioners (2) of the Mint
Commissioners (2) of the Novices of the different nations
Commissioners (2) of the poor, sick women
Commissioners (2) of the Prizes
Commissioners (2) of the Slave Prison
Commissioners (3) of Agreements
Commissioners (3) of Redemption
Commissioners (3) of the poor beggars
Commissioners (4) of Naval Armaments
Commissioners (4) of the Congregation of the Galleys
Commissioners (4) of the Congregation of the Ships of the Four Nations
Commissioners (4) of the Gentry
Commissioners (4) of the Houses
Commissioners (4) of War and Fortifications
Commodore of the Sailing Ships
Comptroller of the Arsenal
Comptroller of the Conservator
Comptrollers (2) of the Artillery
Conventual Conservator
Councillors (14) two of each <i>langue</i>
Deputy Master-Equerry
Fiscal, or Attorney
General of the Galleys
Governor of the Arsenal
Governor of the Magazines
Governor of the Slave Prison

Governors of

- Gozo
- St Angelo
- St Elmo
- Ricasoli
- The Town
- The isle of de la Sengle

Guards of the Grand Master (150 men, at the palace and the two city-gates of Valletta)

Judges (3) of Appeals, Criminal Cases and Civil Cases

Master-Equerry

Masters of the Galleys

Overseer of the Infirmary

Porter of the Grand Master

Prior of the Infirmary

Procurators (2) of the prisoners, poor, widows and orphans

Procurators (2) of the treasury

Protector of the convent of St Ursula

Protectors (2) of the catechumens and the new converts

Providitor or overseer of the Sailing Ships

Prud'hommes (2) or comptroller of the Church

Prud'hommes (2) or comptroller of the Infirmary

Prud'hommes (2) or comptroller of the Stores

Reveditor or inspector of the Galleys

Scribe

Sub-prior of the Infirmary

Vestry-keeper

### ***5.13 Continuing the humanitarian task***

It has become evident that the Hospitaller Order of St John placed great value on the culture of memory, for themselves and to represent themselves to the outside world. The Hospitallers looked to the past for the continuity of their ethos and pathos, since that past had shown the rightful and justified path of heroic suffering in the self-chosen role as protector of Christianity in the Mediterranean, combatting the 'enemies of the religion' and alleviating the suffering of the poor and sick by means of aristocratic and noble character. In Malta, the Hospitaller culture flourished as never before. A first hospital was built in Birgu, although it neither catered for pilgrims, as Malta was not a port of transit, nor for the Maltese, who had their own hospital at Rabat.

After the Great Siege of 1565, in the new capital city of Valletta, the Conventual hospital, the largest and most modern hospital in Europe, the *Sacra Infermeria*, arose in 1574, under the guidance of Grand Master De la Cassière. The main ward was 155 meters long and could accommodate about 2,500 patients in regular care. All patients, no matter their station in life, had their own bed. Patients were divided over ten different wards, depending on their ailments. Free medical health care was introduced by the Order for everyone in Malta, including the slaves.<sup>868</sup> A Women's

<sup>868</sup> Cassar, 1946, 66. Free medical healthcare is still an important achievement in modern Malta.

Hospital was built in 1625, and was in use till 1890.<sup>869</sup> Grand Master Nicola Cotoner in 1676 founded the School of Botany, Anatomy, Medicine and Surgery at the *Sacra Infirmeria* in Valletta.<sup>870</sup> The *corpus* contains numerous references to works of charity and the funding of hospitals, both in Malta and abroad. There were also other institutions set up to care for women, such as the Convent of St Ursula, under the protection of the Order. A few samples from the *corpus* will place this in perspective: Frà Sigismondo Piccolomini of Sienna, as the Prior of Barletta, 'was in charge, most charitable, of the women's infirmary and enriched it with donations.'<sup>871</sup> Frà Annibale Maria Losa, 'from a very old family of Turin, a knight of extraordinary genius, true observance, esteemed virtue, dear to everyone for the purity of his mind and courteousness of his character who, as the Governor of the Invalids Hospital, shone forth with admirable charity towards the needy and the weak, [and] would have advanced to higher duties of his Order had he lived longer.'<sup>872</sup> For those with high managerial skills, such as Frà Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg, who held in succession both *TRIEMIS ET XENODOCHIJ PRÆFECTURA* (prefecture of the galleys and of the hospital) great careers were possible.<sup>873</sup>

With the *Sacra Infirmeria* also came a re-emphasising of the personal commitments of the Knights Hospitaller. Members of each *langue* were obliged, in an alternating system of a week's duty, to serve in the hospital. Knights, serjeants and novices were deployed to nurse the sick. On Sundays, traditionally the Grand Masters were present themselves to care for the patients, something which would very much amaze Malta-bound travellers of the eighteenth century. As Ann Williams puts it, 'this personal service was not new, but the organisation in a vastly increased institution was.' With regard to a household regime and care system, doctors and surgeons were better monitored, and secretaries collected daily all relevant information about patients and kept records of the stock of medicine, stores and utensils. Resources on a small island are valuable, so there was as little waste as possible, even the worn-out linen was given to poor elderly womenfolk of outside the walls of Valletta. Slaves were used for the domestic chores and as cooks for the whole complex.

Besides, the Order built many other hospices and houses for the local poor and needy over the years, part of an extensive welfare apparatus, as the Order wanted reconciliation with the local Maltese.<sup>874</sup>

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<sup>869</sup> Mahony, 1996, 272.

<sup>870</sup> Micallef, 2012, 22.

<sup>871</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 113.

<sup>872</sup> *Idem*, no. 231.

<sup>873</sup> *Idem*, no. 151.

<sup>874</sup> Luttrell, 1994, 64-81, here 81.



Image 16: Main ward of the former *Sacra Infirmaria* at Valletta. Length 150 m. Beds were placed perpendicular to the walls, between the niches. Photo: Author



Image 17: Chapel in the middle of the main ward, *Sacra Infirmaria*. Photo: Author.

### 5.14 Endless fortification building after the Great Siege of 1565

The Order's mission statement demanded continuous development in defensive and offensive strategies. Keeping the fortifications up to date was a simple matter of survival, notwithstanding budgetary restraints; besides that, building fortifications became part of the Hospitaller fibre. After fighting off the Ottomans in the Great Siege, the idea had taken root that Malta was a permanent solution, a good place to build another one of their strongholds, as they had done in the Holy Land, Cyprus and Rhodes. At times,

loans were needed from allies. Continuous improvement and building of new fortifications had led to the establishment of a corps of engineers in the service of the Order. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mostly Italian military engineers and architects dominated the local scene, while in the eighteenth century French military engineers and architects of the school of Vauban were present in Malta. Moreover, the Renaissance idea of fortification building also incorporated city planning and building, as can be seen in fortified cities of Senglea and Valletta. Renaissance building included the concept of harmony and improving society through erecting beautiful buildings in the right proportions.<sup>875</sup>

Although there had been a structure for fortification building and naval defence since Rhodes, the new era at Malta demanded that the old offices were upgraded. In addition to the list of the highest offices found in A.O.M. 2226 in Table 2, the following table shows the offices related to fortification building and naval defence in *Ordensstaat* Malta:

Table 6 offices related to fortifications, defence and coastguards

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Captain of the Coast Guard
Commander of the Artillery
Commissary of War and Fortifications
Commissioner of Fortifications
Delegate of Legal Proceedings
Governor in charge of the War Affairs of the Venerable Congregation of Sailing-Ships.
Governor of Fort Ricasoli
Governor of Fortifications
Governor of the Fortification of Vittoriosa
Governor of the Naval Treasury
Inspector-General of the Fortifications
Master of the Recruits
Office of War Affairs
Prefecture of the fortifications of the Convent
President of the Commission of Sailing Ships and the Commission of Galleys
President of the War Council
President over the Venerable Commission of Sailing Ships
Treasurer of the Magistral Treasury

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<sup>875</sup> For a general overview, see Hoppen, 1979. Spiteri, 1994.



Here follow excerpts from the *corpus*, showing the timespan of the fortifications, from Frà Pietro del Ponte (d. 1535),<sup>876</sup> to Frà François Giache de Calan (d. 1793).<sup>877</sup> One is given the impression that constructing defence works was an on-going effort to stay on top of war and siege developments. Frà Don Ramon de Souza da Sylva, Grand Bailiff of Leça was known in the latter half of the eighteenth century for ‘strengthening the defence of the stronghold every year, with not insignificant resources at hand.’<sup>878</sup> At times, caring for the fortifications was also fighting to prevent these being destroyed by the enemy, like Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa who was strenuously fighting for the city walls in the Siege of Malta (d. 1617).<sup>879</sup> Others, while working for peace, still strengthened the fortifications, probably hoping for the best and preparing for the worst. Frà Antoine de Paule, a later Grand Master, has it eternalised in the *corpus* that he ‘wonderfully fostered peace and affluence for the Order, added, increased strength, wealth, and began to fortify the city with stronger walls.’<sup>880</sup> At times, Grand Masters were too short in office to be effective. Death had prevented Frà Pietro del Ponte’s intention of fortifying a bulwark. Others managed to achieve major works, such as Frà Juan d’Omedes, who was ‘called from the Bailiwick of Caspe into the Magistracy of the Jerusalemite Militia, and lines 13-16 inform us that ‘[...] *ARCES SANCTI ANGELLI, HELMI ET MICAELIS AC ALIA PROPVGNACVLA CONTRA TVRCARVM IMPERTVM EXTRVXIT* [...]’ (he raised the fortifications of Saint Angelo, Saint Elmo, Saint Michael and other bulwarks against an attack from the Turks).<sup>881</sup>

When the immediate and present danger of the Ottomans had somehow diminished in the late seventeenth century, Grand Masters set out on profuse building projects. Frà Gregorio Carafa, ‘a most admired Prince, who with his munificence and observance, enlarged, restored, embellished the city, its fortifications, harbours, hospitals and churches.’<sup>882</sup> Grand Master Marc’Antonio Zondadari providing the island with new fortifications,<sup>883</sup> while Grand Master Antonio Manoel de Vilhena founded a bulwark, named after himself.<sup>884</sup> This last Grand Master had a love for building as he also created the Manoel Theatre in Valletta and was responsible for the rebuilding of Mdina and its fortifications after the earthquake of 1693.

Modern day visitors to Malta cannot be but impressed with the fortifications of Valletta, the Three Cities, Mdina and other walled towns of Malta and Gozo. Even when modern cruise liners are matching the walls of Valletta in height, compared to the frogs-eye perspective of the past when viewing up to the walls from a galley, the fortifications of the Grand Harbour remain impressive and formidable. Fear is an excellent motivator to build high walls, and the fortifications of Malta can be thought of as an embodiment of

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<sup>876</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 353.

<sup>877</sup> *Idem*, no. 324.

<sup>878</sup> *Idem*, no. 288.

<sup>879</sup> *Idem*, no. 318.

<sup>880</sup> *Idem*, no. 336.

<sup>881</sup> *Idem*, no. 354.

<sup>882</sup> *Idem*, no. 320.

<sup>883</sup> *Idem*, no. 1.

<sup>884</sup> *Idem*, no. 217.

that fear of the Ottomans. It is ironical that these walls were never tested by the Ottomans.<sup>885</sup> Material things, like the fortifications of Valletta, also maintain much memory and form a tangible relic of an eventful past and remain a visible reminder of why they were built and by whom.<sup>886</sup>

### **5.15 Perceived threats: Maltese nationalism, Protestantism and knightly misbehaviour**

Maltese nationalism was considered a small but significant threat. A Maltese *langue* was never initiated, possibly for fear of a Maltese coup within the Order to expel the Order from Malta by the (Spanish) Maltese nobility. Since there was no Maltese *langue*,<sup>887</sup> the restrictions of the statutes applied to the membership of the Maltese, because they were born outside the territories of the *langues*.<sup>888</sup> Maltese who entered the service of the Order, for instance as chaplains, were placed within others *langues*, such as Germany or Italy, *e.g.* Commendator Frà Baldassare d'Amico, a Maltese, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law and papal envoy, was a chaplain of the Venerable Tongue of Germany.<sup>889</sup>

During their last period in Rhodes and the transition to Malta, northern Europe was in the grip of the Reformation. Martin Luther's ideas had ignited and were changing the religious and political landscape. The outlook and self-image of the Hospitaller Republic remained firmly Roman Catholic, in a very orthodox and anti-Protestant way, and within the fortifications, there was little place for inter-Christian conflict. Nonetheless, Protestantism did arrive in Malta from overseas, although the Church and the Inquisition were rather swift to react. After all, the Roman Inquisition, or Holy Office as it was called, was initiated exactly for the purpose of counteracting Protestantism. The general context was that in Early Modern Europe travel increased for many reasons, such as for work or in search for work, fleeing war, oppression or crime (either as a victim or perpetrator). On the roads a mixed population then went on their ways, crossing cultural, religious or confessional boundaries. This mobility and contacts with the 'other', also resulted in a cross-cultural phenomenon of conversion, as it was observed or feared. Catholic Europe, now the theatre of war between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, was confronted with migrants travelling through areas belonging to different denominations and religions. The Mediterranean was accustomed to cross-cultural contacts between Christianity, Islam and Judaism,<sup>890</sup> but Malta was not quite ready for the split in

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<sup>885</sup> After the Great Siege the Ottomans never returned on a grand scale from overseas, except heavy bombardments by the aircraft of the Aeronautica and Luftwaffe in WWII.

<sup>886</sup> Pollmann, 2017, 1.

<sup>887</sup> 'The Account of the Island of Malta,' 2010, 124. Only in the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, after the French had expelled the Order from Malta in 1798, and the British had expelled the French from Malta in 1800, there were provisions made for establishing a Maltese *langue*. Article ten states that the Order of St John will be restored to Malta and that a Maltese *langue* will be set up, but that there will be no English and French *langues*. The Treaty of Amiens never got executed properly, and Great Britain kept Malta under its command.

<sup>888</sup> Micallef, 2012, 143

<sup>889</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 97.

<sup>890</sup> Gugliuzzo, 2017, 174-81, here 176, note 8.

Christianity.<sup>891</sup> A problematic situation arose for the Order. Are Protestants still Christians, or have they become an enemy of the Religion? There were no easy answers. It was already difficult enough to avoid getting involved in an inter-Catholic dispute, let alone in a larger inter-Christian one. Inter-Christian warfare violated the Hospitaller Christian unity principle, that Christians should not attack other Christians.<sup>892</sup> At times this led to awkward situations, when the Order could not defend itself on land, when during the Reformation their properties were confiscated. The Order could only retaliate by capturing Protestant nations ships (see chapter 5.16 *Appropriation and expropriation of properties*).

Rationalisation for a Christian war of religion was based on a concept of justified war which had been developed since Antiquity, but fine-tuned for Christian purposes and needs.<sup>893</sup> Nevertheless, de Vertot provides examples to the contrary. When Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44) realised that some Italian princes were working together to prevent the Papacy from seizing the properties of the Duke of Parma, he asked the Hospitallers for help. They obeyed immediately, as the Pope was their first superior. The allies of the Duke of Parma took revenge and confiscated the estates of the Order. The Hospitallers had to pay a ransom to have these returned, while they were just following a command. Their orders had been to be on the defensive, and not on the offensive, according to the Rule of the Order, which prescribes not to engage in insults against other Christian princes.<sup>894</sup>

Luther's Reformation effected many places in Europe and it appeared that there were no universal solutions available to avoid splitting and fragmenting Europe religiously and politically.<sup>895</sup> As it happened, the impact of the Reformation hit the Order financially hard abroad. The dissolution of monasteries and convents happened all over northern Europe, and conflicts about religion broke out. Although the Hospitallers lost some of their landed property, especially in England, they managed to retain much of their economic benefits in general. Nonetheless, many of these, at strategic positions, were taken over by the new Protestant rulers. Others were allowed to retain their function, forced to pay rent.<sup>896</sup> The situation was more confused in the German-speaking world. Since there were about 300 different city-states and bishoprics, the effect of the Reformation was not everywhere the same. In some instances, landed and immobile properties were confiscated, while churches were given to Protestant communities. Duisburg became a Protestant area, the

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<sup>891</sup> Cassar, 1988, 51-68.

<sup>892</sup> O'Shea, 2006, 8.

<sup>893</sup> In its origins the medieval European version of 'just war' was a synthesis of Classical Greco-Roman and Christian values. As main founders probably can be named Aristotle, Cicero, the apostle St Paul and St Augustine. St Augustine's 'justified war' was a concept already attributed to the Greek goddess *Pallas Athene*, or *Minerva* in the Roman fashion, goddess of both justified war and wisdom. As an allegorical figure she appears frequently in the iconography and inscribed texts of the funerary expressions at St John's. Romans 13.4 gives the view of St Paul: "rulers are not a terror to good conduct, but to bad. Would you have no fear of him who is in authority? Then do what is good and you will receive his approval, for he is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, because he does not bear his sword in vain; he is the servant of God to execute his wrath."

<sup>894</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, book XIII, 73.

<sup>895</sup> Elliot, 1985, 242.

<sup>896</sup> Nicholson, 2007, 118-9.

number of knights dropped from 40 to 26, and the number of chaplains from 322 to 132. Monasteries and convents were dissolved, nuns became married women and knights converted to Protestantism and married too. In areas which remained Catholic, the Order experienced less dramatic changes. It also happened that with a change of local ruler, an area could much later switch to Protestantism. Similar situations occurred in the Netherlands, England, Austria and Scandinavia. Although there was some form of Catholic recovery, it was not enough to compensate for all the losses, both financially and reputationally.<sup>897</sup>

Malta remained a traditionally Roman Catholic country, including the Maltese nobility, originally from Spain or Hispania, who remained within the old capital city of Mdina,<sup>898</sup> while the Order, from 1530 onwards, added its orthodox Catholic views to the mix. Alarm bells went ringing in Hospitaller Malta when Luther's teachings reached its shores, coming in through Malta's centre of activities, the Grand Harbour area.<sup>899</sup> As a reaction, Grand Master d'Omedes set up an investigative commission in 1553. It was feared that heretics might turn up to corrupt the purity of the Roman Catholic faith on the islands in general and the Order in particular.<sup>900</sup> In Malta, the Roman Inquisition was established through a Brief of Pope Pius IV in October 1561, published in Malta on 15 July 1562. Within a very short time, the Holy Office booked immediate successes. Many people voluntarily confessed their sins while several prominent members of Maltese society were sentenced for heretical practices, punished with spiritual sentences and fines. Its activities were interrupted by the Great Siege of 1565, only to resume in 1574.<sup>901</sup>

Before the Great Siege, the seat of the Order was in Birgu, a harbour town. As all harbour towns, it was open to all kinds of goods, people and influences, including the spread of Lutheranism. It is not surprising that it reached even Malta, as it was spreading fast throughout northern Europe, propelled by German book printing, distributed through commercial and diplomatic traffic on land and at sea. Although many regarded Malta as a backwater, it was rather swiftly developing into a micro-cosmopolitan area of mixed ethnicity and origins, thanks to the Order's maritime undertakings. There were the local Maltese, the Knights Hospitaller, a Rhodiot Greek Orthodox population of about 4,000 who had travelled to Malta after the loss of Rhodes in 1523, Muslim slaves and Protestant sailors and merchants from northern Europe.

Malta, in contrast to other states, had not dismissed its Roman Inquisition.<sup>902</sup> Due to its international harbour, this Holy Office aimed to safeguard the Maltese citizens against non-Catholic influences. It was an enormous task and a two-edged sword. Firstly, not only preventing the introduction of Lutheranism and confiscating and destroying of prohibited books (brought onshore by disembarking foreign Protestants) but also rooting out apostasy, heresy, ignorance, superstition, blasphemy, conversion to

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<sup>897</sup> Sire, 1996, 198-202.

<sup>898</sup> Dalli, 2006.

<sup>899</sup> Cassar, 1988, 51-68.

<sup>900</sup> Bonello, 2000, 13-22.

<sup>901</sup> Cassar, 2018, 171-95, here 171.

<sup>902</sup> Cassar, 1988, 51-68.

Protestantism or Islam, bigamy, witchcraft and sorcery. The latter two were commonly practised by the hundreds of Muslim slaves in Malta, who satisfied the local demand for supernatural services. Secondly, the Inquisitor was also given the power of examining any ecclesiastical misconduct of the Grand Master and the members of the Order on Malta.<sup>903</sup> This was a great intrusion of the Order's independence and sovereignty, since the Inquisitor had to report directly to the Pope, the only person to whom the Order was bound in religious matters.

The printing press was a cause of worry for the Inquisition, as a steady stream of books entered Malta. A list of forbidden books was quickly established, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Although literacy in Malta was not as high as in Europe, the number of books entering Malta was regarded as alarming in circles of the Inquisition. A good number of people got themselves into trouble by owning or even discussing the forbidden works. Sympathisers of Lutheranism were also to be found among schoolteachers, members of confraternities, nobles of Mdina, notaries and artists. A particular episode had set off the alarm. François Gesualdo, a priest of French origin, had converted to Lutheranism and started to spread Luther's word. He influenced two other priests to break their vow of celibacy and to marry in public. The Inquisition had Gesualdo and another follower condemned to be burned at stake in 1546, to stem the outburst of Lutheranism. This outburst also had political consequences. Philip II of Spain, whose father Charles V had given the Maltese islands as a perpetual fief to the Order, claimed that this donation deed entitled him full authority over such heretics and traitors. In Mdina, a certain Matthew Falzon, coming from one of the earliest notable families of the city, became the *Hakem*,<sup>904</sup> an officer charged with law and order in the city. Having been charged with heresy, this high-ranking officer fled to Sicily. Since the accused had fled and could not be burnt at stake, his effigy was made and set ablaze instead after the trial. This incinerating by proxy became a regular event.<sup>905</sup>

In this context, some of the educated elite of Mdina was not all pleased with the existing ecclesiastical situation of the day and looked for alternatives in the form of these forbidden books. The works of Luther, Erasmus, Melancthon and reformed Bibles, based on Reformation values and in vernacular, were most popular. Notwithstanding that a handful of influential people went over to Protestantism, including some knights of the Order, the Reformation did not develop well within the confines of fortified Malta. By 1580, the Roman Catholic Church had re-organised and had manoeuvred itself in a much better position of population control. In this stable climate, there was no room for a religious revolution.<sup>906</sup> It may not come as a surprise that the *corpus* of inscribed texts at St John does not mention Protestants or Protestantism.

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<sup>903</sup> Gugliuzzo, 2017, 174-81, here 176-7.

<sup>904</sup> *Hakem*, in the Maltese language, is the official title of a governor or ruler of the city of Mdina. During the Spanish times the office was called *Capitano di Verga*, the Captain of the Rod, an officer charged with law and order in the city. *Hakem* comes from the Arabic *hakim*, governor or judge.

<sup>905</sup> Bonello, 2000, 13-22.

<sup>906</sup> Cassar, 1988, 51-68.



*Cracks in the mirror: Knights misbehaving*

The Reformation had damaged the Order's image, although internally the Order also had an enemy from within, such as complacency and moral decline. What had been a way of preserving memory and self-image, an exercise of freezing the past in an attempt to preserve its most glorious aspects, now had become a certain way of damage control and needed a more dynamic approach, because the Inquisition was prodding at the Hospitaller Order, a self-proclaimed bastion of Christian morality.<sup>907</sup>

An interpretation of the selective, curated and sanitised Hospitaller memory of the past, because some things in the past were worth forgetting, could provide a socio-political framework and moral compass, from where the future directions could be distilled.<sup>908</sup> In order to preserve their memory, they engaged in producing, as a literate society, historical works, notarial deeds, rules, *miracula* and kept archives of everything of importance that happened worth remembering. This culture of memory of the Order was continuously renewed, and in this light, Pierre Nora, in Oexle, reminds us that memory is always on our mind because it no longer exists - *la mémoire est la vie*.<sup>909</sup> Because the memory is not precise, the noble art of contextualisation and keeping the past relevant for the present and future,<sup>910</sup> retained the Hospitaller self-image alive and true. In their collective memory, externalised in the *corpus* and many other artistic expressions (such as military paraphernalia on buildings, paintings with members of the order in heroic poses), the Hospitallers seem to mourn the heroism they had lost since the Great Siege of 1565. In the *corpus* there is also some reminiscing about the irrecoverable loss of that, at least in their imagination, once ascetic community in Jerusalem, during the 1522 siege in Rhodes, the interbellum in Malta, the life during the Great Siege and finally, the victory over the Ottomans in Lepanto, where the three vows and discipline were taken very seriously.<sup>911</sup> The danger of real and present engagement with the mighty Ottoman enemy had confirmed their place in the world. The *corpus* at St John's, and indeed the artistic expression in the church in itself, are a memory of that period of undiluted heroism and being a true knight.

Over the years, the world and the Order had changed. The necessity of defence had caused a firm cohesion of their society, the apex of their existence. After the enemy had been dispersed, the Hospitaller society grew more relaxed, while much later they grew complacent, allowing cracks to appear in the image, caused by isolated cases of decay. In 1587, so writes De Vertot, 'the spirit of sedition still continues in the Convent. The Grand Master (Verdalle) goes to Rome. The Pope, to silence the malcontents, creates him a cardinal and sends him back to Malta.' A year before pocket pistols and stilettos were prohibited, 'weapons fit for *banditti* and assassins.'<sup>912</sup>

<sup>907</sup> Poullos, 2014, 13. In analogy to preservation of historical sites, there are two methods, either freeze the glorious past or enliven a certain phase of the past.

<sup>908</sup> Pollmann, 2017, 1.

<sup>909</sup> Oexle, 1995, 16. Both Oexle and Nora have written extensively about the functioning of memory in society.

<sup>910</sup> Pollmann, 2017, 1.

<sup>911</sup> De Vertot, *History*, 1728, vol II, book 13, 40. He describes the destitution and the state Malta is in after the siege is raised and the enemy retired.

<sup>912</sup> *Idem*, 58.



Cassar discusses these incidents of decay within the values and morality within the Order. As a basic principle, the Order was made up of knights of noble extraction who had vowed to live according to the rules of the Order. These professed knights had taken the three vows aforementioned, those of poverty, chastity and obedience and lived a monastic life in the Convent. They would divide their time between charity, praying and waging war on the enemy of Faith. Visitors, like Patrick Brydone, comment on the courtesy of the knights. He likens

Malta as the epitome of all Europe, and an assemblage of the younger brothers, which are commonly the best of its first families, it is certainly one of the best academies for politeness in this part of the globe; besides, where everyone is entitled by law as well as by custom, to demand satisfaction for the least breach of it, people are under a necessity of being very exact and circumspect, both with regard to their words and actions. All the knights and commanders have much the appearance of gentlemen and men of the world.<sup>913</sup>

In times when there was less danger of war or invasions, Knights Hospitaller often forgot what they represented. Cassar gives here samples of knights misbehaving in Rome, when honour was a hot topic. He explores the links between criminal behaviour and masculinity through the examination of routine outbreaks of violence between knights themselves and with third parties.<sup>914</sup>

Misbehaving knights, for instance those who committed crimes of violence, were sentenced by the Grand Master, but after their jail time was over, they usually were not removed from their office; punishment neither seems to have neither tarnished their careers nor their reputation. In Malta, the Roman Inquisition (instead of the Spanish version) was responsible for the purity of the faith. Besides this task, the Inquisition also had to keep many knights 'pure'. The Grand Master, already unhappy with the Inquisition landing in Malta due Protestantism, feared international scandal when news of misbehaving knights would escape the confines of Malta. Nonetheless, the Inquisition was kept rather busy. Knights were not only accusing each other falsely but also murdering each other over it. Emotions got out of hand due to slander, libel, calumny and defamation of each other's good repute and family honour. There were also cases where knights claimed unfair dismissal from office. Especially younger brothers produced deceitful charges of heresy, possibly jealousy regarding the income of their senior brothers or their standing in the Order. Habitually, there were also accusations of fornication and illegitimate children. The list is rather endless.<sup>915</sup> For these reasons, Grand Master Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière ordained that 'Such as have been condemned in the office of the Inquisition, and wore the habit of penance, shall never be admitted to

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<sup>913</sup> Brydone, 1793, vol, I, 319.

<sup>914</sup> Cassar, 2010, 77-92.

<sup>915</sup> Bonello, 2000, 85-95.

wear ours; if they have been already admitted, we forbid them to wear it.’<sup>916</sup> Significant here is the cosmetic aspect to save the image, by means of the habit or robe of the Order. Those condemned by the Inquisition, will never become a member, and those members who have been condemned, shall no longer wear it. This measurement makes the sinners among the knights invisible.

Giovanni Bonello has written a whole volume on knights misbehaving in Malta and in a public lecture in 2012 he presented a rather comprehensive list of ‘Deeds and Misdeeds at the Palace,’ however based on ‘gossip, slander, spite’ found in documents, of the category of ‘alternative facts’ which are so much in the news lately. Those *fatti e misfatti* were also carried out by some Grand Masters. Bonello, makes a distinction when it comes to the sex lives of Grand Masters, notwithstanding the three vows, between those wearing a wig and those who did not. The wig seems to be a baroque instrument of vainglory. Grand Master Perellos (ruled 1697-1720) is the first one in paintings to be seen with a wig, with the full works of curls.<sup>917</sup> His predecessors were usually highly conscious of their monastic origin, but Perellos introduces worldliness, although not every Grand Master followed him in that. Some knights disliked this inordinate pride of one’s self or one’s achievements, such as Frà Francesco Maria Ferretti who rather stole attention by focussing on his virtues: ‘Passer-by, by whatever sentiment you are led, either by glory or by vainglory, keep your undivided attention affixed on this summary of all virtues and honours.’<sup>918</sup> One Grand Master who was rather fond of big, blond curly wigs, was Manoel Pinto de Fonseca (ruled 1741-73), who in various paintings is portrayed with such an accessory. Since wigs and sex lives are being connected here, it might not come as a surprise that, according to De Lucca, Pinto had fathered a son, José António Pinto de Fonseca e Vilhena, with his mistress, Rosenda Pauliche. In Malta, Grand Master Pinto seemingly continued his habit of grooming mistresses. This did not hold him back in his 32-year reign as the head of the Hospitaller Republic and leader of those other knights who also had made the three vows but choose to live in compliance with their Order’s rules.<sup>919</sup> The last line of Pinto’s short sepulchral monuments reads *AMOR GRATE POSUIT*, which could be interpreted quite ambiguously. It could either mean that the knights of the Order, allegorised as *Amor*, established this monument: Affection placed (this monument) in gratitude. *Amor*, of course, has many meanings, love, charity, benevolence, brotherly love, or on the other side of the fence, simply as lust, sexual love, desire, passion, or personified as Amor, Cupid, Eros. Grand Master Pinto may be one of those cases where the critics were right and one cannot imagine a bigger contrast than with Blessed Gerard.

Also involving the lower echelons of the knights, prostitution was an ongoing concern. One may find prostitutes in every port, but Malta, as a seafaring nation, seems to have had them in abundance, which also meant, according to Bonello, plenty of temptation for the about 500 celibate knights.<sup>920</sup> A provision in the Statutes mentions explicitly, under

<sup>916</sup> De Vertot, 1728, book 2, Old and New Statutes, VIII, art 34.

<sup>917</sup> Bonello, 2000, 85-95.

<sup>918</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 39.

<sup>919</sup> De Lucca, 2018, 224.

<sup>920</sup> Bonello, 2000, 85-95; Cassar, 2010, 77-92.

the heading of Prohibitions and Penalties, that one was not allowed to ‘*keep concubines publicly*.’<sup>921</sup> Celibacy was also a means of keeping the possessions of the Knights Hospitaller, owned by the Order, within the Order. Should a Knight be married, then his possessions could be inherited by his spouse and children. For this reason, article 30 of Title V, of the Common Treasury states that ‘All the goods and effects of our brothers that die either in or out of the convent, of what nature soever they be (which we call their spoils) belong of right to our common treasury...’<sup>922</sup>

Grand Master Nicholas Lorgne (r. c. 1277-84) took the initiative to add unnatural carnal offences to the list of offences punishable by expulsion from the Order. Also, in this list are heresy, sodomy, murder, robbery and desertion. Homosexual acts were included, listed as *gravissima sceleratezza*. This is probably a defensive reaction to the lot that had befallen the Templars when in Cyprus. In light of this, Grand Master Raymond Zacosta (elected 1461 in Rhodes) had introduced a rule that knights on board the galleys could not sleep naked. Although this article was omitted in later Rules, it was re-introduced in 1782. In Malta, Frà Mariano Serrano was tried in 1541 for sodomy. During a ceremony in the first Conventual church of the Order, St Lawrence in Birgu, the knight was defrocked and expelled like a ‘corrupt and decomposed limb.’ Serrano had confessed to these heinous crimes, *crimen nefandum*, presumably under torture. Serrano managed to escape from prison and from Malta. Expulsion from the Order followed after two days, presumably for the crime of absconding. Prosecutions against homosexual practices continued to the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>923</sup>

Usually, the Inquisition would be concerned with heresy and errors regarding faith. But why this emphasis in Malta on annihilating Hospital? Answers are provided in the influential writings of St Augustine whose position on homosexuality was that sodomy was a deviation of the God-given natural order, as male sexuality was for reproduction only.<sup>924</sup> Hence, sodomy was, at least according to the Inquisition, unnatural and therefore heretic. In contrast, female homosexuality was only a ‘lustful’ sin and punishable by two years of spiritual punishment, since it was thought that it did not interfere with reproduction. In this context, a Spanish soldier and his young Maltese boyfriend were publicly burnt to death. Frà Joannes Ortis was imprisoned four months in a cave in Gozo for the sin of being a *pedicone*, a lover of young boys. Sodomy could carry a penalty of seven to fifteen years in penance of some form.

In a secret report to Grand Master Pinto, his Venetian envoy Giacomo Capello, presented, among other matters, the state of morality of the Order in 1716. Observations made over time had brought to light daily contraventions regarding the sins of pride, concubinage, adultery and sodomy.<sup>925</sup>

In stark contrast to the above, many inscribed texts found in the *corpus* give a totally different picture, as if they were conscientiously compensation for the bad press some of

<sup>921</sup> De Vertot, 1728, Vol. II, Old and New Statutes, 9.

<sup>922</sup> *Idem*, Title V, art. 30, 36

<sup>923</sup> Bonello, 2000, 85-95.

<sup>924</sup> Böer (ed.), 2012, Book Ten, Tenth-Eleventh-Twelfth article; Gen 19: 4-5

<sup>925</sup> Bonello, 2000, 85-95.

the other were giving the Order. A dichotomy seems to exist between the two extremes of the impious *fatti et misfatti* and the very pious expressions in the *corpus*. This regret about decaying morals can be found in the *corpus*, where the loss of the pure and ascetic lifestyle, as it was idealised since the foundation of the Hospital in Jerusalem, is a recurrent theme. The older generation of Knights Hospitaller at Malta, who may have come from Rhodes, were generally frugal and gathered wealth for their Order. The inscribed text in the *corpus* of Frà Claude de la Sengle describes him as a man with an independent and disciplined mind who was frugal to himself but 'had gathered great wealth for the Treasury.'<sup>926</sup> Frà Adrien de Wignacourt, Prince and Grand Master, acquired the reputation of having an admirable 'indefatigable Christian love towards the poor and the sick,' while 'his generous charity towards those suffering from the plague, and the innocence of his character,[were] so pure that he would rather die than to be disgraced.'<sup>927</sup> The recovery of that ascetism was a point of discussion running throughout the *corpus*, from before the Great Siege to the very end of their stay in Malta (1798). Grand Master Pietro del Ponte had been 'reviving the morals and the condition of both the Order and his Militia to the old standard.'<sup>928</sup> Grand Master Claude de la Sengle lets it be known that he was 'above the commotion of his times, he restored the moral values by good practice and laws.'<sup>929</sup>

Many inscribed texts refer to the pleasant character of the deceased, *MORVM SVAVITATE*, and their piety, making them stand above suspicion of any *misfatti*. Some were famous for the moral purity of their character, such as Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Salvago,<sup>930</sup> and Antonio Lores reputedly had 'saintly morals,'<sup>931</sup> parrying the blemish the *fatti et misfatti* had brought. In the *corpus*, there is silence on Protestantism. Others, like Don Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon, is introduced to the reader as 'Most Illustrious.' It was expected that his remains were to be venerated when one had understood his character and his virtues,

'all which governed his life, let them now all be lamented in death; he was dutiful towards God, generous towards the poor, most devoted to his Religion and its faithful servant, Death itself was almost having respect for the virtue of so great a man, delaying the fated blow until after his eightieth year so that he could build a magnificent palace for the Prior of Toulouse and a most spacious house for the Brother Chaplains at Toulouse in order to receive a better and bigger home in Heaven.'<sup>932</sup>

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<sup>926</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 356.

<sup>927</sup> *Idem*, no. 335.

<sup>928</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 355.

<sup>929</sup> *Ibid*, no. 356.

<sup>930</sup> *Ibid*, no. 314.

<sup>931</sup> *Ibid*, no. 118.

<sup>932</sup> *Idem*, no. 134.

Those of a gentlemanly character were also worthy of justifiable tears and eternal memory, *JVSTIS CVM LACRIMIS AD PERPETVAM MEMORIAM*, as in the case of Frà Miguel Oliverio, when ‘Marietta Oliverio, benevolent and pious mother, meritorious of so great a son, placed this slab.’<sup>933</sup>

### **5.16 Appropriations and expropriations of properties, banking**

Many Hospitallers engaged in managing immobile properties of the Order and displayed this on their sepulchres, as the demonstrable good practice of managing landed properties led to high standing. The income from defensive attacks, offensive campaigns and corsairing, together with the *responsiones* from the commanderies, *i.e.* the landed properties in Europe (plus a few other activities such as banking and commerce) allowed the Hospitaller Order to carry out their humanitarian mission of building and maintaining hospitals along their networks.<sup>934</sup> Grech argues that banking was an important activity and that the Hospitallers had access to existing banking systems, since the Order suffered financial constraints caused by its Mediterranean activities against the Ottomans. Income from their commanderies was often too slow and too little to satisfy the direct needs, and recourse to banking facilities was made instead. As mentioned before, the acquisition of Rhodes was made with borrowed money, from the Papacy and the Florentine banking families, at a six per cent interest rate and a collateral of Hospitaller commanderies in Europe. These funds raised in Europe through the estates, corsairing, capital investment and other military engagements for about 700 years gave the history of the Hospitallers ‘an imprint and direction which otherwise would not have been possible.’ The income generated from donations, alms, war and corsairing booty was largely unstructured, but sometimes very substantial, while the income from the European commanderies, the *responsiones*, the *passaggio* (entrance fee into the Order), the Order’s own banking activities and investments were structured, regular and dependable. The Hospitaller stamina in continuous fleet and fortification building, resilience and come-back after defeat, were all supported by their regular income.<sup>935</sup> The Rules and Statutes forbade any form of trading, business or such work to be carried out by Hospitallers. Article 41 specifically mentions that those engaged in trade, banking, money-changing, cashiers and goldsmiths, shall not be admitted as knights. This prohibition extended to the knights’ grandfathers and mothers.<sup>936</sup> At times, Grand Masters used their family capital to invest in the Order or bequeathed the money earned from the corsairing sector on their deathbed to the Order.<sup>937</sup> Grand Master Ramon Perellos y Roccafull was considered a true Religious, his slab reveals that he was ‘greatly devoted to God and to those in Heaven, with constant outpouring of prayers, particularly attentive to embellishing churches with costly outfits, priests with distinguished garments, and almost seemed to forget about

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<sup>933</sup> *Idem*, no. 209.

<sup>934</sup> Sire, 1996, 5-6.

<sup>935</sup> Grech, 2016, 148, 152.

<sup>936</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, Old and New Statutes, Title 2, 18.

<sup>937</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 98.

himself.' Perellos also had 'richly adorned the port with buildings, added bulwarks, increased the fleet with four sailing ships, and more than once generously gave his wealth to the common good, when he could have been refunded for exhausting his own reserves.' In the *corpus* one can also find last deeds before dying: On his deathbed, Grand Master for 23 years, 'thrice bequeathed 100,000 gold pieces to the account of the Public Treasury.'<sup>938</sup> It was also a reference to the vow of poverty, revealing their superior discipline and their unblemished virtues. By placing such texts, it is envisaged that the passers-by would nod in agreement with such show of integrity.

The reality of managing properties and banking was at times very complicated. Regularly there were issues regarding landed properties, houses and goods, as these were the Hospitaller Order's Achilles heel. Their properties were scattered all over Europe, while the Order's headquarters was outside the continent. At times, these landed properties, were used to break the Hospitaller power locally, as Henry VIII had done in England, the Protestants in the German realm and the French Revolution in France.<sup>939</sup> At other times, the Order absorbed properties of other orders.

Owning and managing properties was a core business of the military Orders, the base for their material and financial power structure. Properties also shaped the image of the Order. What does the *corpus* have to say about this? Many inscribed texts state that the commemorated knights-commandator were excellent managers of the Order's properties. What is in particular broadcasted to the readers of these inscribed texts is the great sense of financial accountability towards the Treasurer and the efforts undertaken towards the Order and its image to exercise good practice in managing the Order's estates. Frà. Francesco Saverio Azzoni, 'a most noble man from Siena, Commendator of the property of the Sacred Order which they refer to as San Giovanni of Longara.'<sup>940</sup> Fulfilling one's duties at sea and carefully managing the Order's estate, would be a pathway to the highest jobs in the Order, as can be gleaned from the career of Frà Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux 'who acted as the Captain of the Royal Galley in Marseilles, obtained by deserved right the property of the Holy Order of Sainte-Luce in Provence after he had accomplished increases for the better in two estates bestowed on him...he was raised to the highest dignity of Grand Commander after deputising for the *Pilier* of the Venerable Tongue of Provence.'<sup>941</sup> Seniority also played a role in acquiring positions, as well as family wealth: 'Commendator Frà Giovanni Battista Afflitto...because he was admitted into the Sacred Jerusalemite Order at childhood, dynamically brought to an end his naval apprenticeship, and soon became Captain of a galley, thereafter the Captain-General of the fleet of galleys. He fulfilled extremely well the duties...the more important offices entrusted to him, and promoted to the seigniorial prerogative at Insubria, with three Commanderries, preserving for the Sacred Order a rich inheritance from its regular

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<sup>938</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 195.

<sup>939</sup> Sire, 1996, 136: During the French revolution, all the Order's properties in France were confiscated after the September Massacres of 1792, and some Hospitallers died at the guillotine. All their 240 estates in France were lost and their humanitarian activities came to an end. See also note 750 for the situation in England.

<sup>940</sup> Part III, Appendix I, no. 139.

<sup>941</sup> *Idem*, no. 65.



revenue, his private property.'<sup>942</sup> Finally, Frà Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde, who had 'administered the Commandery of Espalion for approximately thirty years, not only increased, but doubled its revenues...knowing that he, as an exemplary son of the Religion, was the keeper of the Order's goods, not its owner.'<sup>943</sup>

Religious Orders and their properties have been discussed in specialised volumes, such as *The Military Orders*. The latest edition in this franchise, the 7<sup>th</sup> Military Orders Conference in this franchise, was held in September 2017, at Clerkenwell, titled *Piety, Pugnacity and Property*.<sup>944</sup> The conference proceeds are published under the title 'The Military Orders,' by Routledge. The seventh volume in this series will be published in 2019. For instance, Michael Gervers, in vol. I of 1994, describes the Order's property in England, whereby the Order, in the 1370s, claimed land previously owned by the Templars. The Hospitallers were allowed to hold the land on the same conditions as the Templars, by giving alms to the blessed poor and celebrate masses for the defence of the Holy Land. The Hospitallers agreed, so that they could generate income from the estates to pay for the efforts of policing the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>945</sup> In a reversal of fortune, Henry VIII turned against the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic Orders. In rapid succession, from 1532 onwards, legislation was passed through Parliament, which removed the authority of the papacy in England and appointing the King as Supreme Head of the Church. Once this was achieved, the king moved in to take control over the Church's property by means of the instrument of the 'Dissolution'. In 1540, this resulted in, among others, the loss of the landed properties of the English *langue* of the Order.

In the same context of the Hospitaller Order and the Knights Templar, Sire writes about Hospitaller property acquisition in Spain and Portugal. When the Order of the Temple was dissolved, the properties of the Hospitallers and the Templars on the lower Ebro fused into one very substantial landed property. Outside Aragon and Catalonia, royal preference rather favoured the native military orders and the Hospitallers gained nothing from the collapse of the Templars. Progress was measured less in gaining landed properties but more in the strengthening of its internal life, for instance through the acquisition of more convents for women, mirroring the Order's evolution to a less military character in the later Middle Ages in Spain and Portugal.<sup>946</sup>

Roöde and Maier both describe independently the situation in the German realm, the Hospitaller Order only took root after the Second Crusade, from 1155 onwards the first properties were received. It took until the thirteenth century to establish the majority of

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<sup>942</sup> *Idem*, no. 213.

<sup>943</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 48.

<sup>944</sup> <http://militaryorders.blogspot.co.uk/> > I gave my vision in this conference with a presentation titled *Piety, Pugnacity and Property at the sepulchral slabs and monuments at St John's Co-Cathedral at Valletta, Malta*. Six volumes of the conference proceeds are available, in English, under the title of *The Military Orders*, and the 7<sup>th</sup> will be published in the later half of 2019.

<sup>945</sup> Gervers, Michael, 'Pro defensione Terre Sancte: The Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex.' In: Malcolm Barber (ed.) *The Military Orders Volume I*. Abingdon: Routledge, [1994] 2016, 2-20, here 20.

<sup>946</sup> Sire, Henry J., 'The Character of the Hospitaller Properties in Spain in the Middle Ages'. In: Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders*, vol. I. Abingdon: Routledge [1994] 2016, 21-27, here 26-7.

the Order's houses.<sup>947</sup> Both the Hospitaller Order and the Teutonic Knights had lost many of their landed properties and houses here during the Reformation. The damage in the about 300 Germans city-states and bishoprics was considerable, when part of the Order broke away and became a Protestant Order, the *Johanniterorden*.<sup>948</sup> After the loss of Rhodes in 1523 and the itinerant existence in the Mediterranean before settling in Malta, the Hospitallers were in no position to fight the consequences of the Reformation, confiscating their lands and houses, notwithstanding Imperial orders prohibiting expropriation of the goods of a foreign sovereignty. Nonetheless, the converted princes and rulers of the independent lands with the Holy Roman Empire did not respect the privileges and rights of the Orders. The Hospitaller Order lost twenty-eight of its 105 houses, two-thirds of its parish churches, together with loss of revenue and standing with the local nobility. Chaplains and priests of the Order decreased in number, in 1495 there were 322, and in 1540 there were only 132 remaining. In some extreme cases, the Hospitallers were forced to pay the wages of Protestant ministers. In the same period, the number of Hospitaller Knights dropped from 40 to 26. It seems that the Bailiff of Brandenburg was part of the Protestant plot against the Order, although the Order's government in Malta could do little about. Besides, they had more urgent matters to deal with. There were always rumours of an impending Ottoman invasion.<sup>949</sup> On the other hand, in the Protestant cantons of the Swiss Confederation, damage was less severe. Remarkably enough, the Orders were able to retain some of their houses in the cantons of Basel, Bern and Zurich. Both the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights were allowed as the only Catholic institutions to continue their operations. Main reason was that, unlike in other Germanic parts, there was no break-away movement of Catholic knights turned Protestant in these cantons.<sup>950</sup>

Truus van Bueren wrote a monograph on a particular Dutch city, Haarlem, and how the city fathers dealt with the properties of the Hospitaller Order during the Reformation. The city of Haarlem reputedly had always been famous for its painters and the city council regarded their paintings as the city's best cultural ambassadors, presenting the best the image of the city. The context is St John's monastery of the Order, which had many priceless pieces of art. The fate of these objects is described during the turbulent years around 1570 to 1630, when the Dutch Republic was founded and the Reformed religion became widely established. In 1581, many monastic properties were confiscated by the new Republic, with the exception of the St John's Monastery, which was to remain the property of the foreign sovereignty, the Hospitaller Order of Malta until 1625. When the Order's properties were finally seized in that year, the city council was pleased to have acquired many paintings which they had coveted for a long time. Remarkably, the city council selected the paintings for conservation, representation and sales, especially those with saints and the Passion of Christ. In retaliation, the Order threatened to confiscate

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<sup>947</sup> Roöde, 1994, 34-41, here 34.

<sup>948</sup> Maier 2016, 355-62, here 355.

<sup>949</sup> *Idem*, 355-62.

<sup>950</sup> Roöde, 1994, 34-41.

any Dutch vessel in the Mediterranean when encountered, if the Order would not be compensated for the loss of their properties and goods by the city of Haarlem<sup>951</sup>

Related to this Haarlem affair, there were numerous other properties of the Order which were confiscated in Germany and the Dutch Republic. The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 largely ended the European war of religions and confirmed the loss of confiscated Catholic goods in Protestant Germany. Prince Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt had, as a 20-year-old Protestant, visited Malta and was so impressed by the Order that he converted and became a Hospitaller. In this quality, he demanded compensation for the expropriated estates and houses of the Order in the Dutch Republic, in particular the wealthy house of Utrecht, but also those of Arnhem and Nijmegen. In 1662, he managed to have some Dutch ships confiscated in the port of London and used the ships to demand compensation of the Dutch Republic. He eventually achieved restoration of all three properties. These then continued to yield *responsiones* till the end of the Order's stay in Malta.<sup>952</sup> A copy of a Dutch manuscript in the National Library of Valletta, related to this topic, shows an extract of the minutes of meetings of the *Edle Mogende Heeren Staeten van Zeeland*, the noble lords of the province of Zeeland, held in October and November 1663. The document describes the discussion if the Order of Malta should be compensated and by whom. Some of the cities in Zeeland were hesitant to pay.<sup>953</sup> In 1668, Hesse-Darmstadt and Johan de Witt, chancellor of the Province of Holland, came to an agreement on the confiscated properties of the Order in Haarlem and Frisia.<sup>954</sup> Ultimately, an indemnity of 150.000 florins was paid by the Dutch Republic, having the bigger picture in mind. Further on in A.O.MO 2198, a related document in Italian, states that the Religion should declare war to the Dutch Republic, but that ways and means had to be considered. Whatever the result, an effective demonstration of 'iron' should be carried out, by either seizing Dutch war ships in (friendly) ports or arresting them at sea with help of corsairs, otherwise one would not achieve anything except shame and disregard for the Order.<sup>955</sup> The Dutch Republic could not afford the loss of its ships. This whole discussion is then linked to the premises that the Order could not wage war against Christians, should the Protestants still be part of that category. See chapter 5.15 for the discussion on inter-Christian warfare and violation of the Hospitaller Christian unity principle, which holds that Christians should not attack other Christians. Closer to home, the Order had equal problems, but now with associated Roman-Catholics. De Vertot, in 1628, complains about Pope Urban, 'no friend of the Order,' who plundered the principal commanderies of the Order in Italy and gave them away to his relatives.<sup>956</sup>

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<sup>951</sup> Van Bueren, 1992.

<sup>952</sup> Sire, 1996, 201.

<sup>953</sup> A.O.M. 2198, ff.354<sup>v</sup> and <sup>r</sup>. See Part III, Appendix V for the transcription of this document and summary in English.

<sup>954</sup> De Vertot, 1728, book XIII, 90.

<sup>955</sup> A.O.M. 2198 f. 378<sup>r</sup>. See Part III, Appendix V for the transcription of this document and summary in English.

<sup>956</sup> De Vertot, 1728, book XIII, 64.

### 5.17 Conclusion

Losing Rhodes and the following grant of Malta as an eternal fief by Charles V,<sup>957</sup> seriously set back the Order in status and position, and it must have hurt their self-esteem in no mean manner. However, beggars cannot be choosers. Although Malta was granted as an eternal fief and its rent was symbolical, it still belonged *de jure* to Spain, attached to its Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Because the Order justified its worth to Spain by protecting the Spanish realm against the Ottoman westward expansion, it was allowed a *de facto* sovereign status. A remarkable trio of very powerful people were approached, directly and indirectly, to solve the issue of a new Hospitaller base, Charles V, Henry VIII and Pope Adrian VI. While in those seven years of exile their military power might have suffered, their charity did not, as the Hospitaller task continued.

Charity, specifically ‘true charity’, is defined in the Old and New Statutes, article 2, as ‘the mother and solid foundation of all virtues, while ‘Soldiers of Jesus Christ’ are defined as people ‘designed only to fight for His glory, to maintain His worship and the Catholic faith, to love, reverence and preserve justice; to favour, support and defend such as are oppressed, without neglecting the duties of holy hospitality.’ As with most ideals, it was not possible to adhere to them to the fullest extent at all times.

Before arriving at Malta, an inspection was carried out, reporting quite negatively about Malta as a viable base, compared to Rhodes. This much bigger island had supported their image for just over two centuries. It was presumably not easy to adjust the memory of that large, green and fertile island, where their lavish lifestyle had stirred great envy and criticism, to landing themselves at a small, forsaken rock. Since Rhodes was not going to be re-conquered soon, reputation and self-image demanded resilience and a new, more realistic outlook, making better use of the ill-repute of Malta as a pirate’s nest. Successive Grand Masters managed to turn this threat into an opportunity, combining once again the concept of harvesting the sea with pre-emptive strikes on enemy shipping and razzias on land. Slavery, the norm of those days, was also used by both sides to exchange slaves and prisoners held for ransom. Both Algiers and Valletta were reputedly the largest slave markets in the Mediterranean. However, slaves in Valletta had relatively large freedom. During the rule of Grand Master Pinto (1741-73), the about 9,000 Turkish slaves, during the day were free to run a business or sell goods on the market.<sup>958</sup>

I would like to add the following points of view to the comments of Fontenay that the Maltese were the Christian equivalent of the Barbary corsairs. Before the arrival of the Order, Malta was, although Christian, already a frontier society of Christendom. The extra weight of that label comes with the granting of Malta by Charles V to the Hospitallers as an eternal fief in 1530, so that the Order could protect Spanish interest from Malta. On a micro-scale, the Maltese had for centuries practised piracy to prevent being run over. It was deemed that Malta would be much safer with the practice of piracy than without, while it also generated revenue from looting other pirate ships and commercial vessels from the North African coast, and later on, from Ottoman vessels. On a macro-scale, the

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<sup>957</sup> Dalli, 2006, 144; Luttrell, 1975, 41.

<sup>958</sup> De Lucca, 2018, 225

Mediterranean, as mentioned previously, experienced a dual crisis as the seventeenth century progressed. A demographic crisis unfolded due to the catastrophic mortality rates caused by frequent occurrences of the plague and a commercial crisis due to the growing dominance of the ships of Atlantic Europe. The Dutch had monopolised the spice trade in the East Indies, and Holland and England increasingly flooded Mediterranean markets with cheaply manufactured goods.<sup>959</sup> Instead of a trade war, Mediterranean piracy became a primary form of social protest against the poverty engendered by this conjunction of crises, and robbery on the high seas was its maritime expression.

While in Malta, it seems that the Order, as a warrior elitist institution, had consolidated itself and recovered, while at the same time they were regarded as an anachronistic element in a developing Europe of larger states, in which a former Crusader institution had no longer a valid or justified place. Ernle Bradford concludes that the 'age of faith' was over,<sup>960</sup> at least for the West, and that some Western European powers, such as England, France, the Dutch Republic and Venice thought that the Hospitallers were ruining the good trade relationships with the Ottomans. These self-shaped goals of the Hospitaller Order were also driven by the continuous threat to their existence, both of forces in the West and of the East. In the years following the Christian victory at Battle of Lepanto (1571) and the Christian loss of the Tunisian bases in 1574, the warfare between Constantinople and Madrid seemed to have subdued in the Mediterranean. Although the 1571 victory at Lepanto did not bring back the Crusades, it marked the *fin de siècle* for the Ottoman navy in the Mediterranean. Nonetheless, hostilities in the Mediterranean between Christianity and Islam were continued, albeit on a different scale.<sup>961</sup>

Such persistent attacks from Ottomans and North Africans had to be endured on the Maltese islands, while the attacks of 1551 and 1565, designed to destroy both the Order and the Maltese population, swayed the Order to a 'remain' vote. Possessing good galleys was a concept not wasted on the Order. Their fleet usually consisted of seven or eight galleys and a large number of smaller tactical vessels, either financed by the Order, individual knights, corsairs or ships taken from the enemy. Since the Order moved to Rhodes, it was understood that islands were best defended from the sea. On land, the Order started an extensive programme of fortification building, to improve on and expand Malta's crumbling medieval walls. Altogether, defence on land and sea, should give the Order and the Maltese a chance against the looming threat of the Ottomans.

The argument of benchmarking Hospitaller heroism with the events within their recent history, the Siege of Rhodes (1522) the Great Siege (1565) and Lepanto (1571) can be deducted from the inscribed texts. However, the urge to continuously produce Hospitaller heroes was needed to feed the image and self-image of the Order. Hence, in a later stage, when the heroism of the three great events seemingly had become part of a Hospitaller 'Classical period,' new big battles would set the standard for heroism in the 'post-Classical period.' Adaptations were made, which meant that this new heroism had

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<sup>959</sup> McManamon, 2003, 32-58.

<sup>960</sup> Balbi di Correggio, [1568] 2011.

<sup>961</sup> In Chapter 11, the Catalogue of Muslim attacks on Malta gives an overview of the number and scale of such confrontations.



become diversified and different for all the various players in the field and its standards would shift over time. Most heroism, at least in the *corpus*, became measurable against the Classical heroes, as we can see in the following chapter 7.9, were Hospitaller heroes were being compared *Hector* or *Cocles*.<sup>962</sup>

Heroism, as intangible as it is, must be fostered after the event, lest it be forgotten. The Order was certainly very aware of this and tried to retain its memory and to externalise its self-image, which had been through another cycle of alterations. With regard to memory and self-image, on reading the *corpus*, it becomes manifest that the Knights Hospitaller were always harking back to the past, which always seemed more glorious than their present. It may even be argued that the Hospitallers, in order to have a future, were shaping the present to fit that past. In a sense, this agrees with Kierkegaard's philosophy that the past is a work in progress.<sup>963</sup>

The Order needed to show the world that they had survived the great onslaught, and that this deed of martyrdom had prevented a similar fate for Europe. In other words, the world was indebted to their exemplary deeds of selfless service and must be informed by which means they had managed to gain such shine. The heroic past was more than a memory, there was regret of its absence and a longing for heroism from that benchmarking era. Remembrance of their expired brothers was also a collective affair on official feast-days by the Order, just as the custom is today. Even more than 450 years after the Great Siege, the Maltese cannot say goodbye to the event, which is engrained in their own cultural memory and identity. This management of the Order's memory had such a great impact that even today most Maltese would associate the memory of the Order with the Great Siege. This memory is still very much alive in Malta and has its own day of remembrance on 8<sup>th</sup> September.

Heroism was not only for knights, but also priests and the local population had shown great deeds of heroism. Unfortunately, the heroism of the Maltese is not commemorated at St John's or elsewhere in Malta. Nonetheless, Grand Master de Valette had personally praised the Maltese during the Great Siege for their heroism and resolution.<sup>964</sup> The Maltese showed a different kind of heroism, such as in the corsairing business, as the story of Michele da Malta shows. For the Maltese, the Great Siege was a first step to independence and became part of the collective memory, as much as it was for the Order. The heroism of the Maltese, without whom the Great Siege could not have been won, their resilience and their rock-steady Christian belief, are points of referral which are still relevant today.

In view of the above regarding the Great Siege, the adjective 'Great' has been questioned recently by the Maltese historian Victor Mallia-Milanes, because the siege of 1429 seemed to have been greater than the Great Siege.<sup>965</sup> However, in view of the short and long-term consequences of the 1565 siege, it was certainly not as small as the comparison might suggest. When it comes to sizes, Süleyman the Magnificent had

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<sup>962</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, respectively nos. 115 and 343.

<sup>963</sup> Kierkegaard, 1958, 89.

<sup>964</sup> Bradford, 1961, 143.

<sup>965</sup> Mallia Milanes, 2015.



estimated he could run over Malta within one week and use it as a stepping-stone to conquer Sicily and the weak underbelly of Europe, France.<sup>966</sup> Instead of a stepping-stone of one week, it became a stumbling block of three and a half month, after which the Ottomans had to give up and Malta had succeeded in chasing away the Ottomans from its shores. Had the latter succeeded, then the history of Europe would have certainly developed differently.

The introduction of the Inquisition was regretted by many, because it showed that the once mighty Hospitaller Order was not as morally superior as it once had been; the knightly misbehaviour and the occurrence of Protestantism speak for themselves. To the great embarrassment of the Grand Master, the forgetfulness about vows and the rising occurrence of violence, crime and sexual misconduct seemed to have been enough reason to bring in the Inquisition. Also, reports about sinful behaviour, as communicated to the Grand Master by the Venetian envoy Giacomo Capello about daily violations concerning the sin of pride, concubinage, adultery and sodomy, must have hurt the Grand Master deeply.

In Malta, the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat* became once again fully developed and functional, as it was in Rhodes. Infra-structures, banking, policies, laws, enforcement, offices and ranks were established or re-established, and strictly adhered to, divided over the eight *langués*. Property management was in the hands of trusted members, commendators, who were stationed on-site in Europe. These took care of the contacts with the local nobility, functioned as a recruitment station and managed the landed estates of the Order, the commanderies. One of the most important tasks was the remittance of funds to the common treasury in Malta of the turnover, the *responsiones*.

When it came to gaining and losing property, it seemed that greed was an international vice, cross-contaminating Knights, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Protestant republics, Popes and religious Orders. Greed took different forms and the appropriations and expropriations were, at least partly, driven by it. Coveting power, properties, land, churches or works of art, all brought out this vice of vices.

In the *corpus*, greed is avoided (see chapters 6.6 and 7.6). On the whole, the Order seemed to be a soft target in non-Catholic Europe. It could not defend itself by force on site. The distance to Europe was also a downside of being on a safe distance from unpredictable popes and unreliable rulers. Diplomacy was a recourse, but also seizing ships and keeping them as ransom/guarantee until a settlement was reached.

In order to preserve the Hospitaller memory, it was committed to paper and stored in archives, as is becoming for a literate society. Storing memory was not enough to avoid oblivion, exposing one's memory and entrusting one's glorious past to the memory of others was a next step. The tradition in Rhodes of contracting artists to create sepulchral monuments and slabs was continued, with emphasis on the culture of *memoria* at St John's Conventual church, while the commissioning of art took on serious proportions with the arrival of Baroque in Malta in 1630.<sup>967</sup>

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<sup>966</sup> Balbi di Correggio, [1568] 2011); Bradford, 1964.

<sup>967</sup> De Lucca and Thake, 1994.



## Chapter 6 St John's Conventional church

### 6.1 Identity in life and death

Presumably, the human loss and financial disaster caused by the Great Siege of 1565, and, consequently, the costs and burdens to rebuild society, had left the Order with self-image issues and financial constraints. In the post-Siege period, the Order embarked on a construction programme to build a new capital city, Valletta, named after the Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette, the undisputed hero and exceptional military theorist.<sup>968</sup> The soft Holy War through the printing press was yielding a number of publications on the Order and the Great Siege, bringing them image-relief. Survival in the Great Siege had brought the Hospitallers Europe-wide popularity, a survival interpreted as the triumph of the Catholic Faith over the Ottomans. Once the Order had the attention again of the public at large, its treasury and ranks swelled as Europe's nobility donated landed property and monetary gifts. Of greater importance was that the nobility was willing to pay huge sums of passage money to have their sons as novices to the Order, as potential heroes could increase a family's status amongst their peers. One hundred years after the Great Siege, the Order had recovered financially from the near-bankrupting effects of that event and was ready to celebrate its heroic past. Baroque culture had reached Malta's shores and the decoration of St John's, from the 1660s onwards, confirms in no uncertain manner this belief in the heroic past as a milestone of memory. The past had now grown to epic proportions, tailor-made for the triumphal and festive mood of Baroque art, worthy of a new image.<sup>969</sup> In this chapter St John's, including the *corpus* embedded in its larger fabric, is allowed to speak for itself too, as an artistic medium, a vehicle of religio-political issues and as a *locus sanctus* for *memoria* purposes, memory of the phenomenon of heroism itself, veneration of saints, true and deep adoration of God.



### 6.2 The influence of the Counter-Reformation and Baroque

To the present-day reader, at least, the inscribed texts seem to be replete with self-glorification and ego-caressing, but it must be remarked that hyperbolic praise was part and parcel of the Hospitallers' standard perception of the world, isolated as it may have been, and of Baroque culture. On a personal level, the Knights Hospitaller speak from the far side of life in the manner in which they wished to be appreciated, doing their utmost to avoid oblivion.

The Baroque mind was a different mindset than the previous Renaissance period, which was structured and adhered to conventions and canons, at least, what concerns art. In the following era, Baroque became the vehicle for the Counter-Reformation, a philosophy which, in order to survive the Protestant Reformation, provided security through the promise of religious confidence. Spiritual and religious uncertainties were converted to certainties through an unshakable dogmatic approach, inflexible and non-

<sup>968</sup> De Lucca, 2018, 34.

<sup>969</sup> For a general overview of the topic, see Sciberras, 2004.

discussible. This applies not only to the visual art, but also to the inscribed texts. In the *corpus* we do not find any doubt, the Order is always on the right course, while the knights' birth is forever splendid, their character unblemished, their careers solid, unflappable in the face of adversity, justice imbedded in their swords, their deaths heroic (either battling with the enemy or with Death itself), their charity generous and their humility unquestionable, all unmissable ingredients to prepare a magnificent corporate identity and memorable knights.

At face value, Baroque might have been an odd choice for a medium, since Baroque is described by Milizia as '*barocco è il superlativo del bizzarro, l'eccessa del ridicolo*' (*Baroque is the superlative of the bizarre, the excess of the ridiculous*).<sup>970</sup> Its festive nature was, however, also an expression of victory, on a micro-scale, over Protestantism and on a macro-scale of the Bible over the Qur'an, certainly in the context of the Order of St John.<sup>971</sup>

Baroque, as an art form, uses movement. Implied movement is present in the *corpus*, in the form of the *macchina*. This refers to those Late Baroque slabs in which a very wild and festive atmosphere was created, radiating a feeling of victory and glory with sweeping movements, with often an explosion of military paraphernalia, flooded with details, such as collections of arms, banners, musical instruments, heraldry, armour, helmets and naval battle scenes. The most imaginative pieces of the iconography are rendered in a non-symmetrical manner.

Sepulchres at St John's of this typology have a festive atmosphere and make prominently use of the Personification of Death, in the form of skulls, crossbones and skeletons, and were often used for those who either died as a Martyr of the Faith while fighting the enemy of Religion, or those who were victorious in battle.<sup>972</sup>

Baroque is also expressive and theatrical, tending to overdo the scenographic effects.<sup>973</sup> In this respect, the iconography of the slabs is much more exuberant and triumphal than the inscribed texts. Angels of Fame never seem out of breath when blowing their trumpets to sound the deceased's reputation to the four winds, while, in line with the theatrics of Baroque, other allegorical figures on marble are also playing to the gallery, reckoning promptings from inside the grave.<sup>974</sup> Baroque at St John's also has mnemonic qualities, as its visual qualities kindle memory to a heroic past of the Order, at Jerusalem, Rhodes and the Great Siege. Most slabs and monuments in St John's are endowed with aspects of blending architecture, sculpture, painting and Classical features.

### **6.3 St John's as the Conventual church of the Order, home of the corpus**

Gerolamo Cassar, the Order's Maltese military engineer and architect, had been sent to Rome, after the Great Siege. He arrived in Rome during the Mannerist phase, which influenced him profoundly. He started work on the new Conventual church in 1571 (the

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<sup>970</sup> Milizia, 1822, 97.

<sup>971</sup> De Lucca, 2018, xv.

<sup>972</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, 34.

<sup>973</sup> De Lucca, 2018, xv.

<sup>974</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, see the iconography of no. 136.

year of the Battle of Lepanto), and in 1577 the church was in use, at least partly, while the official consecration took place on 20 February 1578.<sup>975</sup> The Mannerist influence is very much a feature of the church, a basilica with an austere and massive façade, a strict and severe military architecture resembling the fortification walls of Valletta. Only the balcony and the Tuscan columns of the entrance, a near-frivolity, break the austerity of the *desornamentada*, unornamented plain style architecture.<sup>976</sup> This style probably arose from necessity. Military engineers and architects, designing all important buildings in the new city of Valletta, had little time to spare while budgets were meagre. Two belfries on either side encapsulate the entrance. This austere look mirrored most probably the mood of the Order, after the cataclysmic effect of the Great Siege, mourning the loss of life, limb and goods. The interior was in the beginning as sombre as the outside, but that would change over the 227 years the church was in use as the Conventual church of the Order (1571-1798). While the façade of St John's has changed little, the interior was totally transformed into a pearl of Baroque.

Cassar himself worked as *capomastro* (master mason) for the Order throughout the Great Siege, repairing the fortifications battered by Ottoman cannon fire, constructing war machines and destroying Ottoman contraptions. This was a class of heroism in itself and Cassar was invited to become a member of the Order in the rank of Donat of Devotion and was approved as the Order's resident military engineer and architect.<sup>977</sup>

Gerolamo Cassar was apparently inspired by the Jesuit's Gesù church in Rome, under construction when he visited Rome (finished in 1584). Akin to the design of the Gesù church, Cassar flanked the nave of St John's with side chapels, roofed with saucer domes (sail vaults). One early boost to embellish the Conventual church of St John's came as a consequence of the internal division of space within the church. St John's nave has a rectangular floor plan of about 36 by 57 meters. At the east end, the sanctuary with the high altar is located. The nave is on both sides flanked by a side-aisle, which is divided into four interconnecting side-chapels and two passageways on either side of the nave. The side-aisles support the longitudinal barrel vault of about twenty meters high. Each of the supporting buttresses is connected to the other through a vault and arch on the nave side, which gives access to the side chapels. These are both accessible from the nave by means of one raised step (while the passageways are connected with a slight slope). Each of the eight side chapels has an altar dedicated to a patron saint and later these were assigned to a *langue* of the Order.<sup>978</sup> Nearly hundred years later, Mattia Preti

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<sup>975</sup> Ferris, 1881, 60.

<sup>976</sup> Mahony, 1996, 134-141, Gerolamo Cassar (c. 1520-c. 1592) had been trained by Francesco Laperelli de Cortona, an engineer on loan by courtesy of Pope Pius V. Laperelli designed the Renaissance grid-pattern of Valletta and its fortification walls; Ellul, 2004, 29-51. Cassar was possibly also influenced by Michelangelo's Medici Chapel of San Lorenzo at Florence, as suggested by Mahony, although it is doubtful that he personally visited Florence, due to the political tensions between Florence and Lucca.

<sup>977</sup> Ellul, 2004, 29-51.

<sup>978</sup> The Order had eight divisions, or *tongues*, namely: Germany, France, Provence, Auvergne, Castile (with Leon and Portugal), Aragon, Italy and England. Later the Anglo-Bavarian tongue was created after Henry VIII's Dissolution.

interconnected all the side chapels with internal arched narrow passages, introducing the idea of ambulatories to Malta.<sup>979</sup>

It may be suggested that the Order needed to carve out a status, justified by surviving the Great Siege, one as powerful as the Papacy or the Jesuits. Possibly, the Order thought the Jesuits to be a threat vis-a-vis their own position to the Pope. The Jesuits were founded in Rome 1534 by an ex-military man, Iñigo de Loyola of Spain and this organisation, *Compagnia di Gesù*, gained papal blessings and grew extremely fast, and likewise their influence on popes and politicians. Often the Jesuits were accused of attempting to meddle in politics. Grand Master Pinto had thus the Jesuit Order expelled from Malta in 1768, insulting the Pope as a by-product of his actions as an absolute monarch.<sup>980</sup>

#### **6.4 Artistic developments at St John's**

A fusion of personal, national and corporate self-imaging ensued and all the artistic expressions in the church were chromatically, thematically or symbolically linked to each other, which ultimately formed an expression of the Order's collective cohesion and corporate identity.

St John's possesses a great number of artefacts, and a few artists were key to its successful embellishment, leaving an indelible impression on the church and Malta itself. One of the first artists of name to arrive was Michelangelo de Merisi of Caravaggio, a.k.a Caravaggio, who worked in Malta from July 1607 till August 1608.

In the early days of the church, most of the art was imported from Italy. Several Mannerist taste sepulchral slabs on the church floor from the early seventeenth century are witness to that. Later on, local *marmisti* or lapidary would produce sepulchres made-in-Malta.

In train with the philosophy of the Counter-Reformation, art was used on a grander scale than before. When the first wave of Baroque had arrived in the 1630s, both as a vehicle to glorify the Roman Catholic Church and the Order's own triumphant existence in the world after the Great Siege,<sup>981</sup> large sums of money were spent on commissioning art. In this respect, St John's rivals many churches in Rome.<sup>982</sup> Artistic expression covers the generally expected religious themes, among others the Glory of God, Christ, St John, Our Lady, Salvation and Purgatory. Other religious matters, perhaps more related to the Order, are death, dying and the celebration of eternal life, while the personification of Death and heroism in the face of Death are recurring topics.<sup>983</sup>

Baroque art, sculpture and architecture further took flight around 1635 with the arrival of Francesco Buonamici, who worked in Malta until 1659. He may be regarded as

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<sup>979</sup> Mahony, 1996, 134-141.

<sup>980</sup> O'Malley, 1993. De Lucca, 2018, 225; See also <http://thechurchinmalta.org/en/posts/1922/the-jesuits-s-j> The Jesuit College became the University of Malta in 1529, in Valletta. Often the Jesuits were accused of attempting to meddle in politics. The Jesuits returned in 1845, during the British Period.

<sup>981</sup> De Lucca and Thake, 1994.

<sup>982</sup> Debono, 2005; Sciberras, 2004.

<sup>983</sup> Munro, 2005.



a forerunner of Baroque in Malta.<sup>984</sup> Hospitaller Malta in the latter half of the seventeenth century developed a penchant for Roman Baroque art, for its painting and church decoration, but above all for its sculpture.<sup>985</sup> In earlier stages, they had looked to Rome for inspirational paintings, in the context of how they could celebrate their victory over the Turks in the Great Siege of 1565. Seventy years after the Great Siege, and in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, it was time for the Order to expand its corporate image using art. The Convent became a sample of what the Order stood for and what they had gone through to achieve it. There was also a matter of standing. If the Pope in Rome had all this art and architecture to support the image of Roman Catholicism, why should the Grand Master of the Order, representing the image of the 'Guardian of Europe', not have brilliant art and architecture to support the self-image of the Religion?

The most prominently present works of art in St John's are the paintings of the Italian knight Mattia Preti, painter and designer. He was also called *Il Cavaliere Calabrese*, as received his knighthood of the Order (Knight of Grace, and later elevated to knight of Justice), promoted by Pope Urban VIII in 1642. Preti became engaged with the art and identity of the Order only later in life. According to Debono, piety was the Order's main concern and Mattia Preti addresses this issue throughout his work for the Order between 1660 and 1699.<sup>986</sup> His gift to the Order was that he profoundly influenced the way the Order came to understand and identify with the visual arts. He painted scenes of martyrdom in a way the Hospitaller knights could understand in two ways. First, as images of devotion, and secondly as a fact of life. Any knight could experience martyrdom when engaged in action at sea or on land. Cosmo states that scenes of martyrdom also summarised the Hospitaller aspirations and hope.<sup>987</sup> While Preti painted at St John's, he had the Order's corporate image in mind, and he 'captured the triumphant imagery of knighthood and glorified the Order', according to Sciberras.<sup>988</sup> Mattia Preti has painted both using oil on canvas and more particularly at St John's, he applied the *fa presto* technique, using broad brushes to cover large areas on ceilings and walls. Another artist who exerted great influence on St John's was the Italian architect Romano Fortunato Carapacchia (1668-1738), who in the first half of the eighteenth century was behind the transformation of Valletta into the High Baroque festive style.<sup>989</sup>

During the 1660s, an increased amount of finance had become available, not in the least through the personal fortunes of the brothers Cotoner, Raphael and Nicola, Grand Masters respectively from 1660-63 and 1663-80. They took the initiative to redecorate

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<sup>984</sup> De Lucca and Thake, 1994, 1.

<sup>985</sup> Sciberras, 2004, 1.

<sup>986</sup> Debono, 2005: Mattia Preti (b. 1613 in Taverna, Calabria), died on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1699 in Valletta, Malta. He arrived in Malta in 1659.

<sup>987</sup> Cosmo, 2016, 468-473, here 468.

<sup>988</sup> Sciberras, 2012, 89-130, here 90.

<sup>989</sup> At St John's, the first painter of fame was Caravaggio, see Sciberras and Stone, 2006; Farrugia Randon, 2004. Regarding Francesco Buonamici, see De Lucca and Thake, 1994; 1994, 1. For Preti, see Sciberras, 2012 and *Idem*, 2015. Regarding Romano Carapacchia, see De Lucca, 1999, 215-17. The latter designed four sepulchral slabs at St John's; the writers of the eulogies remain unknown. See Part III, Appendix I, nos. 22, 36, 37 and 69.

St John's in the Baroque fashion. Mattia Preti's artistic advice to the Grand Magistry had a great effect on this enormous undertaking.<sup>990</sup> The main thought behind this show of power was that it was deemed important for a charitable institution such as the Order to stay healthy and wealthy, especially as its mission statement was to defend the outer limits of Christendom, where confrontation with Islam was most likely to occur. Notably, the whole of St John's can be regarded an embodiment of pious property and there is this clear message of fulfilment, of being a successful military Order, operated by unrivalled Religious, achieving great wealth by 'justified' war for the sake of charity. With this wealth, they could protect Malta and Christianity. From that point of view, the Cotoner brothers had started to harmonise the art at the Conventual church, and from their twenty years in successive power, the basic tone for the church was set.

### *Gesamtkunstwerk*

The Order was responsible for overseeing and commissioning different forms and styles of art, central to their fundamental cultural dimension, which would be fitting to the expression of their Hospitaller *memoria*. Over time, all the different forms of art were synthesised and incorporated into the fabric of St John's conventual church, as a tableau of harmony. This blending strengthens my argument that the art in St John's is a form of total art, a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, linking all works of art together to create a Baroque festive memorial mood. St John's is, all in all, an unrivalled pearl of baroque, which is however not without criticism for those not acquainted with the Order. Nicholas de Piro, in an appreciation of the Conventual church, writes in his opening lines:

The finest, most sumptuous, powerful, robust, brilliant, intense, virile, angelic and heavenly sight in Malta is undoubtedly the baroque interior of the Church of St John the Baptist in Valletta. It is an explicit, unashamed flagrancy of pomp, blazon, ostentation and grandeur. The pageantry it has cradled is interred in its unique atmosphere.<sup>991</sup>

The justification for using the term *Gesamtkunstwerk* also comes from Van Bueren and Oexle who state that the complexity and multidimensionality of *memoria* not only appears in ritualisation and institutionalising of the memory of the dead and the relief of

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<sup>990</sup> Sciberras, 2004, 1-14.

<sup>991</sup> De Piro, 1999, 13.





Image 18: The nave of St John's at present. Photo: Author

the poor, but also in sepulchres, literature, the visual arts and music.<sup>992</sup> Although a *Gesamtkunstwerk* is usually understood to have been created 'in one go,' and the popular German expression is here *in einem Guß*, I will argue that at St John's there is the concept of a gradual total work of art in the sense of one holistic philosophy regarding *memoria* and self-image.<sup>993</sup>

Moreover, St John's Conventual church is truly a *gestalterisches Gesamtkunstwerk*, a creative total work of art and a monumental immersion into the Hospitaller worldview and memory. In analogy of Richard Wagner, who coined the word,<sup>994</sup> the composer, in this case the Order, wanted total control over all the art produced, so that in its entirety, the Conventual church was in unity, an example of cohesion and self-image. Music was also composed for the Order and performed at St John's, but not restricted to it. For instance, at the Mdina Cathedral significant music was performed, within the Liturgy.<sup>995</sup> Several musical compositions were made for the Order. The Spanish composer Don Fernando de las Infantas (1534 - c.1610) produced musical works regarding the Great Siege of 1565, the Turkish threat to Europe and the Battle of Lepanto. During the Great Siege, De las Infantas composed a 7-part motet entitled *Congregati sunt inimici nostril, in oppressione inimicorum: Pro victoria in turcas Melite obsedionis*. The music score, with pleading qualities, was well suited for the precarious situation of the Order and the Maltese population (in translation):

Our enemies are gathered against us and they rejoice in their virtue: Destroy their fortitude, O Lord, and scatter them, so they know that it is none other who fightest against them but Thou, our God.<sup>996</sup>

### 6.5 The corpus as educational instrument

The *corpus* may be regarded as an educational instrument because those commemorated have acquired a superior status in this temporal and spatial realm beyond, bridged by God in Heaven. Members of the Order were encouraged to take up identity aspects from the *corpus*, to strengthen their moral and the Order's cohesion. By becoming part of the *memoria*, they would continually be reminded of which world they were part of and to which values their behaviour should confirm. The floor, being an epitome of *memoria*, can be regarded as a modifier of views and a privileged intermediary

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<sup>992</sup> Van Bueren and Oexle, 2005, 55.

<sup>993</sup> Steudtner, 2005, 211-223. In this article, the restoration of a war-damaged palace is treated as the restoration of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The palace was constructed and decorated over the years, destroyed *in einem Guß* during WWII and restored over a period of time.

<sup>994</sup> Dayan, 2014, 453-65.

<sup>995</sup> Divall, 2010, 1-16.

<sup>996</sup> *Ibid.* In 1732, the Manoel Theatre opened in Valletta. Operatic works were on stage since 1735, premiering with Johann Adolf Hasse's opera seria *Artaserse*.



After all, the whole *corpus* consists of narratives, memories and constructed identities of a whole community of exemplary but deceased Knights Hospitallers, worthy of emulation.<sup>997</sup> The element of emulation is critical here, both in the active and passive sense. If one has shown to follow the behaviour of those who came before, then one is worthy of being imitated by those coming after. For instance, the educational function of these slabs would be essential to develop the sense of belonging or identity formation of novices, as the sepulchres also represent a time-captured public archive of the achievements of the Order. Humility was the driver for a knight to live his life in the service of the poor and the sick. The knights also took the four Cardinal, three Theological and eight Honourable virtues as guidelines, although critics would presume these were more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Sepulchral monuments and slabs were used as role models for novices and the visitors of the church, the *viatores*. An exemplary knight and his deeds need to be remembered so that his virtues can be emulated, and therefore, the Departed need an audience of those who will, but are as yet not, departed. Initially, the Order started to show the world that it had been victorious in the Great Siege of 1565, and later on decided on a broader inclusion of memorable things.<sup>998</sup> Having a large *corpus* of such narratives on polychrome intarsia sepulchral slabs was an excellent manner to bring about the ethos and pathos of the Hospitallers to the general public and specific audiences (ambassadors, guests, visiting dignitaries etc.). Once an institution and private persons went through great expense and effort to create such a spectacular public culture of memory and sepulchral tradition, there must be value in its message. In creating a memorial floor, all these individual vignettes could be used to benefit the goals and objectives of the Order. It also allowed managing and moulding the past into fitting configurations. This means that the virtues, exemplary characters, achievements, good works and the victories were there to be used for image creation. Any passer-by could confirm the idea that the Order held itself and its noble lineage in high esteem. Within the *corpus*, a confirmation of the educational aspect can be detected too. The slab of Bernardino Barba (d. 1621) states: 'Bernardino, you are unfolding what trophies [you won] from the enemy... which trophies embellish this marble sepulchre reminiscing a family tree with waxen images of ancestors, so that each one of us is able to learn from your example.'<sup>999</sup> Some failed naval exploits were also allowed when a knight was killed in action and thus had acquired the status of Martyr of the Faith, which made for good publicity and image confirmation.

### 6.6 Purgatory at St John's

At St John's, there is great emphasis on Purgatory, although this word is only mentioned once in the *corpus* and not in the sepulchral slabs and monuments. Nonetheless, its implications were clearly understood and adhered to throughout the whole fabric of St John's, because it was part of the Hospitaller Roman Catholic fibre.

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<sup>997</sup> Interpretation from the work of Brisson, 2004, 6-7.

<sup>998</sup> Sire, 1996, 218.

<sup>999</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 53.

A papal letter inscribed in a marble plaque over the entrance to the Crypt of the Grand Masters, mentions Purgatory:

We [Pope Gregory VIII] concede to, by the authority granted to Us, that as often as a Mass for the Dead will be celebrated on the afore-mentioned altar for the soul of any Faithful, sharing in God's Mercy, after departing from this [earthly] light, the aforesaid soul may be given indulgence from the Church's profusion, so that this soul, through suffrages petitioned of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and of all saints, may be released from the chastisement of Purgatory.<sup>1000</sup>

Purgatory was institutionalised by the Church Fathers as early as the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, the following Council of Florence of 1438 and the Council of Trent in 1563; although on the latter occasion, the doctrine was not yet finally settled, it was established what Purgatory was and for what reasons, although there was some latitude kept regarding the imaginary content of Purgatory.<sup>1001</sup> The medieval concept of Purgatory (see also chapter 3.9, for the earliest ideas of Purgatory), had a profound influence on the artistic output commissioned by the Order. During their stay in Malta (1530-1798), members of the Order and artists must have had a more than perfunctory knowledge of the Church teachings on Purgatory,<sup>1002</sup> and the often Italian artists had some idea of the works of Pico della Mirandola, the *Divina Comedia* of Dante Alighieri, Petrarch's *Il trionfo della morte* or of Boccaccio's *Decameron* and the subsequent artistic output in painting, such as the *Trionfo della morte* by Triani, at the Camposanto Monumentale, Pisa, of 1350, in which probably the first skeleton as a product of decay was shown in Western art.

In the Renaissance, the humanist Pico della Mirandola's ideas about the human soul and transformation, such as in his '900 Theses' were highly influential albeit highly controversial. He argued that by keeping emotions under control by a 'moral science', so that one could clean one's self from ignorance or vices, purifying one's soul. After that, the purified soul must be exposed to natural philosophy to allow its perfection through knowledge of divine matters.<sup>1003</sup> This relates to the ideas of Dante, Petrarch and the Neo-Platonic concepts from the Renaissance regarding the nobility of the soul (or virtue), and that one's soul longs to be returned to God.<sup>1004</sup>

Dante thought that Purgatory was a physical place, where each of the seven deadly sins had its own layer for physically cleaning the sins out of the body with fire or ice.<sup>1005</sup> When

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<sup>1000</sup> *Idem*, no. 351.

<sup>1001</sup> Le Goff, 1990, 84, 41.

<sup>1002</sup> For a detailed account of Purgatory, see: Le Goff, 1984. There were different versions of Purgatory, and seemingly each leading Catholic style developed its own, ranging from a Gothic Purgatory, a Counter-Reformation Purgatory, a *devotio moderna* Purgatory and also a Baroque Purgatory.

<sup>1003</sup> Farmer, 1998.

<sup>1004</sup> Stephens, 1992, 40-1; Tusiani, 1974, 38-9, 57, 122, 210-12. For recent research on Neoplatonism see Calma (ed.), 2016.

<sup>1005</sup> Kirkpatrick (tr.), 2012.



the Hospitallers were residing in Malta, Purgatory had ceased to be a physical place and had become a concept, whereby prayers for the souls could help them become perfect again. Purgatory was now viewed as a space where bad habits were corrected, not as a punishment for sin as takes place in Hell. Their souls had become imperfect because life's happenings, and after death their souls were waiting for perfection, as sin was not allowed in Heaven. Hence, Purgatory had joyful souls, although there was pain, as well as solace. The pain is real but ought to be seen as a grace and gift of God, so not to discourage people from doing good. After all, the pain in Hell is said to be much worse. Purgatory is also positive because Heaven is in reach.<sup>1006</sup>

### *Martyrs of the Religion*

In the context of St John's, sepulchres are a means to shorten the deceased's time in Purgatory and expedite their transfer to Heaven. Becoming a Martyr of the Religion, was therefore a desired status, leading directly to Heaven. For other knights to arrive in Heaven, they had to try to shorten time in Purgatory as much as they could, both during life and after death. Any knight of the Order who would die in battle had his heroic self-sacrifice recognised as a Martyr of the Religion and could reach the post-mortem stage of being 'Blessed,' although the Papacy officially beatified few in practice. Hence, the floor may also be considered as the Order's own alternative for a well-deserved blessed status, in the sense of an internal acknowledgement. In St John's, there are sepulchral slabs dedicated to very young knights who died in defence of the faith in the very beginning of their career. In one of them, the parents of the young knight Francesco Maffei of Rome, Augustino Maffei and Dionora Cavalcantes, had placed a sepulchral slab in 1634 in memory of their dearest son who, in a victorious naval battle over the Turks near Leptis, was pierced through by an iron-clad mortar, at the age of 21. Line 6 of the inscribed text, *IN COELVM MIGRAVIT* suggests that Francesco went straight into Heaven for his triumph and therefore martyrdom could be claimed.<sup>1007</sup> In the *corpus* there are other examples of young men, dying before they reached the ranks. However, many knights survived the ordeals at sea and matured on land as 'administrative' heroes or as able commendators managing estates, dying of old age or of diseases, such as gout or dementia, as is recorded in the *Libri Defunctorum*.

### *Paying for masses for the souls of the deceased*

Another form of good works was to pay for masses for the souls of the deceased. This could be done in person or by proxy. Articles 14 to 18 of Title 3 of the Old and New statutes treat the custom of the masses for the dead, as it was believed that after every celebration of Holy Mass a soul would be released from Purgatory.<sup>1008</sup> In art. 14 it is stated that 'thirty masses shall be said for the soul of every brother that dies, at the first of which everybody present shall offer a lighted taper and a penny, which shall be

<sup>1006</sup> See also: Gardiner, 1993; Binski, 1996; Fenn, 1995.

<sup>1007</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 195.

<sup>1008</sup> Göttler, 1994, 149-164, here 154. '...jeder, welcher an einem solchen Altar Messe feiert oder feieren lässt, jeweils eine Seele aus dem Fegefeuer befreit.'

distributed to the poor...the knights and the serving brothers shall say every one of them a hundred and fifty paternosters, or the office of the dead, for the soul of the brother deceased, besides the prayers which they are obliged to say every day.' Article 15 orders some more masses for the dead and article 16 orders 'all brothers to assist at the service and to offer everyone a wax taper and a penny. The master is obliged to give a silver *lys* to every brother there present.' If brothers do not adhere, article 17 prescribes the punishment: 'The brother that shall neglect to be at the service, shall be punished with the septaine.'<sup>1009</sup> Through such masses, the time in Purgatory could be shortened considerably while enforcing the rights of the deceased Hospitallers.

From the *corpus*, some examples come about how knights dealt with Purgatory in this manner. Donations could be made, such as giving money, or interest gained thereof to a particular church or religious order. Furthermore, one could grant immobile properties, works of art or one could pay for the construction of a building, a church, an altar, a galley or the commissioning of works of art. Shortening time in Purgatory for deceased knights at St John's could also be remedied through committing a structure of prayers for the departed souls by means of a notarial deed. A good sample of this is the slab of Fràs Giovanni and Andrea de Giovanni, immortalising in marble the remarkable piety of the Prior of the Bailiwick of Santo Stefano, Frà Don Andrea de Giovanni, who had made four deeds at four notaries for Masses to be celebrated for the repose of the souls of the deceased Hospitallers:

...For greater worship of God had improved the splendour of this Venerable Oratory in order to reward his Brothers, the Religious departing from this life every day to gain eternal rest by means of a good death, [and] with equal generosity raised, strengthened, endowed these everlasting foundations for the Exposition of the Host in Lent in the morning and for the celebration of six Masses on Fridays in a deed drawn up by the noble Notary Marchesi on 12th day of February 1738, for the celebration of four Masses and for the Exposition [of the Blessed Sacraments] in the morning and evening on behalf of the Passion in a deed drawn up by the aforesaid Notary on 8th day of November 1738, on any first Friday for the Exposition [of the Blessed Sacraments] and for the celebration of six Masses for a good death in a deed drawn up by the noble Notary Morello on 9th day of December 1739, and for the celebration of one daily Mass in a deed drawn up by the noble Notary Callus on 18<sup>th</sup> day of May 1744.<sup>1010</sup>

<sup>1009</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, Old and New Statutes, Title 3, 21-22.

<sup>1010</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 396. The above notarial documents have been verified at the Notarial Archives in Valletta: *Reg. 2 Not. Agos<sup>o</sup> Marchese 1738 – 1739*; *Not. Arnaldo Morello 1739 al 1742*; *Registrum Actorum Notarij Joseph Callus Metini, Ann. Quarto Indictionis 1740 & 1741*; *Registro degli...del Sig. Notaro Giuseppe Callus Maltese 1742 & 1743 al 1744 fi ita in car: s: 12<sup>o</sup> 92*.

Correspondingly, Frà François Giache de Calan (d. 1793) 'ordered two Masses to be celebrated on every Sunday and feast day in this chapel of the church.' However, many knights just prayed. Frà Pierre Mosquet used to 'prostrate himself as a suppliant in front of the altar at the Chapel of the Virgin to win over God with his devoted prayers.'<sup>1011</sup>

### *Intercessory prayers and Perfection*

That the souls of those knights who did not die as a martyr needed to be cleansed of sin in Purgatory seems rather obvious, as the performance of knighthood cannot be voided of sin, for instance, of committing violence. However, in his influential work *Summa Theologica*, Thomas of Aquinas counters the assumptions that the Religious of military orders could not obtain any state of penitence or that their souls could not attain perfection. Other assumptions, such as that they could not engage in battle and that warfare was unjustifiable, he likewise defused.<sup>1012</sup> Aquinas argued that the Religious of military orders indeed showed neighbourly love when defending Christendom and were in a state of penitence when they had joined the Orders' standing armies in the Holy Land. While he agreed that a Religious could not apply violence regarding earthly matters, he could certainly fight for God and the Church. In view of the above, Aquinas replied to those objections, among others that 'a monk who seeks earthly possessions is no monk at all',<sup>1013</sup> and that it would seem lawful for religious to fight, 'since wars are lawful and just in so far as they protect the poor and the entire commonwealth from suffering at the hands of the foe.'<sup>1014</sup> Accordingly, the victory and triumph of the First Crusade had already paved the way for penitential warfare.<sup>1015</sup>

The ideas of perfection of the soul and Purgatory are frequently returning topics in the *corpus*. This idea of *perfectio* is also supported by St Augustine in the City of God,<sup>1016</sup> who writes that when a person's soul is restored by God, and 'perfected with greater grace', a person's soul has eternal leisure to participate in God in Heaven and becomes therefore able to know God because the soul is perfectly at rest there. Those commemorated in the *corpus* had a need to have their souls perfected, taken out of Purgatory and transferred to Heaven, where they, in turn, could pray for the souls of the living. This was understood by at least some Hospitallers. The following inscribed text may suffice as an example: Ottaviano Bandinelli 'happily died in the Lord and he brought to perfection his death on his life's merits in 1671,' while Didaco Maria Gargallo, who died in 1774, 'was struck by the blow of Death in the Year of Redemption 1774, at an age of 72. He lies buried here, waiting for his perfection.'<sup>1017</sup>

The moral compass of all the individuals forming the *corpus* is calibrated on the justification of violence, good character and piety to avoid even the least possible

<sup>1011</sup> *Idem*, nos. 324 and 155 respectively.

<sup>1012</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 2.

<sup>1013</sup> St Thomas of Aquinas, 2010, Seventh Article [II-II, Q. 188, Art 7].

<sup>1014</sup> *Idem*, Second Article [II-II, Q. 40, Art. 2].

<sup>1015</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012, 10.

<sup>1016</sup> Böer, 2012, *St Augustine*, book XXII, chapter 30.

<sup>1017</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, nos. 310 and 6 respectively.

associations with the pitfall of the Seven Deadly Sins.<sup>1018</sup> Some are mentioned, such as pride ('Pious without Pride'), envy (sometimes used personified, *INVIDIA*) and the knight in question always takes distance and is an exemplum of virtue. Some vices are not mentioned, because these are understood to have been cast out when the novice made his vows, such as greed.<sup>1019</sup> The latter deadly sin is not mentioned in the *corpus*, but counteracted nonetheless: 'Frà Justin, from the very ancient and very noble family of Fay Gerlande, a soldier of Jerusalem since the year 1578... He saw to that nothing whatsoever was carried off from earth for himself, except many times his daily sacrifices for his own soul into Heaven.'<sup>1020</sup>

### *Relationship between the vault painting and the floor of floors*

A system of interhuman solidarity between the living and the dead developed and at some point in the fourteenth century, the souls in Purgatory had not only acquired merit, but above all, power to shift back merits to the living, to return the compliment. It resulted in an unbroken circle of prayer and counter-prayer.<sup>1021</sup> When the Counter-Reformation arrived in the sixteenth century, it empowered the Hospitallers in developing cults and devotions to local saints and to saints of whom they possessed relics.<sup>1022</sup> Saints were selected from a pool of saints which were either venerated within the Hospitaller world or locally generated Martyrs of the Religion, preferably members of the Order who died during the Great Siege or had fought in it and survived. It was indeed a circular argument: the community of saints in Heaven would engage in intercessory prayers for the benefit of the souls of both the living and the dead, and the living would pray for the dead in Purgatory. Once transferred to Heaven, those ex-Purgatorians would intercede on behalf of the living.

Many sepulchral slabs have different artistic qualities and various approaches to elicit prayers of the *viatores*. Some of them are not shy at all about it, *ORA PRO ME*, pray for me (in the imperative!), and factually are competing for prayers in a crowded market. In such a manner, the memory of the individual would be committed deeper into the collective memory of the community to which the deceased had belonged. This circular argument fits in with Assman's *Ethik des 'Aneinander-Denkens' und 'Füreinander-Handelns'*, 'in view of being mindful of each other, *'eingedenk des Vorangegangenen und des Kommenden. Handle für die, die gehandelt haben, und handle so, dass andere für dich handeln werden.'*<sup>1023</sup>

Mattia Preti's painting of the barrel-vault of 'The Life of St John the Baptist' (c. 1661-66, spanning the width and the length of the nave, c. 18 x 57m) gives the visitor the opportunity to virtually gaze into Heaven and look St John the Baptist, Jesus Christ and God straight into the eye, in a so-called *Quadratura* painting, or optical illusion. This kind

<sup>1018</sup> Creighton-Jobe and Paul, 2011, 143-161. Seven deadly sins are: Pride, avarice, greed, lust, gluttony, envy and sloth, leading people into trouble.

<sup>1019</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, respectively nos. 92 and 227.

<sup>1020</sup> *Idem*, no. 169.

<sup>1021</sup> *Idem*, 356-7.

<sup>1022</sup> Nicholson, 2018, 17-28, here 26.

<sup>1023</sup> Discussion in Van Bueren *et al.* 2011, 187, note 15.

of format was not new, the vault painting by Preti follows the structure of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, consisting of triads, *i.e.* three scenes covering a ceiling arch from wall to wall.<sup>1024</sup> At St John's, the barrel-vault is divided into seven triads, one narrow one and six wide ones, traversing from the balcony at the main entrance to the main altar, covering the nave of St John's. This allows the *viatores* standing on the sepulchral slabs to become part of the grand tableau dedicated to St John the Baptist, while beyond that an angel-filled Heaven opens, offering those who are commemorated on those very slabs an preview of their future Heavenly abode.<sup>1025</sup> In the middle of the vault one may observe God looking down benevolently on everyone involved in this cycle.<sup>1026</sup> Floor and ceiling form communities of the departed knights beneath and the living knights on top of the marble floor and those residing in Heaven. Constructing a whole floor of such sepulchres was a stroke of genius, as joining all these memory and image aspects under one roof with a communion of saints created an unrivalled Hospitaller image.

Some of the iconography in St John's may be called 'directional,' in the sense that the *personae* along the frieze are here literally, and pictorially, mediators, pointing down to Earth and up to Heaven. They seem to urge the passers-by to make prayers on behalf of those commemorated on the sepulchral slabs and monuments to the personalities, blessed and saints of the Order, or directly to St John the Baptist, who then in turn would pledge their cases in front of God and pray for both the deceased and the passer-by. Below the barrel-vault, inserted all along the frieze, are oval windows, each flanked by paintings of the martyrs, blessed and saints of the Order.<sup>1027</sup> These images, part of the cycle 'The Life of St John the Baptist', represent another level of communication and intercessory prayers, and at the same time an alternative *Ahnengalerie* of heroes and heroines. This series was painted by Mattia Preti for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great Siege, linking memory to the science of history, as the knowledge of the *personae* portrayed comes from Bosio's *Della Istoria della Sacra Religione Gerosolimitana*.



Image 19: *Ahnengalerie* within the triades, with the blessed and saints of the Order along the frieze of St John's. Artist: Mattia Preti. Oil on limestone. Photo ©Martin Bonnici Photography

<sup>1024</sup> Graham-Dixon, 2009, 69. The Sistine Chapel has nine fields of one triad each. The work lasted from 1508 to end of 1512. Mattia Preti took about five years, from 1661 to 1666. The Our Lady of Victories Church (1568 first stone laid) had its barrel-vault also painted in a similar style.

<sup>1025</sup> Munro, quote on p. 3.

<sup>1026</sup> Rudy, 2017, 142, 154.

<sup>1027</sup> Cutajar, 1992, 22.





Image 20: St John's, *Ahnengalerie*, Epistle side, starting with Blessed Gerard, founder of the Hospital, in the narrow triade, from main door balcony. Artist: Mattia Preti, oil on limestone. Photo: Author

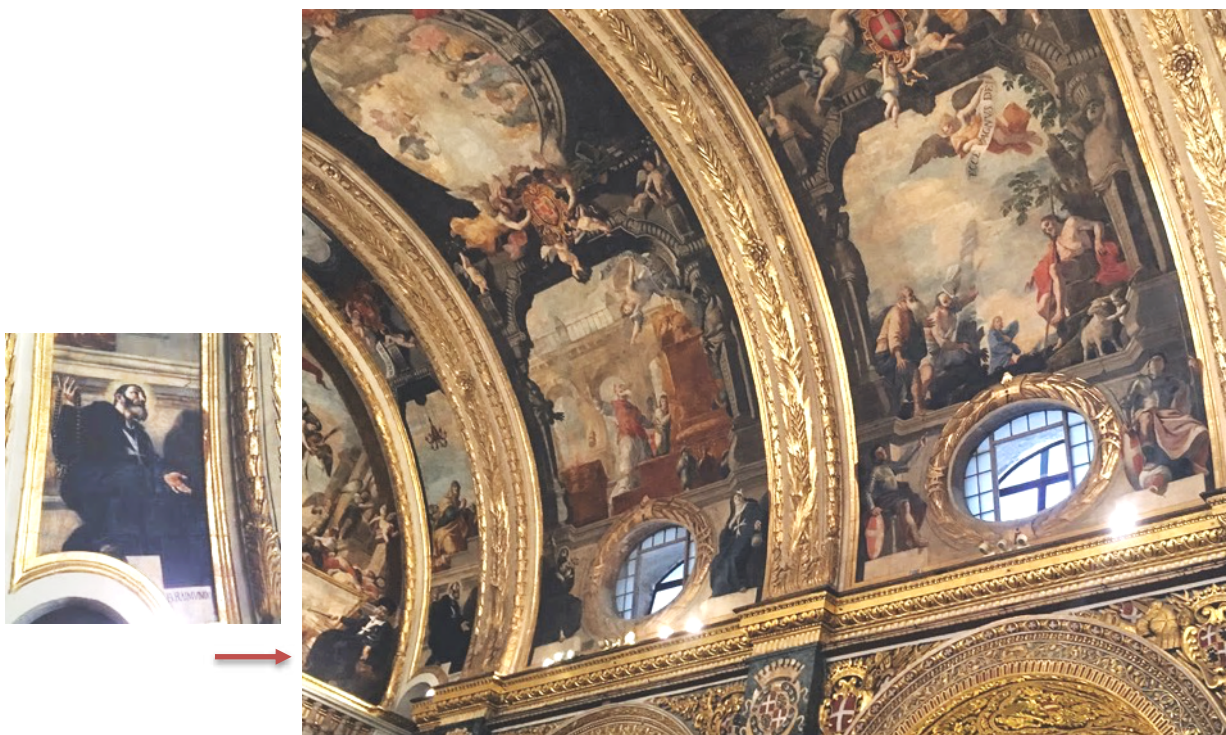


Image 21: St John's, *Ahnengalerie*, Gospel side, starting with Blessed Raymond du Puy, successor of the Blessed Gerard, in the narrow triade, from main door balcony. Artist: Mattia Preti, oil on limestone. Photo: Author



Figure 2: Distribution of the blessed and saints along the *Ahnengalerie*, frieze of St John's

Main Altar		
Sixth triade	Frà Juan d'Eguaras* Frà Melchior de Monserrat*	Frà Ambrogio Pegullo* Frà Aleramo Parpaglia*
Fifth triade	Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette Sir Adrian Fortescue	Grand Master Philippe Viliers de l'Isle-Adam Frà Pietro de Pogliese*
Fourth triade	Grand Master Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière. Frà Vespiano Malaspina*	Frà Pierre de Masseus*
Third triade	Frà Alessandro Sangiorgio* Frà Adrian de la Riviera*	Frà Alain de Montal* Blessed Pietro da Imola Frà Leone Strozzi <sup>1028</sup>
Second triade	St Nicasio <sup>1029</sup>	Blessed Gherlach or Gerland of Apollonia (of Poland-Germany) Don Garcia Martinez
First triade	Frà Ferrandino St Ubaldesca <sup>1030</sup> Blessed Gerardo Meccatti <sup>1032</sup>	St Toscana (of Zevio) <sup>1031</sup> St Flora (of Beaulieu) Blessed Gerard (founder of the Order)
Main door balcony side	Blessed Raymond du Puy (the successor of the Blessed Gerard)	
	Gospel side	Epistle side

\* Martyrs of the Religion who died in battle during the Great Siege of 1565

Nine out of 28 depicted *personae* were martyred during the Great Siege, and became Martyrs of the Religion. Nicholson argues that saints are often chosen who met with the needs of the Hospitaller Order.<sup>1033</sup> It is remarkable that nine of these saints, fallen heroes and martyrs of the Great Siege, have not found their way on a sepulchral slab. The Great Siege and the link to heroism is after all part of this *aula heroum*.

<sup>1028</sup> See Part III, Appendix I, no. 321.

<sup>1029</sup> Cutajar, 1992, 30. St Nicasio was a son of a Muslim convert and a Christian noble woman. The father, taking on the baptised name of Roger, was connected to Count Roger the Norman who re-established Christianity in Malta in 1090. St Nicasio became a Crusader and was killed in front of Saladin at Acre for refusing to convert to Islam in 1187, hence receiving martyrdom.

<sup>1030</sup> De Piro, 1999, 29. St Ubaldesca of Calcinaiia, close to Pisa. Born in 1136, she became a nun at fifteen, dedicating more than fifty years of her life to the sick. Grand Master Verdalle acquired some of her relics. They were removed from St John's and placed in the new church of St Ubaldesca at Paola, Malta.

<sup>1031</sup> Both St Flora and St Toscana were fourteenth century nuns belonging to the Order and had given their wealth away to the poor and dedicating their lives to the sick and poor.

<sup>1032</sup> From Villamagna, near Florence, c. 1174-c. 1245. A serving brother, *servant d'armes*, at the Hospital in Jerusalem. De Piro, 1999, 29, writes that his military prowess was so great that the Grand Master awarded him knighthood, notwithstanding the lack of a noble title. He returned from Palestine to continue his life in the Franciscan tradition and as a hermit. He is often depicted with holding twigs of a cherry tree, part of the *miracula* surrounding his life.

<sup>1033</sup> Nicholson, 2005, 91.

### 6.7 Protestant and post-Reformation perspectives on the Order's funerary art

The funerary art of the Order has an element of eliciting prayers, which is missing from the funerary art of post-Reformation Christian denominations. The images and texts found at the funerary monuments of University professors at Leiden, Oxford and Tübingen, all non-Catholic Christians of various denominations, also confirmed and strengthened their closed group, but did not go any further than to remember their lives and achievements. This is understandable, as there was an on-going iconoclastic debate in the Protestant faith regarding the characteristics of portraits and images as *Andachtsbilder* and *Totengedenkbilder*.<sup>1034</sup>

In Protestant funerary art, there is no 'active' interaction between the inscribed text (voice of the deceased prompting from beyond the grave) and the beholder, *i.e.* these funerary monuments do only promote the remembrance of a great member from their midst and the instructive value it may emit. The Protestant religious outlook is not to the benefit of the deceased's soul, but, as previously mentioned, merely to refresh one's memory about this person, *refricare memoriam*. In the Roman Catholic funerary art, the belief in Resurrection, good works, piety and eternal life in the Lord play an important part. The funerary art at St John's also emphasises the eternal life of the deceased's reputation and comes in this respect closer to the funerary art of the reformed Christian denominations, which show a humanist eternity, seeking to immortalise the deceased and his works.<sup>1035</sup>

The question remains, how much the Order's funerary art has in common with other Catholic or Protestant funerary art. In general, both denominations do not worship the slab or monument as a religious image. The slabs at St John's do not contain portraits of the deceased, that is a privilege only found at the sepulchral monuments of the Grand Masters, which all carry a bust or a corpse *gisant* in marble or bronze, or in the case of Grand Master Pinto, a portrait in mosaic (in *opus vermiculatum*). These sepulchral monuments of the Grand Masters were not intended as a devotional image in the sense of Roman Catholic images, such as the Crucifixion or an Image of the Virgin but were meant to have a contemplative function as is fit for a *mnemosynon*, a memorial. However, as aforementioned, they are also made to mark their place in the Hospitaller *Ahnengalerien* and *Sukzessionsbilder*.

In the funerary art dedicated to the professors, portraiture does appear, but this was allowed because these men were 'Men worthy of remembrance.'<sup>1036</sup> The funerary art also kept the deceased alive within the community and served as a source of inspiration,

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<sup>1034</sup> Scharfe, 1968, 238ff. Martin Scharfe argues that many pieces of funerary art include portraits and memento mori, not only to remember the deceased's achievements, but to keep the dead person 'alive' in living memory. The deceased's portrait was in the past just an element of a larger memorial. In the most pious Protestant circles any praise for the human elements in funerary art was frowned upon. At present a large photograph of the deceased is seemingly already enough to reach this effect of keeping a deceased person alive.

<sup>1035</sup> Knöll, 2003, 24.

<sup>1036</sup> *Eadem*, 35.

emulation, sound advice, piety and encouragement, in line with the theory of Oexle, that when the dead are named, they have a presence.<sup>1037</sup>

### **6.8 Assuring continuous memory**

From an early point in time, there is evidence that the sepulchral slabs were not only cared for but also restored and repaired. One example will suffice to get the idea: Frà Antonio Mastrillo died in 1619 and a slab was placed in his honour. In 1741, a relative with the same name paid for the restoration of the coats of arms and the inscription of the slab: 'Frà Don Antonio Mastrillo, a Knight of the same blood-lineage, of the same Order, restored in the Year of the Lord 1741 the coats of arms of the families and the inscribed eulogy, rendered on this slab but worn away by age, to a more tasteful state then before, lest the ravages of time obliterate such an outstanding man from memory.'<sup>1038</sup> There is thus an indication that repairs and replacement were quite common in the days when it was still a living floor of memory and commemorations during the period of the Order in Malta. How those repairs were carried out is difficult to say, although access to the right kind of marble should not have been too difficult.

### **6.9 Dispropriamenti: Hospitaller in-house testaments**

As with monks, the knights of the Order were not allowed to leave a last will and testament. Since they lived under the vows of chastity, obedience and poverty, there would be nothing to bequeath. However, over time, knights would accumulate personal wealth by means of *e.g.* the caravans, yielding spoils and booty. Because of regular periods at sea, the knights were obliged to make their *dispropriamenti* or Hospitaller in-house testaments every year. All their effects, assets and debts were to be written down. These documents were folded, sealed and placed in a locked coffer. They could only freely dispose of one-fifth of what they had accumulated over the years, the so-called *quinto*, to whomever they wanted, the only form of material heritage they personally were allowed to bequeath.<sup>1039</sup> The rest was called the *spoglio*. This remainder went back to the Order for redistribution: books to the library, weapons to the armoury, horses to the cavalry. Most of the time, arrangements were to free any slaves they had, laid down in the *disproprioimento*. Everything else of value would go the Common Treasury for redistribution or auction by the president of the Common Treasury. Various decrees were issued about this topic and Frà Philibert de Naillac dealt with these testaments and confessions which the brothers were to make before they embarked.

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<sup>1037</sup> Oexle, 1983, 31.

<sup>1038</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 302.

<sup>1039</sup> Stone, 2012, 572-93.

We enjoin all the brothers of our Order, who go on board the galleys or on other vessels, to confess themselves devoutly,<sup>1040</sup> and to make their disappropriation, which shall be sealed up and put into the hands of the prior of the church, or of his vicar or the sub-prior, on pain of being put to perform a quarantine on their return, and of losing a year's pay, if they are brothers of the convent; a commander shall lose one year's profit of his commandery, which shall be paid in to the common treasury.<sup>1041</sup>

Many knights had it recorded that they wished to leave their soul to God and they offered money for the repose of their souls and funds for charity. Furthermore, an influential knight might indicate where he wanted to be buried and in what fashion. Personal taste and influence played an important role here.

### **6.10 *Pompa Funebri*: Opulent and festive funerals**

There were also regulations for a funeral to be conducted with 'great decorum and devotion, as usual',<sup>1042</sup> the *pompa funebris*. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Baroque Europe, the ruling classes engrossed in opulent and festive funerals. Baroque cities became the magnificent décor for military parades, processions and grand funerals. Following this trend, the Hospitallers in Malta also took *Memento Mori* outside of St John's with its sepulchral monuments and made it live-events with often thousands of participants, even before the baroque age had started. Baroque transformed the funeral procession in a triumphal pageant, compared to the simple and sober funerary rituals of the common population. The Baroque death ritual became a very flamboyant expression of the passage, leading from this life to the afterlife, an unforgettable sending-off.<sup>1043</sup>

However, some members of the Order cautioned for prudence. Grand Master Gregorio Carafa states in his testament, made on 16<sup>th</sup> July 1690, the following:

We would like that Our body shall be buried in our Conventual church of St John in the Chapel of St Catherine and in particular in the tomb which we had ordered to make, and we would like that Our funeral shall be observed according to our traditions and befitting the Magisterial dignity, however without excessive vanity.<sup>1044</sup>

And so it was. The funeral of Grand Master Gregorio Carafa was a humble affair, and described accordingly by De Vertot. The prelude of the Grand Master's death is a failed attempt of his navy, supported by the Venetian fleet, to attack the naval base of the

<sup>1040</sup> In the Catholic faith it is held that without confession one is not able to die well. The rituals of dying could not be done properly without confession. On one's deathbed it was expected to make one's confession to a priest, to show repentance. The priest would then absolve the dying person, and in an act of solemnising these last rites, allow the soul first into Purgatory and, after cleansing and becoming perfect, that soul would be allowed into Heaven. See Crouch, 2002, 24-36.

<sup>1041</sup> De Vertot, 1728, Old and New Statutes, Title III under 6.

<sup>1042</sup> *Idem*, Title XIII; A.O.M section XIII, 1952-1957, *Caeremoniali*.

<sup>1043</sup> De Lucca, 2003, 7-38, here 7.

<sup>1044</sup> A.O.M. 925, f. 1r.

Ottomans at the Negroponte. In the end, the combined navies were forced to lift the siege, to the cost of the Order, which lost many men and 29 knights in vain. This news had upset the Grand Master tremendously. 'His grief, with a retention of urine which came upon him at the same time, throws him into fever. He gives away his effects, appoints his seneschal, brother Carlos Carafa as the lieutenant of the Mastership and thinks of nothing but another world'. He died shortly after on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1690, and his body was carried in procession to the Chapel of Italy, dedicated to St Catherine (within St John's Conventual church) where he had erected a monument for himself.<sup>1045</sup> As in the example of Grand Master Carafa, some knights had the humility to keep their funeral within certain proportions of modesty.

However, no knight would have an inglorious funeral, as they felt they were no ordinary commoners and it was thought that there was no better way to be remembered than in a spectacular way, with grand ceremony and *pompa funebris*. The backdrop of Valletta, with its large open spaces, mighty fortresses and the natural splendour of the Grand Harbour, the mooring place of the Order's fleets, was very well equipped to play its role in the *theatrum mundi* of the Baroque, with its usual splendid military displays, naval presence and religious processions of the Order.<sup>1046</sup> As an example of a funeral to illustrate great pomp, the one of Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette will be used. He was the first to be buried in the city which he founded, before Baroque made its presence, hence we can speak of a pre-Baroque *pompa funebris*.

De Vertot describes the last weeks of de Valette in a very vivid account, of which an edited excerpt follows here: During the summer of 1568, on 19<sup>th</sup> July, Grand Master de Valette rode on horseback to St Paul's Bay for a relaxing day of hawking. He developed a violent fever, presumably caused by sunstroke. After three weeks of suffering his strength finally gave way and he could no longer prolong the inevitable. He prepared himself, as a good Christian and a true Religious, for Death. He received all sacraments, denounced all property and freed fifty of his slaves. He had used part of his private capital of 12.000 *livres* to embellish the Chapel of Our Lady of Victories in Valletta, his desired burial place, and he gave the rest of his money to his servants. He gathered around him the Council and the commanders and principal knights and admonished them to keep their unity and peace among themselves. He died on 21<sup>st</sup> August 1568. His body was laid in state in the church of St Lawrence in Birgu, in the Chapel of Our Lady of Philermos. The next day the elections for the new Grand Master started and Pietro del Monte was elected two days later, on 23<sup>rd</sup> August. His first duty of piety was to pay the funeral honours of his predecessor.

The funerary was orchestrated as follows: De Valette's body was brought on board the Admiral's galley, of which all equipment and masts had been removed. It was towed by two armed galleys throughout the Grand Harbour, around the tip of the peninsula on which Valletta was built, and into the Marsaxmetto Harbour. The galleys were hung with black cloths and carrying ensigns and banners, de Valette's trophies of war, taken from

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<sup>1045</sup> De Vertot, 1728, Vol.I, XIII, 98ff.

<sup>1046</sup> *Idem*, 45ff.

the Ottomans and other Infidels. Another two galleys followed, once property of the late Grand Master, also covered with black cloths and funeral ornaments. These last two ships carried the new Grand Master, the Council, the commanders and principle knights, de Valette's household, his officers and servants. The household, officers and servants, all deeply in mourning, went ashore first, carrying torches and standards taken from the Ottomans. The clergy followed in solemn procession, carrying de Valette's corpse while chanting. Then came the new Grand Master, the Council and all the knights. They proceeded to the chapel of Our Lady of Victories where his remains were deposited.<sup>1047</sup>

At first, De Valette's last resting place was in the crypt of the Our Lady of Victories Church, and when St John's was functional from 1577 onwards, his cadaver was transferred to the crypt there. Grand Master Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière, 'reflecting on the dignity and also on the memory of his predecessors' had all the bodies of the previous Grand Masters, buried in Birgu or elsewhere, exhumed and reburied in the crypt of the Conventual church of St John's. De la Cassière had financed this project himself and had memorials placed for his predecessors too.<sup>1048</sup> Baroque was the artistic vehicle to ride out the triumph of the Catholic faith, inspired by Christ's Resurrection on Easter Sunday. Consequently, Christ's triumph over death was practically re-enacted during funerals and religious feasts.<sup>1049</sup> It is precisely Christ's triumph over Death which is a recurrent theme in the inscribed texts of the corpus of inscribed texts at St John's. The knights' ethos prescribes that a knight does not fear Death but sees it as a temporary inconvenience to reach eternal bliss at the side of the Lord in Heaven.

In the Order's architecture, the triumph of the Catholic faith was made eternal in many triumphal stone arches and additional Baroque facades of older and duller buildings. More ephemeral funerary art consisted of wooden contraptions, such as a catafalque or a *cappella ardente*, which could be easily mounted within a few days.<sup>1050</sup>

### 6.11 Conclusion

This chapter deals mainly with that part of the identity and self-image of the Knights Hospitaller where their memory and *memoria* are externalised in art. The floor is also unique as a commemorative tradition, as it tells a story of identity, heroism and piety, ethos and pathos, hospitals and charity, war and peace of the Order from its own perspective. It brings a sanitised version of the Great Siege and many other battles and gave the individual members the chance to profile their virtues, all to the credit of the Order.

In civilised society, the non-physical remains of the dead cannot be discarded of easily. The value of the 'dear departed' lies in what relevance they have to the living. To record

<sup>1047</sup> De Vertot, 1728, Vol. I, XIII, 45ff. The testament of Grand Master de Valette has yet to emerge.

<sup>1048</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 358.

<sup>1049</sup> De Lucca, 2003, 7.

<sup>1050</sup> *Ibid.* A *cappella ardente* was a contraption made of wood in which the deceased's body would lie in state during the funerary festivities. It was widely used in Europe. The first and most spectacular *cappella ardente* in Malta was made by the Baroque architect Romano Carapicchia in 1726. It was about 12 meters high and 6 meters in diameter. It was covered with hundreds of candles, hence the name *cappella ardente*. This contraption was first used for the funeral of Grand Master De Vilhena in 1736.



this relevance, humankind may use the instrument of memory to its discretion. As Gordon and Marshall bluntly put it, 'the living cannot ignore the dead.' Then the question can be asked if the living have any outstanding obligations to the dead, outside the issue of Purgatory. And if they have, to what extent can the world of the dead be allowed to influence and shape the world of the living? And what kind of status must the living give to the dead?<sup>1051</sup> For the Hospitallers, the relevant dead had much to offer beyond bereavement. Reflecting on memory and self-image, the *corpus* shows some important issues, both for the living and the dead. Bereavement and the act of commemoration by way of physical objects, in the case of St John's, sepulchral slabs and monuments with their texts, iconography, symbols and colours of marble, are essential to combat oblivion.

The floor offered the Order a wider perspective, and while remembering its deceased members, it could engage in an act of remembrance both individually (a particular hero) or collectively (*e.g.* all those heroes and martyrs who died in the Great Siege). Encapsulated in those floor slabs is also the history of the Order, its religiosity, its origins and *raison d'être*. A Hospitaller Knight could show a foreign guest the Conventual church and simply say: 'Now, take a good look, this is what we were, what we are and what we continue to be.' Since Malta had never experienced a Reformation, the position of the Hospitallers, their rights and duties, remained unchanged over the centuries and the Roman Catholic liturgy and traditions were never submitted to abolition. Although they had their own, strong religious outlook, the *memoria* and memory experience of the Hospitallers and the Maltese population were in some way influenced indirectly by the Protestant 'secularisation' or 'naturalisation' processes,<sup>1052</sup> in the sense that the cult of saints and martyrs not only became stronger but also more graphically violent during the following Counter-Reformation. Gruesome violence and unveiled horror were meant to, through shock and awe, drive home the naked truth about martyrdom.

Hospitaller memory was cemented both through macro- and micro-instruments, from the *pompa funebris* commemorations to the *disappropriamenti*. Artistic development helped tremendously in making visible the need of permanent memory building for the Hospitaller organisation, which could not function without a continuous feeding of the past to remain valid and relevant in the present. Creating the floor was a conscious decision regarding memory building, to honour and remember the past to justify the present course. The *corpus* is also an expression of Baroque mentality and art, although the material, polychrome intarsia, was not always the appropriate medium to carry out the Baroque taste, retaining many technical elements of the Renaissance. Baroque and the Counter-Reformation went hand-in-hand, and the festive exuberance fitted the image of the Order rather well.

Why did the Order commemorate their heroism? It was probably felt that they had to prevent it from oblivion, as when the generations who had fought in the siege of Rhodes, the Great Siege and Lepanto had passed on, the actual living memory was gone. Books were produced about these events, but that was not enough. The commemoration at St John's is to

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<sup>1051</sup> Gordon and Marshall, 2000, 1-16, quote on p. 1. Also, in the post-Hospitaller period, the Anglican influence on crown-colony Malta was minimal, as the Maltese remained staunchly Roman-Catholic.

<sup>1052</sup> *Idem*, quote on p. 10.

avoid that time will erode the heroic and selfless enterprise of the Hospitallers, so that oblivion is kept at bay and that their spirit must shine forth forever. At St John's, the culture of memory is integrated with commemoration; when one remembers the deeds of the Order and its individual members during a Mass, their living brothers, the celebrants, are directly involved because they are sitting, standing or kneeling directly on the commemorative floor, hallowed ground. The deceased brothers have become part of the tableau of remembrance and commemoration, as much as the concept of total art of St John's integrates every fibre of the church with the daily liturgical services.

The floor of St John's, except the monuments of the Grand Masters, seems to present a very two-dimensional playing field where each slab had to stand out on its own merits, visually aided with very attractive iconography and inscribed texts. Further support came from the symbols, allegories, personifications, emblems, escutcheons, heraldry, mottos, colours of marble and craftsmanship. In this context, achieving a prominent position of the slab was important, preferably where there was much foot traffic, near an altar, an entrance, exit or a prominent artefact. Also, one's slab could become more relevant than others when one either followed the artistic convention or trend of the time, or contrary, by being avant-garde or conservative. Whatever the case might have been, the dead needed an audience, and lots of it. The *corpus* at Malta proved to be their apex of *memoria* and the art of memory, bringing them unrivalled self-image and corporate identity.

Purgatory for them was real and all the brothers remembered, of course, that they were knights, not angels. However, Purgatory had not always been a matter of importance. The hospital in Jerusalem had started in a time when Purgatory was not yet generally accepted, an occurrence dating to the latter half of the thirteenth century.<sup>1053</sup> In the time of Gerard (d. 1120), the founder of the hospital, Purgatory as such did not seem to have played a large role, leading to the idea that the Hospitaller self-image went through a pre- and post-Purgatory version. It possibly became an issue within the remit of cohesion and self-image after the militarisation period had crystallised in the course of the twelfth century. Purgatory, oblivion and the repose of the knights' souls, *i.e.* the afterlife comes to the fore in the slabs and other works of art, whereby the concept of total art in the church cleverly weaves all the elements of the Order's identity and religiosity together. Following William Blake's saying that 'what is now proved was once only imagined,'<sup>1054</sup> the intertwined historical and emotional paths will presumably allow to see the Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image taking shape and changing over the centuries, maybe in the sense of another one of William Blake's winged sayings 'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom.'<sup>1055</sup>

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<sup>1053</sup> Le Goff, 1990, 133ff.

<sup>1054</sup> Blake, 1798-90, 8.

<sup>1055</sup> *Idem*, 7.

## Chapter 7 Hospitaller self-image

### 7.1 Basic notions of Hospitaller self-image in the corpus

At this point, it is maybe proper to return to a few basic notions of the Hospitaller self-image, comprising matters such as heroism, piety, charity and wealth, ethos and pathos, all forming the quintessential building blocks of the Hospitaller secular and sacred identity, from which *memoria* could be constructed. These basic notions are distilled from the inscribed texts of the *corpus*, now informing us on cultural and social matters.

### 7.2 Early self-image

De Vertot had a few things to say about some of the self-image aspects of his confreres. He was aware that the beginning of the hospital was obscure, but that it slowly started taking shape as 'an illustrious body of monks, at first confined to the narrow bounds of the Hospital,' whose 'humility of a careful attendance upon the sick and the provision for the poor' then 'extended their zeal and their power' when they decided to take up arms against Infidels, the 'professed enemies of the Christian religion.' De Vertot reminisces on the Golden Age of the Order in a literary fashion just as the whole interior of St John's does artistically, about a remote period when 'charity and the bond of all Christian virtues did not forsake them, even in their conflicts with the Infidels.' The Knights Hospitaller were 'capable of joining the peace of religion with most distinguishing courage in the field.'<sup>1056</sup> This union of so greatly contrasting characteristics was a novel development. The combination of Christian piety and military prowess was a crucial factor according to de Vertot, as they were bound to maintain their virtue and charity even in battle with the Infidels, 'for notwithstanding all the advantages they gained over them in battle, they were satisfied with disarming the Barbarians and, amidst the triumphs of victory, sought only to convert the enemy, or at least to disable them from doing mischief.' This concept of preventing the enemy of doing further harm returns in works of art at St John's, especially in the sepulchral monument of Grand Master Nicola Cotoner and the painting by Mattia Preti *The Allegory of the Triumph of the Order* (for both, see chapter 8.11 *Turcica in Malta*). De Vertot, as people had done before him, compares the Hospitallers to the Maccabees, 'constantly opposing the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage has been invincible.'<sup>1057</sup> However, afterwards, says de Vertot, the Hospitallers grew increasingly careless in the strict practice of the many different virtues they ought to possess, 'tis but too notorious, that the religious character was often lost on the soldier.'<sup>1058</sup>



<sup>1056</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol.1, Preface, 3.

<sup>1057</sup> *Idem*, vol. I, book I, 1.

<sup>1058</sup> *Idem*, vol. 1, Preface, 3.

### 7.3 From monk to Religious

These knights are known in a variety of names at present, Knights Hospitaller, Knights of Malta or Knights of St John and are often mistakenly described as monks, monks of war, warrior monks, nurse-soldiers and several other variations. At times, the works of great scholars are sensationalised by their publishers. A case in point is Seward's excellent account on the various orders in the Holy Land, but perhaps the title, *The Monks of War*, was invented to make it more catchy and marketable.<sup>1059</sup> Hospitallers called themselves, at least during the period they were in Malta, either *Frater Ordinis*, in the meaning of a Brother of the Order, or *Religiosus Ordinis*, a Religious of the Order. As an example of the former, on the sepulchral slab of Miguel Juan Cotoner one may find *CINERES COMMEMORABILIMUM FRATRVM ORDINIS* (the ashes of the commendable Brothers of the Order).<sup>1060</sup>

The word *religio* has many meanings in Latin, such as, in the Classical meaning, worship, sanctity, reverence or fear of a divinity. The sense also includes the whole system of religion and worship, with its rituals and ceremonies. In the medieval sense, the meaning was extended to mean an order of monks or nuns (the *corpus* specifically does not mention the word *monachus*, monk, but it is understood within the context of *religio*). Calling themselves *Religious* is amply supported by examples provided by the *corpus*. All members of the Order were Brothers, of which some were conventual priests (*PRESBYTER CONVENTUALIS*) and others were Knights of the Jerusalemite Militia (*HIEROSOLYMIYANAE MILITIAE EQUITES*). Some samples will suffice: In no. 375 (line 5) Frà Louis du Mesnil de Simon of Maupas is mentioned as a *RELIGIOSO EQVITI*, a Religious knight. Frà Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt was pious without pride, a prime example of a military Religious (no. 92, line 18 *PIUM SINE FASTU, RELIGIOSI MILITARIS ARCHETYPON*).<sup>1061</sup> In the corpus there is no example of the appellation 'Brother Knight'. The word *MILITIA* appears first in the context of the Knights Templar in Jerusalem during their foundation period from the 1120s onwards.<sup>1062</sup>

These *Religious* were members of a military order, which, says Sire, is by definition a religious one.<sup>1063</sup> To refine this opinion, military orders were orders of the Roman Catholic Church, whose members were, at least in the higher ranks, professed Religious, subject to canon law, with the addition that male members were allowed to bear arms as part of their duties.<sup>1064</sup> Hence, professed knights of the Order and the non-professed members, such as Donats of Devotion, could bear arms, but the Sisters of St Ursula could not. Huizinga remarks that the three large orders of the Holy Land (Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonic Knights) and the three Spanish orders (Order of Calatrava, and the Order of Santiago a.k.a. the Order of the Sword), were the 'purest embodiment' of the medieval spirit originating from the fusion of the ideal of monks and knights at the times

<sup>1059</sup> Seward, 1995.

<sup>1060</sup> *Idem*, no. 141.

<sup>1061</sup> From the Greek ἀρχέτυπος

<sup>1062</sup> Demurger, 2013, 15.

<sup>1063</sup> Sire, 2016, 13.

<sup>1064</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 1.

when the struggle against Islam came about in Spain and Palestine.<sup>1065</sup> Riley-Smith, on the other hand, describes that, among many historians, there seems to be a consensus on the idea that orders were *sui generis*,<sup>1066</sup> as each order in the Holy Land was a class on its own, although there were commonalities in the sense that they all had a rule, structure, goods, uniform clothing and papal approval.<sup>1067</sup> This made them different from other chivalric orders, such as the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was a fifteenth-century dynastic and ceremonial order of the French King Philip the Good, as much as the Order of the Sword was a dynastic order of the House of Lusignan of Cyprus in the late twelfth century.<sup>1068</sup>

Within this context, St Bernard of Clairvaux, the driving force behind the Order of the Temple, in late 1124 or early 1125, tried to convince Abbot Arnold of the Cistercian house of Morimond not to travel to the Holy Land with a large number of brothers to set up a monastery there, since the realities there were for 'fighting knights, not singing and wailing monks.'<sup>1069</sup> Again, the necessities in the Holy Land for the new knighthood was to be fighting outside of their monastery and praying when they were inside, which suggests that some degree of fusion between monk and warrior was allowed. However, it seems more likely that the knights of the Order of the Temple were dedicated warriors who may have lived like a monk when at their headquarters and may have had shared attributes but were not quite monks. The solution for the Knights Hospitaller was to call themselves 'Religious', avoiding the issues of separation between monkhood, priesthood, nurses and knighthood. Although in the period of the eleventh and twelfth century lay warriors could justifiably and laudably engage in bloodshed against the listed enemy, the monk who did likewise, even when his action could be justified, ran the risk of being declared unfit for service. In the Great Siege of 1565, this was viewed much differently, as Fr. Roberto mentioned earlier fought as bravely as any soldier, sword in one hand, crucifix in the other.<sup>1070</sup>

#### 7.4 The Hospitaller name

From the *corpus* it can be gleaned that they did not call their order, at least in the funerary and sepulchral self-expressions, the *Hospitallers* or *Hospitaller Order*, they referred to it as the *Order*. Nonetheless, the *corpus* also frequently records the name as the *Sacred Order* and less frequently as the *Religious Order of Jerusalem* or *Sacred Jerusalemite Order*. Occasionally, *Holy Order of Saint John of Jerusalem* and *Jerusalemite*

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<sup>1065</sup> Huizinga, 198, 78.

<sup>1066</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 1.

<sup>1067</sup> Demurger, 2013, 159.

<sup>1068</sup> Vaughan, 1970. The Order of the Golden Fleece, or *Toison d'Or*, was a Burgundian affair, created on 10<sup>th</sup> January 1430, originally for a small number of knights, 24 in total. It served, in the early years, to tie the higher nobility through a common bond of chivalry and then to protect the prince, enhance his prestige and to structure his daily life. At times, the members were also active on the battlefield. In 1464, a knight of the Golden Fleece was elected by Philip le Bon as his Crusading leader, but this enterprise was abandoned prematurely in the south of France and never made it to the Holy Land.

<sup>1069</sup> Barber, 2007, 12-13.

<sup>1070</sup> Remensnyder, 1992, 280-307.



*Order* are recorded. *Military Order of Saint John of Jerusalem*, *Maltese Order*, *Sacred Order of the Hospital*, *Hospital Order of Jerusalem*, *Jerusalemite Order of Saint John* and *Order of Saint John* are mentioned only once.<sup>1071</sup>

The word *hospitaller* does not appear in Classical Latin, it is a word coming about with the hospital services supplied by, among others, the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem and consequently the network of hospices along the routes to Santiago and Jerusalem. When the hospital of St John in Jerusalem was acknowledged by Pope Pascal II in his Bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis* of 1113,<sup>1072</sup> the word *hospitaller* is not mentioned, but the founder of the hospital, Gerard or Gerald is addressed as *institutori ac praeposito Hierosolimitani Xenodochii* and his hospital work, *piis hospitalitatis tuae studiis*, the 'pious earnestness of your hospitality' *hospitalitas*, was praised. Also, the word *Hospitaller* does not appear in the official name of the Order of St John. The modern name is the *Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta*, although in 2018 a decision was made to drop the *military* and *sovereign* from the title, resulting in the *Order of Malta*, as can be noticed in the website of the Order.<sup>1073</sup>

It remains unclear when the word *equites hospitalarii*, Knights Hospitallers, appears first as an appellation used within the Order itself. In the first years of the twelfth century, the title *hospitalier* or *ospitalari* was used by all the brothers of the Hospital.<sup>1074</sup> De Vertot reproduces the Old and New Statutes of the Order, translated from French into English from the edition of Borgoforte, Title 1, article 1 by Raymond du Puy, the successor of the Blessed Gerard (r. 1121-1160), is followed by an article regarding custom, which in the second paragraph mentions that the Knights Hospitallers '...are to wear on their clothes a cross with eight points, to put them in mind of bearing always in their heart the cross of Jesus Christ, adorned with the eight virtues that attend it, and that, after a bountiful distribution of alms, they take the sword in hand to attack and demolish the Mahometans and such as deviate from the faith.' The date of this custom is unclear, as this custom was already instituted by Gerard; this article, no. 3, is of the hand of Raymond Berengar, the 30<sup>th</sup> Grand Master of the Order (r. 1365 to 1374) in Rhodes.<sup>1075</sup>

The Classic Latin adverb *hospitaliter* does not appear in the *corpus*, while the medieval Latin *Hospitalarius* appears as an adjective only seven times, but never as an adjectival noun, i.e. on its own. *MAGNO ORDINIS HOSPITALARIO*, Grand Hospitaller of the Order, *LEGATVM HOSPITALARIVS*, Hospitaller envoy or envoy of the Hospital. Calling the Order of St John the 'Hospitaller Order', as is done in this work, is an appellation based on medieval Latin, *Hospitalarius*, a provider of hospitality,<sup>1076</sup> and *frater hospitalarius*, Knight Hospitaller.<sup>1077</sup> It is quite logical that a medieval appellation was given to the Hospital

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<sup>1071</sup> Munro, 2005.

<sup>1072</sup> Camilleri, 1998, 17-37.

<sup>1073</sup> <https://www.orderofmalta.int>

<sup>1074</sup> Beltjens, 1995, 156.

<sup>1075</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. 1, 8.

<sup>1076</sup> Latham, 1965. First usage recorded in these sources was in the thirteenth century. It is likely that other sources would have recorded such usage earlier.

<sup>1077</sup> *Ibid.* First usage recorded in these sources was in the fourteenth century. It is likely that other sources would have recorded such usage earlier.



workers, as the Classical Latin did not know such hospitals and had no word for it. A sample of the appellation *hospitallers* is offered by Errico Cuozzo from 1291, *nota que los espitalier fon / de[...]on los merchan de la costa de malfia /en Jerusiliem*, that the hospitallers are...the merchants of the coast of Amalfi in Jerusalem.<sup>1078</sup>

### 7.5 The importance of Jerusalem

Jerusalem appears frequent in the *corpus* of inscribed texts at St John's in the context of identity and belonging. After all, Jerusalem was the Hospitallers own place of inception, where their founder Gerard had taken many rather bold decisions regarding the direction and structure of the early hospice. The word 'Jerusalem' appears in some orthographical variants, either as a noun, adjective or normalised adjective.<sup>1079</sup> At times the word 'Jerusalem' appears in the formula of the 'Jerusalemite Order of St John', to bring out the origins of the Order, both in place and patron saint. Frà Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière, better known as Frà Jean de la Cassière, was named as the Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Hospital,<sup>1080</sup> and when Frà Philip de Villiers l'Isle-Adam calls himself the Master of the Hospital, the word 'Jerusalem' must be understood.<sup>1081</sup> The adjective 'Jerusalem' appears numerous times in the formulae of the 'Jerusalemite' Order, Cross, Knighthood, Militia, Naval Militia, Fleet, Religion, Lords, Knight, Church, Name, Reputation, Hospital, Count, or Soldier. In this context, in its adjectival use, the combination, in translation, of the 'Jerusalemite Militia,' appears very often, and it also appears as a normalised adjective 'Jerusalemite,' with Militia understood. Frequent are also 'Holy Jerusalemite Cross' and 'Holy Jerusalemite Militia.' Don Frà François de Panisse is honoured as a knight of Jerusalem, *EQUITI HIEROSOLYMITANO*, which may be a touch of nostalgia,<sup>1082</sup> while the same can be said of Frà Jacques de Virieu Pupetieres of the Hospital Order of Jerusalem, *ORDINIS HOSPITALITATIS HIEROSOLYMITANI*.<sup>1083</sup> A common occurrence is a 'soldier of Jerusalem,' *MILITI HIEROSOLIMITANO*,<sup>1084</sup> and less frequent, a knight of the Sacred Jerusalemite Hospitality, *SACRAE HOSPITALITATIS HIEROSOLYMITANAE EQVES*,<sup>1085</sup> of the Sacred Religion of Jerusalem, *SACRAE HIEROSLYMITANAE RELIGIONIS*,<sup>1086</sup> of the Religious Order of Jerusalem, the Holy Order of Jerusalem or simply knight of the Order of Jerusalem, *EQVES SACRI ORDINIS HYERSOLYMITANI*. In contrast, the concept of the 'soldier of Christ', *MILES CHRISTI*,<sup>1087</sup> created during the reign of Pope Gregory VII and

<sup>1078</sup> Cuozzo, 2009, 84. Reference is also made to the Amalfitans, who took the first initiative for the hospital in Jerusalem.

<sup>1079</sup> Munro, 2005. Examples of orthographical variation: *HIEROSOLEMITANA*, *HIEROSOLIUMITANAE*, *HIEROSOLIMITANA*, *HIEROSOLIMYTANO*, *HIEROSOLYIMITANAE*, *HIEROSOLYMARIO*, *HIEROSOLYMITANAE* (most frequent of all), *HIEROSOLYMOREM*, *HIERSALEM*, *HIJEROSOLIMITANI*, *HIJROSOLYMITANAE*, *IEROSOLYMITANI*, *IERUSALEM*, *IERVSOLIMITANAE*, *IHEROSOLIUMITANIS*, *JEROSOLIMITANI*, *JERSUSALEM*.

<sup>1080</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 361.

<sup>1081</sup> *Idem*, no. 358.

<sup>1082</sup> *Idem*, no. 164.

<sup>1083</sup> *Idem*, no. 200.

<sup>1084</sup> *Idem*, no. 41.

<sup>1085</sup> *Idem*, no. 161.

<sup>1086</sup> *Idem*, no. 301.

<sup>1087</sup> *Idem*, no. 159.

Pope Urban to fuel enthusiasm for the crusades, appears only once.<sup>1088</sup> Names used by groups are important self-identity markers to ensure that a sense of belonging becomes embedded in the very fibre of the group members.<sup>1089</sup> Identity construction and prestige building are taking place here through the appropriation of the name Jerusalem, the city attributed with the very roots of the Religion.

### **7.6 The Virtues: Cardinal, Theological and Honourable virtues**

Being virtuous was a great good for the knights, it defined and distinguished them. Virtue can be seen as the 'whole knight', virtues can be broken down in smaller parts. A sample of the first line of thought is represented in the *corpus* by Frà Don Fabrizio Franzone, who was, 'ripe in years, now riper for Heaven, most illustrious by noble birth, virtue and repute,' *GENERE, VIRTUTE, NOMINE CLARISSIMUS*, in summary, virtue was in his lineage and name. Acquiring virtues was a virtue in itself and practising what one preached and carrying out his resolve as an exemplary and most virtuous knight, was also virtuous in itself. In order to maintain the benchmark of what virtues represent and actually meant for leading a Hospitaller life, the Religious of the Order had many guidelines and rules to follow. There was the Bible in general, the Ten Commandments, their own Hospitaller Rule, and there was the emphasis on the virtues. Before going into the merits of the virtues (in section 7.7 of Allegories below), it is worth mentioning the Cardinal Virtues (Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance) and the Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity). These seven virtues appear very frequently in the *corpus* as they form the backbone of a knight's character as displayed in the *corpus*. They are many mentions of virtues, but much more than that, they were understood as being present even when not mentioned. Since possessing virtue is a mental state, it was thought that having virtue would lead to acquiring more virtue which would, in turn, lead to a better defence against vices. The Seven Deadly Sins are Pride, Anger, Lust, Greed, Envy, Gluttony and Sadness. Honourable life requires the following Honourable Virtues: Happiness, Religion, Patience, Virtue, Perseverance, Nobility, Victory and Fame.<sup>1090</sup> All these virtues are to be found in the inscribed texts of the *corpus*, on many public buildings the Order commissioned, such as churches, statues on corners of houses or in interiors of private and public building, such as the Grand Masters' Palace, the seat of the Order.

### **7.7 Allegories and virtues**

This section will discuss these allegories and virtues as basic notions with regard to the 'being' of a knight. Much of the art commissioned by the Order in Malta confirms its collective identity and at the same time subscribes to the values of the theological dogmas of the time. There is also considerable influence of Classical art and literature at St John's and in the *corpus*. Many allegories are depicted at St John's and other edifices in Malta.

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<sup>1088</sup> Barber, 2004, 35.

<sup>1089</sup> Kaplanis, 2014, 81-97.

<sup>1090</sup> Buttigieg, 2011; Ebejer, 2015.

These allegories are representations of Classical values of which the origins had been lost, but through the work of Humanist historians, philosophers and theologians were re-integrated and re-interpreted to become relevant again for the Renaissance *Zeitgeist* and beyond. Allegories found their way into Renaissance art and literature onwards and came to full bloom in the Baroque era. Their attributed meanings were relevant to the Order's memory and *memoria* goals.<sup>1091</sup>

According to Plato, the myths took place in another universe, close but yet very distant. He mentions five categories of *personae* who partake in this realm of the temporal and spatial: gods, daemons, the dead (those departed in Hades), heroes and men of the past. In the case of St John's and the *corpus*, it can be inferred that it is the sum of that Platonic 'temporal and spatial' universe, where the past instructs the present through a struggle of good and bad. There is God, centrally placed in the ceiling of St John's, beckoning both the dead and the living. The daemons are depicted by allegories of what was considered evil, such as Satan, Ottomans, Moors and followers of Mohammed. The departed in Hades have been replaced by the dear departed Knights Hospitallers, now in Heaven or on their way to Heaven but until further notice still remaining in Purgatory. The heroes are the Knights Hospitaller commemorated and celebrated in the *corpus*, in the *Ahnengalerie* along the freeze or those still alive and certainly worthy of a slab or monument at St John's. The men of the past are all those Knights Hospitallers collectively commemorated at St John's, forming the basis of the Order's memory and *memoria*.

At the Grand Masters' Palace in Valletta, the allegories also fit the habit of placing dedicated allegories in public buildings, for the purpose of moralistic-didactic education through images. These, of course, have a different function than statues of allegories at a church or courthouse. In this Palace, the Grand Master would receive sovereigns, ambassadors and other dignitaries in the State Rooms. All these State Rooms have wooden coffered ceilings, a symbol of wealth, as Malta has no forest from which to harvest tall trees. They also have frescoes, framed by allegories, depicting all kinds of biblical scenes and episodes from the Hospitaller history. These allegories are virtuous, but not only virtues. The former Council Room, now the Tapestry Hall where the collection of Gobelins is exhibited, has numerous frescos on its frieze depicting naval battles of the Order. The allegories framing these battles scenes are: Religion, Charity, Military Architecture, Virtue, Manhood, Vocation, Providence, Magnanimity, Naval Victory, Hope and Justice. It must be remarked that the allegories at the Grand Masters' Palace also follow the canon of symbols and meanings just as presented by Cesar Ripa.

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<sup>1091</sup> Brisson, 2004, 1.

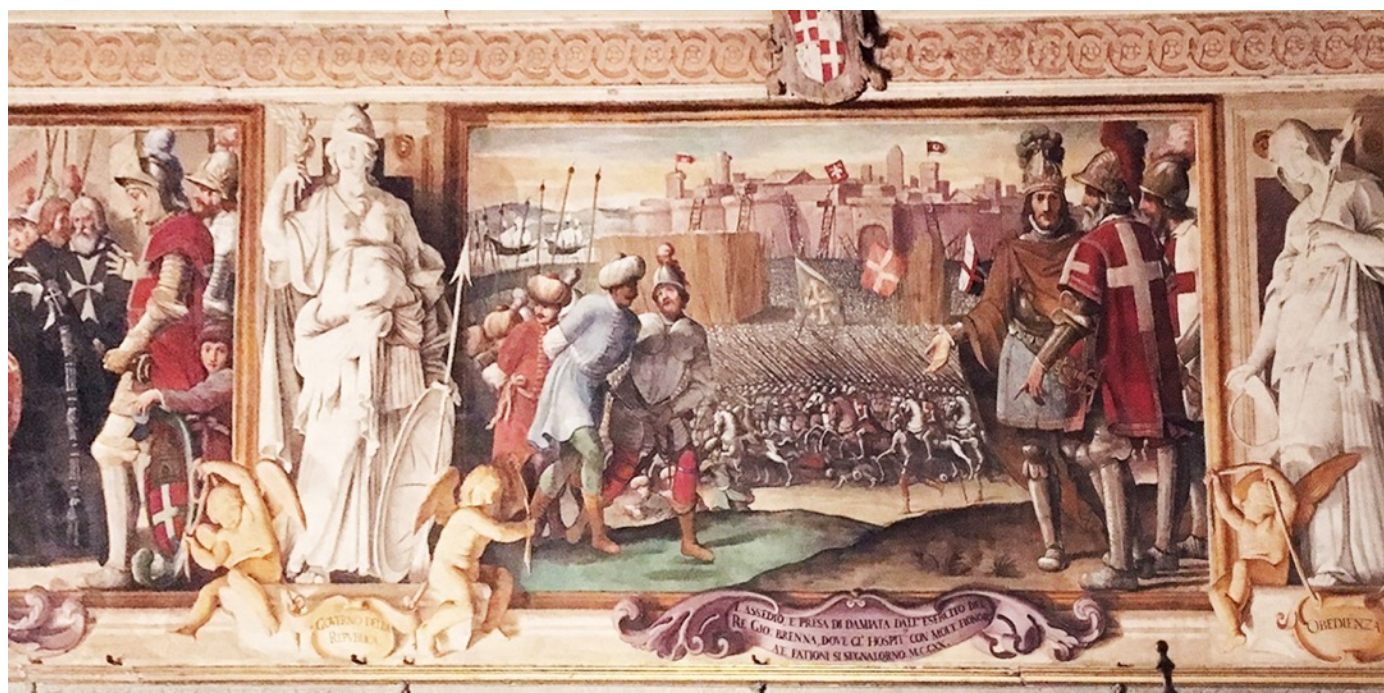


Image 22: The Siege of Damietta, in the Grand Masters' Palace, Valletta. Frieze frescos by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio. Photo: Author

In the ante-room of the Ambassador's Room, the former *Paggeria* or Page's Room, the pages would be waiting for the Grand Master when he was in council. At the same time they were educated about defining moments of the Hospitaller history and memory formation, such as the Siege of Damietta.<sup>1092</sup> This battle scene is flanked on the left by an allegory *Governo della Repubblica* and on the right by *Obbedienza*.

The largest and most lavishly decorated being the Supreme Council Hall, the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* (26 m x 11 m). The Grand Council Hall has along the upper side, along all four walls, a sequence of lime-based paintings depicting the Great Siege of Malta by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio (1547–1628). Standing in the middle of the room, one is surrounded by scenes of the Great Siege, from beginning to end.

Perez d'Aleccio, who arrived in 1576, was commissioned by Grand Master Jean de la Cassière to paint this cycle. Most probably, it was completed before the end of the sixteenth century, an exact date is not concluded. The whole sequence is painted in the Mannerist style, and the scenes of the Great Siege are framed by fifteen allegories of

<sup>1092</sup> Runciman, 1954, pp 124-29. The Siege of Damietta took place in 1218. Frisian Crusaders shipped, among others, Knights Hospitaller and Templars to the Nile Delta, where an unsuccessful siege of Damietta followed. Runciman writes that the Frisians left the siege early and sailed back home, claiming that they 'were punished for their desertion of the cause by death in a great flood that swept over Frisia the day after their arrival there.' Runciman must be referring to the First St Marcellus Flood (Sint-Marcellusvloed, feast day of the saint on 17 January). Lidström, 2018, 15-27, here 19: This flood occurred on 16 January 1219 and inundated the northern part of the Netherlands, i.e. Frisia, Groningen and the Zuiderzee region, making approx. 36,000 victims.



virtues.<sup>1093</sup> Matteo Perez d'Aleccio had worked on the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel before coming to Malta.<sup>1094</sup> Inspiration for these murals of the Great Siege and others in the Palace seemingly come from the Vatican. Among others, one may notice elements appearing in the section of frescoes dealing with the Battle of Lepanto in the *Sala Regia* and the series of frescoes in the *Sala di Constantino* regarding the victory of Christianity over paganism.<sup>1095</sup>

The allegories in the Supreme Council Hall represent the Cardinal, Theological and Honourable virtues and provide an idea what virtues knights should possess and certainly what virtues knights who had survived the Great Siege possessed. In order of precedence:

<i>Prudentia</i>	}	Cardinal virtues
<i>Iustitia</i>		
<i>Fortitudo</i>		
<i>Temperantia</i>		
<i>Fides</i>	}	Theological virtues
<i>Spes</i>		
<i>Caritas</i>		
<i>Foelicitas</i>	}	Honourable virtues
<i>Religio</i>		
<i>Patienza</i>		
<i>Virtú</i>		
<i>Perseveranza</i>		
<i>Nobilita</i>		
<i>Vittoria</i>		
<i>Fama</i>		

Having virtues is something a knight cannot do without and virtues are omnipresent in the *corpus*. A short treatment will be given of each virtue according to its existence in the inscribed text of the *corpus*.

<sup>1093</sup> For a detailed overview of the allegories and murals of the Great Siege in the Grand Masters' Palace, see Lochhead, 2009.

<sup>1094</sup> Lochhead, 2009, 10.

<sup>1095</sup> De Jong, 2003, 153-68.



Image 23: Allegories of virtues, frescos by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio, framing the battle scenes of the Great Siege. Frieze frescos at the Supreme Council Hall, Grand Masters' Palace. Photo: Author

### *The virtues applied at the corpus*

*Prudentia* appears mostly in a string of good qualities a deceased knight had possessed, such as, among others, *PRUDENTIA*, *PIETATE*, *SOLLICITUDINE*, *VIGILANTIA*, *IUSTITIA*, *TEMPERANTIA*, or as an acquired skill in completing a task. Frà Don Ferdinando Vargas y Castro was 'a man highly esteemed by everyone for his piety, generosity, charity, a Knight most illustrious for his character, prudence and magnitude of mind' ...*VIRO PIETATE, COMITATE, CARITATE OMNIBUS ACCEPTISSIMO, INGENIO, PRUDENTIA, ANIMI MAGNITUDE, EQUIITI CLARISSIMO*.<sup>1096</sup> Frà Don Mazzeo Grugno conducted an embassy to the court of the Viceroy of Sicily, with the prudence of those advanced in years.<sup>1097</sup>

*Iustitia* appears either in a string of qualifiers of a good character, e.g. *PIETATEM, IUSTITIAM, PRUDENTIAM* or as an application of a mental or moral judgement. Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, Frà Gaétan Bruno *PATRIAM DILEXIT, IUSTITIAM PERPETUO COLUIT, RELIGIONIS ZELO FLAGRANTISSIMO ENITUIT*, valued his fatherland, always was the guardian of justice, the shining example by his most ardent fervour of the Religion.<sup>1098</sup> Usually, an inscribed text starts with *D.O.M.*, and in the case of Frà Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème, it starts with *DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO, JUSTITIAS JUDICANTI*, To God, Supreme and Almighty, Passer of Judgements. <sup>1099</sup>

*Fortitudo*, strength, appears in the *corpus* both to describe physical power or mental resolution. Grand Master Antonio Manoel de Vilhena is also portrayed as *VERE PATER PAUPERUM, XENODOCHIA FUNDAVIT, MIRA MENTIS FORTITUDINE PRÆDITUS*, truly a father of the poor, he established alms-houses, endowed with an admirable determination of his mind.<sup>1100</sup> Strength for Frà René du Pré meant not a single virtue, but part of a string of virtues, *VIRO SINGULARI MENTIS SAGACITATE, FORTITUDINE PECTORIS, ANIMIQUE PIETATE PRÆDITO*, gifted with presence of mind, valiant disposition, and piety of soul.<sup>1101</sup>

<sup>1096</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 366.

<sup>1097</sup> *Idem*, no. 288.

<sup>1098</sup> *Idem*, no. 263.

<sup>1099</sup> *Idem*, no. 49.

<sup>1100</sup> *Idem*, no. 217.

<sup>1101</sup> *Idem*, no. 91.



*Temperantia*, self-control or restraint, is in the *corpus* a typical word to form part of a sequence of qualities, e.g. *PRUDENTIA*, *JUSTITIA*, *TEMPERANTIA*, *FORTITUDINE* (the four Cardinal virtues) 'The bones of Martino Plata, Bailiff of Novillas, Receptor of the Commandery of Tosina, most renowned for his prudence, righteousness, temperance, strength (*PRUDENTIA*, *JUSTITIA*, *TEMPERANTIA*, *FORTITUDINE*), are here awaiting resurrection. His name, especially in the memory of all the poor, will last longer than bronze.'<sup>1102</sup> For Bernardo de Vecchietti, Jerusalemite knight, Bailiff of Cremona, most celebrated according to everyone for his extraordinary observance towards God, stern self-control, valiant courage against the enemy, unshakable probity and striking forethought who, as a boy, rightly girded with the knightly sword-belt of Saint John, bore the burden of the Lord and never shook it off.<sup>1103</sup> There are only two instances of the word *temperantia* in the whole of the *corpus*. This may seem strange, as it is one of the Cardinal virtues, one would have expected a larger presence.

*Fides*, as a personal character trait, is very often mentioned in the beginning of an inscribed text, where, after the introduction of the deceased's genealogy, a string of good personal attributes are mentioned to give the reader an impression of the quality of the person, e.g. *HECTORIS PINTO DE MIRANDA, CUJUS STRENUITAS, PIETAS, INTEGRITAS, FIDES...*,<sup>1104</sup> while Miguel Doz had *ANIMI DOTIBUS SUPERAVIT IN SUMMA AMPLITUDINE RARA VIRTUS ET INCORRUPTA FIDES*, supreme gifts of the mind, rare virtue and unblemished faith.<sup>1105</sup> *Fides* does mean 'faith', but in the Hospitaller context, it also can mean 'good faith' or 'reliability,' and becomes, like the other virtues, building blocks of Hospitaller cohesion and self-image. The inscribed text of Frà Don Enrico de Rocafull starts with a motto, *FIDES SPES*, Faith, Hope, the first two of the Theological virtues, but leaves out *caritas*, the third one in this category.<sup>1106</sup>

*Spes*, or hope, is often used when Death is concerned or Resurrection and the release from Purgatory, 'the hope of resurrection with the chosen ones.'<sup>1107</sup> In one case, Frà Garsia Xarava Castro, is waiting in this place for the blessed hope of Christ and His advent.<sup>1108</sup> The hope of Frà Paul de Baroncellis Javon was cut short by Death, 'you, who are reading this, reckon from this how much he would have achieved, had he lived longer, but alas, Death carried off so much hope by a premature fate', *QUI LEGIS, COLLIGE EX HOC QUANTAS GESSISSET SI DIU VIXISSET, SED, HEU, TANTAM SPEM IMMATURO FATO MORS ADEMIT*.<sup>1109</sup> Other texts use *spes* as an expression of regret, in the sense that envious *Libitina* stole, by premature destiny a very bright hope of a noble family, *GENEROSE STIRPIS PRECLARAM SPEM INVIDA LIBITINA PRÆCOCI ABSTVLIT FATO*. It concerns here Frà Don Giovanni Gonzaga, son of Vincenzo II, Duke of Mantua and Monteferrato, grandson of the Empress,

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<sup>1102</sup> *Idem*, no. 154.

<sup>1103</sup> *Idem*, no. 378.

<sup>1104</sup> *Idem*, no. 138.

<sup>1105</sup> *Idem*, no. 285.

<sup>1106</sup> *Idem*, no. 383.

<sup>1107</sup> *Idem*, no. 83.

<sup>1108</sup> *Idem*, no. 11.

<sup>1109</sup> *Idem*, no. 287.

the Most August Eleonora.<sup>1110</sup> Having a son in the Order was truly a status symbol, even for the higher echelons of aristocracy. Another sample is *spes* when it is about to be lost in a siege but is being kept alive by courage. As *spes* is always the last one to die. According to the inscribed text of Flaminio Balbiano, 'courage in one city was keeping alive the waning hope of the whole Sovereignty,' *QVÆ IN VNA CIVITATE SPEM TOTIVS REGNI DEFICIENTEM SVSTENTABAT*.<sup>1111</sup>

In the oeuvre of art at St John's, allegories of Charity, *Caritas*, are depicted regularly on sepulchral slabs and monuments, in the form of a mother breastfeeding her child, the symbol of charity. According to the canon of Cesar Ripa, Charity also has an eternal flame on the crown on her head, signifying that she is never idle. Often there are three children displayed with her, the triple power of Charity, because Faith and Hope signify nothing without her.<sup>1112</sup> The breastfeeding symbolic is that it is a deed of eternal, unconditional love to give from one's self to people or animals who cannot survive on their own steam. Charity comes in different registers and intensities, as dying for your brother-knights was considered charity as well, saving their lives by sacrificing your own, this is not just everyday heroism. Others mention in their inscribed texts that they dispensed charity towards their neighbours, built hospitals or donated money for an orphanage to be constructed. Frà Pierre Viany was such 'an example to everyone in everything. He was frugal to himself, charitable to the poor, sumptuous to altars, and absolutely regardless of his family, he spent everything, whatever he had, on good works. Although he had even opposed a marble memorial for himself, yet the Most Illustrious Notables of the Common Treasury placed this slab to the memory of so great a man.' This last example gives a summary of an ideal Religious, frugal, charitable, pious, righteous, despising vainglory.<sup>1113</sup>

The scribe of Grand Master Ramon Perellos y Roccafull wrote that Perellos was equally famous for his probity as for his charity. Dispensing charity is one very important matter for the Order, a basic building block of self-image of the Order, in past and present.<sup>1114</sup> It is charity with which they started in Jerusalem in the tenth century, and this continues into the twenty-first century.

The *corpus* mentions people who were notable for their charity, serving the poor, the needy, the weak and the sick. In some extreme cases, the knights continued their task among the sick while endangering their own lives. Such self-sacrifice was noted in the case of Frà Louis le Nourry Dumesny Pontauray, whose inscribed text states 'that no one will offer greater charity than he,' *QUO MAIOREM NULLUS HABEBIT CHARITATEM*, since he, like a martyr, 'died for his Brothers in the function of Grand Hospitaller of the Infirmary.'<sup>1115</sup>

<sup>1110</sup> *Idem*, no. 168. *Libitina*, the Roman goddess in charge of burials and rites of the dead.

<sup>1111</sup> *Idem*, no. 227. It concerned an Ottoman attack on Crete.

<sup>1112</sup> Ripa, 1709, 12.

<sup>1113</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 70.

<sup>1114</sup> <https://www.orderofmalta.int/humanitarian-medical-works/> > Accessed on 17-11-2017.

<sup>1115</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 391.

Sufferers of the plague were always close to the outpour of charity, as during the stay of the Order in Malta between 1530 and 1798 at least ten outbreaks of plague have been recorded. On a few occasions, whole villages were decimated.<sup>1116</sup> In 1676, the plague made 11,300 victims from a population of just over 50,000. Thanks to the medical knowledge and quarantine, worse was prevented.<sup>1117</sup> Nicola Cotoner, Grand Master between 1663-80, announces in his inscribed text that he 'could barely save the population from the jaws of the plague.'<sup>1118</sup> At times, the plague would break out even on board of the galleys too. In his drive to develop better medical knowledge, Grand Master Nicola Cotoner established a school for anatomy and for the study of medicines.<sup>1119</sup>

Although the noun *foelicitas* only appears on a few occasions, moreover in different orthographical variants and conjugations (*faelicitati, felicitate*), the adverb *felicitur* is a very frequently used word in the *corpus*. Frà Manuel de Almeida y Vasconcellos *CUI RELIGIO, PRUDENTIA ET PUBLICA FOELICITAS PARENTANT* whose reverence, prudence and public welfare were appeasing. Frà Alexander de Loubert Martainville was probably one of the very few people of whom they could say that he *FELICITER DECESSIT*, died happily.<sup>1120</sup> *Felicitur* is here mostly interpreted and translated as *happily*, a state in which someone or an achievement is *successful*. Felicity, or happiness, is a requirement to be at peace with one's self and working for public welfare is a happy virtue because it belongs to the Hospitaller remit and core activity.

Most of the slabs and monuments would have a reference to *religio*, both religion and the Religion, *i.e.* the Hospitaller Order. See further chapter 7.3. *From monks to Religious* above.

Patience, or *patientia* appears regularly and has often to do with the charity of the Order or one's own death. Frà Domenico Antonio Chyurlia departed from life after he had endured bravely and with incredible patience a virulent and long-lasting illness.<sup>1121</sup> Others would make people enjoy the warmth of their patience and presence. Frà Joseph Marc-Antoine de Robins Barbantane was exhausted by old age, after he endured a trying illness to the end with the utmost patience, *SENIO CONFECTUS, LONGO MORBO PATIENTISSIME PERLATO*.<sup>1122</sup>

*Virtu* is used widely and in many circumstances, from Christian virtue, a pious man, to Roman virtue, a brave soldier. There are two forms of the word, *virtu* and *virtú*, with each a different meaning. The first *virtue* is representing moral excellence and efficacy, or, as Cicero remarked, *tenere autem virtutes eas ipsas*, virtue is its own reward.<sup>1123</sup> With the other virtue, *virtú*, reference is made to military virtue.

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<sup>1116</sup> Blouet, 2004, 81, 87

<sup>1117</sup> *Ibid.*; Grech, 2013, 9-27.

<sup>1118</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 183.

<sup>1119</sup> Farrugia Randon, 2006, 42-48.

<sup>1119</sup> Grimal, 1991, 153.

<sup>1120</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 394.

<sup>1121</sup> *Idem*, no. 117.

<sup>1122</sup> *Idem*, no. 18.

<sup>1123</sup> Cicero, 1914, III, 224-5.

*Virtu*: Frà Annet de Chattes Gessan was elected Grand Master because his virtues won the election as his merits had raised him to the top well before, *EVM APICEM MERITA IAMPRIDEM EXEGERANT, VOTA NVNQVAM PRÆSVMPSERANT, SED VIRTUTES TVLERE SVFFRAGIVM*.<sup>1124</sup> Ancestral virtues are important, as they can be inherited, put into good practice and can be buried with the owner.<sup>1125</sup> There were warlike virtues, virtues of piety and peace, tested virtues, virtues still coming to maturity, virtues which are true and not feigned. Virtues may be lost to posterity when they are not carved in stone. Some people possessed an abundance of virtues and Frà Louis du Mesnil de Simon du Maupas... 'praiseworthy cultivated throughout his whole life all virtues which are appropriate for a Religious knight,' *QVI OMNES VIRTUTES QVÆ RELIGIOSO EQVITI CONVENIVNT PER TOTAM VITAM LAVDABILITER EXCOLVIT*.<sup>1126</sup> All of the sepulchral monuments and slabs truly want one thing, namely that the virtues of the deceased are emulated and not lost. Frà Don Gaspar de Figuera is straight forward about it: 'Look for his virtues, better still, read so that you may emulate them, without doubt Death cannot carry away these strengths, which ought to be preserved all in him forever. You will discover which are the ones suitable for a Jerusalemite knight, especially the extraordinary love for one's Order and the observance of its laws.'<sup>1127</sup>

*Virtú*: Acting as a true knight in battle was essential for a *miles Christi*, as it brought honour and virtue. Frà François de Vion Thesancourt had both the splendour of his birth and his military prowess, *NATALIVM SPLENDORE MILITARI VIRTUTE*,<sup>1128</sup> while the *BELLICA STRENVITATE*, brisk warlike qualities of Frà Pompeo Rospigliosi remained unchallenged.<sup>1129</sup> *Virtù* represents also a drive or ability for achievement, together with a stable character as opposed to *Fortuna*, who was unbalanced.<sup>1130</sup>

It is a rather peculiar situation, but the word *perseverantia* does not appear in the *corpus*. One would have thought that perseverance would be a good thing to have as a Hospitaller and as a soldier. In the face of adversity, be it either diseases or enemies, perseverance is often what saves the day.<sup>1131</sup> Possibly, without perseverance, none of the virtues would work, as an effort is needed to be virtuous. Instead of *perseverantia*, *constantia* is used for constancy, perseverance, firmness, steadiness etc. *CONSTANTISSIME PROELIARETUR*, relentlessly fighting by Antonio Mastrillo or *MIRA CONSTANTIA*, admirable perseverance shown by Frà Giovanni Minutillo,<sup>1132</sup> are samples of this alternative use.

<sup>1124</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 173.

<sup>1125</sup> *Idem*, no. 47

<sup>1126</sup> *Idem*, no. 375.

<sup>1127</sup> *Idem*, no. 36.

<sup>1128</sup> *Idem*, no. 329.

<sup>1129</sup> *Idem*, no. 158.

<sup>1130</sup> Oesterreicher-Mollwo, 1991, 55; Grimal, 1991, 155. In Ripa, 1709, 33, *Fortuna* is described as *Fortuna Buona*: A woman about to sit down, leaning her right arm upon a wheel, instead of the celestial globe, holding a *Cornucopia* in her left hand. As the Wheel is sometimes up, and sometimes down, so Fortune *changes*. The *Cornucopia* denoted her being the Disposer of *Riches* and the *good things* of this world; and the Wheel being continually in motion, so Fortune is fickle, and ever and anon *changes*, sometimes abasing one, and exalting another.

<sup>1131</sup> Ripa, 1709, 19, fig. 76 *i.e.* steadfastness, constancy, perseverance. Ripa preferred *constancy*.

<sup>1132</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 367.

*Nobilitas* also represents a state of being, part of one's genealogy, or intangibility, nobility of the mind. Don Antonio Alifia, *GENERIS NOBILITATE CONSPICVVS, CORPORIS ANIMI QVE DOTIBVS IN PAVCIS SVSPICIENDVS*, illustrious by the nobility of his blood-lineage especially admirable for the gifts of his body and soul.<sup>1133</sup> The readership of the sepulchral monuments and slabs must be informed that a certain member of a renowned family had succeeded in meeting the norm and had advanced the renown of the family, hometown, fatherland and Order. When they did, such occasions were displayed with great pride, such as when Giovanni Francesco Ganucci of Florence, barely 27 years old, met the great expectations for the good of the Order and of the Fatherland before he was snatched away by an untimely death *MAGNAM SUI EXPECTATIONEM ORDINI ET PATRIÆ FECERAT IMMATURA MORTE PRÆREPTUS*.<sup>1134</sup> Heraldry had become such an important and tangible proof of one's aristocratic provenance, necessary to enter the Order in the highest ranks. The verification of a prospective Knights ancestry had to meet four criteria: a testimonial proof (by four other members of arms bearing aristocracy), a literal proof (deeds, contracts etc.), a local proof (commissioners were sent to a person's place of nativity), and finally a secret enquiry took place.<sup>1135</sup> The sepulchres at St John's reveal therefore true genealogy. Cicero complains about Roman tombstones, saying that many memorials contain false triumphs, too many offices, ranks and mythological genealogy.<sup>1136</sup> Flaig refers to this phenomenon as *memoricide*.<sup>1137</sup> Within a closed group such as the Hospitallers, one would be allowed to use flowery language to present oneself to the public, but it would have been hardly possible to invent offices, ranks or to win lost battles.

*Victoria*, victory or triumph, is mostly sweet and sometimes bittersweet. Victories over the enemies were indeed celebrated, but tragedies leading to missing a victory are not shunned either, as humility is a greater good. Augusto Maurizio Benzo de Santena, was the Captain designate of the Hospitaller flagship, when his life was cut short of celebrating the victory. He died during the capturing of a Mauritanian pirate ship in 1695. Although he had fought heroically, he was seriously injured and died on the spot, at the age of 27. According to the inscribed text, 'he did not deem that life was more important than death, if the former would lead to victory, than the latter would lead to triumph.'<sup>1138</sup> Brother Lord Giovanni de Giovanni declares that 'although his victory was shattered by Fate, albeit the shine was taken off, he routed the barbarians by his ferocity.'<sup>1139</sup> Death could be victorious only once, after which the victim would be victorious forever in Heaven with the Lord...'Frà Stefano Maria Lomellini, defeated by Death, here, in turn, awaits victory over Death, *A MORTE VICTUS, HIC DE MORTE VICISSIM VICTORIAM*.<sup>1140</sup>

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<sup>1133</sup> *Idem*, no. 301.

<sup>1134</sup> *Idem*, no. 110.

<sup>1135</sup> See De Vertot 1728, vol II, 13, 119ff.

<sup>1136</sup> See CIC. Brut. 62.

<sup>1137</sup> Flaig, 1995, 115-148.

<sup>1138</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 100.

<sup>1139</sup> *Idem*, no. 396,

<sup>1140</sup> *Idem*, no. 365.



*Fama*, in the Classical tradition, could fly very fast through the air and had as her companions Credulity, Sedition, Unfounded Joy, False Rumour, Error and Terror.<sup>1141</sup> In popular speech: When the Lie has already disappeared beyond the horizon, Truth is still putting on its shoes. A study by Guastella regarding *Fama* throughout the ages, describes *Fama* as she was known in the Classical era, one who celebrated publicly the accomplishments of Roman heroes. The word *Fama* in Latin means what 'is said' about a person or a thing, and it is always about a dual meaning, both rumour and renown are included, gossip and reputation,<sup>1142</sup> but never fame in the English sense. *Fama* is spread by talk in the corridors, gossip on the marketplace, a careless whisper overheard or a shout in the night and then it is away. Guastella's treatment fits in very well with the textual and pictorial treatment of *Fama* at St John's and other places where the Order had commissioned its art. At St John's it is not applied to Roman but to Hospitaller heroes. In these places, *Fama* is the personification of *Fama Chiara*,<sup>1143</sup> good Fame and is depicted as a female Angel of Fame with a very long trumpet, or even two, heralding the good reputation of the commemorated knight into the four directions of the wind. *Fama* appears regularly in the inscribed texts of the sepulchral monuments and slabs of the *corpus*, in the meaning of reputation, such as *FAMA IN HIEROSOLYMITANO*, his reputation among the Jerusalemite.<sup>1144</sup>

Furthermore, *Fama*, in the context of St John's, is exclusively used to shower persons with garlands, to praise a knight's reputation, but never rumour, because that would not be acceptable to God in this *Zeitgeist*. At St John's, *Fama* is not only a *personarum fictio* of a literary invention, but also a *dramatis personae* participating in all the micro-histories captured on the slabs: 'Fama, accepting and increasing his glory, placed this slab as the victress in the Year of Human Salvation 1686' for Frà Don Giovanni Battista Brancaccio.<sup>1145</sup>

In Guastella's work, the medieval personification of *Fama*-renown is discussed, as found in Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione* and Petrarch's *Trionfe delle Morte*. The latter's ideas are represented in St John's on the Flemish tapestries series donated by Grand Master Perrellos, where the unstoppable chariots claim victory. Three tapestries are in the same pictorial vein, namely the Triumph of Faith, the Triumph of the Catholic Church and the Triumph of Charity.<sup>1146</sup>

### 7.8 Other virtuous matters

The following section is about matters the Hospitallers gave a lot of weight and importance to, but do not belong to the described virtues a *miles Christi* ideally should possess, as can be found in the Supreme Council Hall at the Grand Masters' Palace. The following items are virtues in their own right because they are related to the Hospitaller

<sup>1141</sup> Guastella, 2017, 95

<sup>1142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1143</sup> For a description and depiction of *Fama Chiara*, see Ripa, 1709, 30, fig. 119.

<sup>1144</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 179.

<sup>1145</sup> *Idem*, no. 125.

<sup>1146</sup> <https://www.stjohnscocathedral.com/position-of-tapestries/> > Accessed on 20-12-2017



vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. It is part of their culture of memory, because they can relate to them, and of course, uniting in those virtues is Hospitaller cohesion *par excellence*.

Since there were many sepulchral slabs in the nave of St John's, pugnacious competition could be imagined, as all these slabs were individually vying for prayers of the passers-by for a release of their soul from Purgatory. Piety is an important argument here. If one could attract the eye of the passers-by with fantastic iconography and design, they surely would stop to read the text and make a prayer for the soul of that particular deceased knight: 'Passer-by, stand by with pious prayers. Here lies Frà Charles de Cremaulx.'<sup>1147</sup> Frà Anselme de Cais makes it very clear: 'You who tread on me will be trodden upon, even you, acknowledge this and make a prayer for me'.<sup>1148</sup> Even after death a certain amount of piety, prowess and wealth giving continued. All these slabs next to each other are also vying for individual attention for prayers of the living, creating competition about personal piety, pleasantness of character, heroism, charity, how much property they stewarded during life and how much wealth they brought in after their own death.

Piety becomes immeasurable and one can observe that the slabs tried to outdo each other. The inscribed texts were reflecting the corporate identity of the Order and at the same time showing personal reflections of individual knights, making them also excellent teaching materials for the next batch of knights. On analysing the inscribed texts, the iconography and symbolism of the sepulchral art, one is able to make a catalogue of the various meanings of piety and *memoria*. Piety applies to persons and the way they lived and died, *per bene vivendum*, *per bene moriendum*, living well and dying well. Their deeds, works, services and prayers could be pious, even their personal aspect. One could die most devoutly in the kiss of the Lord, place a slab as an obligation of piety or provide for the last farewell as a duty to piety. There is also piety towards God so that this piety may help to send a soul up to Heaven.

Even at the hour of one's death one had to preserve one's piety to the very end in the final wrestling match with death. Frà François de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, Bailiff of Manosque showed his 'piety in his due observance towards God and charity towards his neighbour.' At the end of his life he was 'exhausted by the incurability of a long-lasting illness by his invincible endurance, so that it may seem that Death did not assail him, but that he challenged Death to a wrestling match,' *DIVTVRNI MORBI PERTINACIAM INVICTA PATIENTIA SIC DEFATIGAVIT VT NON ILLVM MORS AGGREDI, SED ILLE MORTEM AD LVCTAM PROVOCARE SIT VISVS*. His piety must have anticipated that Death would once win, and he made the 'fruit of his becoming frugality the inheritance of the Common Treasury, so that even after his death, he would remain piously generous, as he could still come to the aid of the Jerusalemite Militia, not with the iron of his sword but with the abundance of his gold against the enemies of the Faith.'<sup>1149</sup>

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<sup>1147</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 180.

<sup>1148</sup> *Idem*, no. 289.

<sup>1149</sup> *Idem*, no. 138.

There is piety in bequeathing the Common Treasury with private funds and there is piety in leaving behind regret for one's absence after death. Even Death is regarded as pious, *Religiosa Mors*, 'Pious Death caught up with him when he was tortured by enduring pains, granting him eternal repose.'<sup>1150</sup> However, Death was mostly regarded as envious, *MORS INVIDA*,<sup>1151</sup> because she could do her job only once, and with the righteous there was not so much satisfaction involved as with those destined for Hell. Piety with regard to Purgatory is rather common: 'You, who are reading this, address a prayer for the eternal peace and repose of his most pious soul.'<sup>1152</sup> To live piously and to die piously and putting forth pious prayers can create a monument of pious remembrance.

Piety is part of a larger set of virtues, part of a personal eschatology as in the contemporary Roman Catholic view everybody will meet the Angel of Death and one is brought before the Archangel Michael who will be weighing your sins and virtues before concluding the sentence: Heaven, Purgatory or Hell. Through the intercession of Jesus Christ, Our Lady, St John the Baptist and all the saints and blessed of the Order, a knight had hope for the afterlife.<sup>1153</sup> Frà Don Juan Ximenez de Vedoja, Great Chancellor of the Order, had a clear vision about this decline: 'He lies in ashes, he who is forever burning with zeal of compassion, although uncorrupted in his judgements, he still lies here in decay. Behold! An exhibition of virtues, a spectacle of worms.'<sup>1154</sup> A rather vivid and graphic description, while others prefer their piety to be served in the form of humility. Frà Nicola Abri Dezcallar, Grand Prior of Catalonia, had his own way to express his piety as 'he died as a miserable sinner,' *pecador miserable*. This is not an *exemplum triste* but a statement of pious humility, a man who had probably led an exemplary life.<sup>1155</sup> Personally, of the whole *corpus*, I find the expression *PECADOR MISERABLE* one of the phrases worth remembering. It shows in one glance a high rank and awareness of the motivations to dedicate one's life to the Order, a miserable sinner who tries to make good his mistakes in life.

Piety then also worries about the Second Death, oblivion. Being a pious knight includes the aspects of honour and remembrance, which are as old as knighthood itself. To be forgotten means that all the physical and mental suffering a knight of the Order may have endured (suffering in imitation of Christ, as he was a *miles Christi* after all), would have been in vain. In the inscribed text of Frà François de Foresta Collongue, Commendator of Peyruis, one may read the wish that 'If only, just as he had come to accept the first death, could avoid the second!'<sup>1156</sup> In the case of Frà Don Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat the inscription states that 'His grave does not permit consigning his utmost compassion

<sup>1150</sup> *Idem*, no. 256, Gregorio Casha (d. 1771).

<sup>1151</sup> Guthke, 1999, 24: A curious case. *Religiosa Mors* and *Mors Invida* here a feminine, otherwise it would have been *Religiosus Mors* and *Mors Invidus*, as in *nauta bonus*, a good sailor. However, Roman art never depicted Death as female, always as male, *Mors Imperator* (Emperor Death) and not *Mors Imperatrix*.

<sup>1152</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 257, Charles de Guast.

<sup>1153</sup> See for a detailed account: Gurevich, 1993.

<sup>1154</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 129.

<sup>1155</sup> *Idem*, no. 374.

<sup>1156</sup> *Idem*, no. 350.

towards the poor, generosity and benevolence towards his friends to oblivion.’<sup>1157</sup> Oblivion had thus to be avoided at all cost because of the fear of being forgotten or rejected at the Last Judgment. Claude Jean Batiste de Fleurigny placed a sepulchral slab for his brother, Frà Hugo de Fleurigny de Vauvilliers, ‘should the virtues and merits of so great a man be surrendered to oblivion, and should there be no one available for the Jerusalemite Knights to imitate.’<sup>1158</sup>

Raimondo Despuig, Grand Master, was mentioned to be a ‘Religious Prince’. He was so pious that he had his sepulchral monument integrated with the altar in the chapel of Aragon at St John’s, what could be considered as the apex of piety. In brief, his inscribed text says that he added new lustre to this illustrious dignity by his virtues and stood out by example rather than by authority. Every month he organised a Mass to be held in this chapel, inviting a foreign preacher and collecting alms, he increased the silver decorations of the main altars and also arranged this altar to be carefully decorated with marble, and also leaving behind many other monuments of his generosity and piety here and elsewhere.<sup>1159</sup> To contextualise Despuig’s deeds, he decorated the altar in the chapel of Aragon with marble, and at the same time created his own sepulchral monument and integrated it with the altar. This is, of course, peak piety but also a very clever device to gain additional prayers for his soul, should that still be lingering in Purgatory. As an assumption, I would like to suggest that every time that altar was used, it was hoped or presumed, that his soul would profit too.

Piety and slavery may be a strange combination. As we have seen in this book, the Hospitallers, as self-appointed policemen of the Mediterranean, had their core businesses to attend, besides their hospital and charity works, to protect Christian shipping, freeing Christian slaves and capturing the enemy. These enemies were reduced to slaves for use on the galleys, with which lucrative pre-emptive strikes could be carried out. Some of such episodes did not make it to the *corpus*, but were mentioned by de Vertot, for instance, in 1678 a certain Peter Fleeches of Majorca who captured an Algerian corsair ship, sinking the ship but saving hundred Turkish soldiers whom he sold to the Order as slaves.<sup>1160</sup> More importantly was, in view of piety, to exchange these slaves for Christian slaves. This time, from the *corpus*: Frà Giovanni Battista Brancaccio who, as the Captain-General of the Maltese fleet, was successful taking in both booty and hostages by his Christian troops.’<sup>1161</sup> Charles de Guast gave a different direction to his piety and prowess when he was put in charge of the Prefecture for ransoming captives from the Turks.<sup>1162</sup> Banking institutions, such as the *Monte della Redentione degli Schiavi*, tried to collect ransom to free Christian slaves.<sup>1163</sup> If we follow Davis, there were, between 1530 and 1780, every year about 5,000 white Christian Europeans enslaved in the Mediterranean,

<sup>1157</sup> *Idem*, no 106.

<sup>1158</sup> *Idem*, no. 203.

<sup>1159</sup> *Idem*, no. 185.

<sup>1160</sup> De Vertot, *History*, 1728, vol. 2. XIV, 96.

<sup>1161</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 125.

<sup>1162</sup> *Idem*, no. 257.

<sup>1163</sup> Fonetenay, 2001, 391-414; Wettinger, 2002. Formerly located at *Selmun* (the palace of Solomon) at Mellieha, Malta.

which add up to more than a million people, among them many Maltese or knights of the Order awaiting the arrival of their ransom.<sup>1164</sup> Miguel Cervantes, before he had a chance to write *Don Quijote*, was one of those thousands of unfortunates. He was captured by the Ottomans and sold at the slave market of Algiers in 1575. He was fortunate enough not to end up as a galley slave. Since he did not convert to Islam to gain his freedom, it took five years before he was ransomed through the charity of a religious order.<sup>1165</sup>

Piety was inextricably linked to heroism, military prowess, profit and violence, but justifiable sins when applied to the enemy of Religion. From the *corpus*: 'The Most Illustrious Frà Antonio Tancredi of Siena, Prior of the Bailiwick of Santa Trinità di Venosa, an illustrious man, splendidly devout, wonderfully pious, dedicated his sword to the onslaught of the Barbarians, his cross to the glory of Heaven.'<sup>1166</sup> This ambiguity is an often returning theme in the *corpus* and in the inscribed text of Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière in is very explicitly expressed: *IN ANIMO MILITARI SIC ALVIT VT PACIS IN ILLO BELLIQUE INSIGNIA CERTARE DICERES*, you might say that the principles of peace and war rivalled within him.<sup>1167</sup> Another prime example of what a proper Hospitaller mindset should be, can be found on the sepulchral slab of Frà Francesco Sylos, who, 'when his arm was cut off up to the chest by a Turk, roared, invincibly, that he was a Christian.' Sylos survived and lived to the ripe old age of 68, able to look back on a long diplomatic career.<sup>1168</sup>

It is in the realm of heroism where the sacred identity of piety and the secular identity of heroism intertwine. Piety was one of the most important of many chivalric virtues a true Religious knight must possess. Their vice of violence, the initial trademark of early medieval *cnichts*, had developed into a virtue thanks to piety, a medieval inheritance when the Church attempted to curb the unbridled violence and made knights fight for the Church instead.<sup>1169</sup> Nonetheless, a knight's soul was always tainted by the sin of violence and therefore Purgatory loomed, unless one died in battle in defence of the faith.

Furthermore, the Hospitallers at St John's are never portrayed or described as aggressors, but always as defenders who tried pre-emptively to stop the incursion of the enemies of Faith before disaster could strike. Critics of this strategy may say that that is the same as naked aggression. This military prowess of a *miles Christi* in defence is more regularly encountered as *MILITARI VIRTUTE*, likewise in line with the religious identity of the knight, and is by default piety driven. *PROPUGNATOR*, the defender, appears at times and may be interpreted in the context of St John's a person possessing the right kind of military prowess, covered by the ethos and pathos of the Order to fit in with the motto *Tuitio Fidei*, the defence of the religion.

As referred to above, although in reality, the Order was at times an aggressor, the texts of the *corpus* try to avoid this image and portray the Order only as a defender of

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<sup>1164</sup> Davis, 2003.

<sup>1165</sup> Remensnyder, 2007, 642-677.

<sup>1166</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 303.

<sup>1167</sup> *Idem*, no. 161.

<sup>1168</sup> *Idem*, no. 292.

<sup>1169</sup> Huizinga, 1985.

Christendom. We see this in the narrative of Frà Pietro del Ponte who ‘captured and laid waste Tunis’ (early sixteenth century) - which can only be called an act of defence if one stretches the concept of pre-emptive strikes further than simply ‘attacking two pirate ships of the Tunisian King.’ This last example being the final deed of Francesco Mingnanelli in 1628,<sup>1170</sup> while Sancho Basurto’s epitaph is heralding him taking part in the besieging of Tunis (mid-eighteenth century). There was always some danger lurking nearby, for instance in 1691, when a galliot of the Order gives chase to Barbary corsairs, who, normally present in the Sicilian channel, were manoeuvring in the channel between Malta and Gozo.<sup>1171</sup> In general, the Hospitallers did not engage from a distance with their cannons, that was regarded as cowardice; they rather went alongside to board the other vessel, with the intention to capture the other vessel intact, plunder its cargo, enslave its crew, and recycle the vessel for Christian use.<sup>1172</sup>

### 7.9 Heroes and Classical mythology

The Order left a tangible and intangible heritage in the form of architecture, art, health care, defence and laws, and with these aspects also came a rich heritage of symbols, of which the *corpus* is a splendid sample. It is presumed that a reasonable number of the Hospitaller members and staff had proper education and was schooled in the Classics. It is also presumed that in the past more people could have been able to read Latin and to appreciate the values presented and understand the symbols captured in the iconography of the art commissioned by the Order. Some knowledge of Classic mythology would be helpful for visitors of St John’s, as there are many references made to Classical Mythology. In the following passage, samples from the *corpus* are discussed.

In the slab of Frà Justin de Fay Gerlande, his nephew and beneficiary assumed in this the role of *fidus Achates*, the good and faithful companion of Aeneas and fulfilled ‘his part what is right and what is owed to this most illustrious hero.’<sup>1173</sup>

‘Frà Horace Blacas d’Aups is concealed by this marble, a second Cocles for his warlike virtue. Not a moment of his youth was lost [in the fight] against the enemy abroad, and at home there was no expedition equipped in which he did not perform excellent deeds of courage, yet this is especially admirable since he joined his martial talent with a remarkable affability of mind and courteousness of character, a rare exemplar indeed!’<sup>1174</sup> Reference is made here to the legendary Roman hero Horatius Cocles. In the late sixth century B.C., according to legend, the Etruscan army, led by Lars Porsena, was approaching the Sublician Bridge over the Tiber at Rome. Together with two friends, Cocles prevented the Etruscan army from crossing, while his fellow Romans destroyed the bridge which connected Rome to western Italy. When the bridge was finally

<sup>1170</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, respectively numbers, 355, 300 and 387.

<sup>1171</sup> De Vertot, *History*, 1728, vol. 2. XIII, 100.

<sup>1172</sup> McManamon, 2003, 46, 68.

<sup>1173</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 169. In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Achates is a loyal Trojan to Aeneas.

<sup>1174</sup> *Idem*, no. 343.



destroyed, Cocles dove down into the Tiber and swam to safety. For this heroic deed he was rewarded with as much land as he could plough in one day.<sup>1175</sup>

Frà Anibal d'Aluis, Commendator of Lucerne, as a grandnephew, dedicates [this slab] to his uncle [George de Castellane d'Aluis], a Maecenas and Priam, who wished to lie buried close to the altar of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>1176</sup> *MECENATI PRIAMOQVE* are used as metaphors for Frà George, whose qualities are compared with those normally attributed to these figures, the former real, the latter mythological. Maecenas' name has become proverbial for a patron of arts and artists, especially poetry.<sup>1177</sup> *Priam* was the king of Troy during the famous Sack of Troy, and his name has become archetypal for a man who experienced both ends of fortune.<sup>1178</sup> The relevance here is that knights, on board of a galley, could easily experience a reversal of fortune through shipwreck, enslavement or beheading following capture or dying during a sea battle.

For Frà Carlo Gattola a comparison with *Phobos* was devised. 'Carlo is more than *Phobos*, for the latter goes down in the shadows, while the former, Gattola, although he reposes in the grave, yet shines forth from its shadow.'<sup>1179</sup> *Phobos* was the personification of fear, who always went together with *Ares* to the battlefields. Other companions of *Ares* were his sister *Eris*, the personification of jealousy, always spreading rumours to stir up occasions for war. *Hades* was always happy to see *Ares*, so that he could welcome people slain in brutal wars. An unexpected friend of *Ares* and *Phobos* was *Aphrodite*, who had an unhealthy crush on *Ares*. Our departed knight, Carlo Gattola may be interpreted as a man who fought in the open and did not give in to his fears. Although Gattola is now buried, he is still so radiant that he puts a spotlight on *Phobos* who is hiding in the dark.

Frà Jean de Philip St Viance is described as an *ILLUSTRISSIMUM HEROEM*, a most illustrious hero, who would have done even greater feats of heroism 'had not the scythe of *Libitina* prevailed. You wish that I speak briefly: Here lies the Most Illustrious Frà Jean de Philip St Viance, crowned with the glory of all virtues and praises. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of February 1718, at the age of 80.'<sup>1180</sup> The word *hero* in the *corpus* is usually qualified with adjectives like *illustrissimus*, *nobilitatus* or *benemerentus*, emphasising that they are not just accidental heroes but destined heroes, *Religious* with a purpose in life and death. Reference is here made to *Libitina*, the Roman goddess in charge of burials and rites of the dead. *Libentina* or *Lubentina* became her more common name after she fused with *Venus*.<sup>1181</sup> In the iconography of the *corpus* it is the Grim Reaper who usually holds the scythe. In another inscribed text, of Frà Don Giovanni Gonzaga, son of Vincenzo II, Duke of Mantua and Monteferrato, grandson of the Empress, the Most August Eleonora, he arrived in Malta and started 'his apprenticeship of the Militia in the Cretan expedition against the Turks, entertaining greater issues in his mind, but soon after his return, worn

<sup>1175</sup> Cary and Hayes Scullard, 1992, 55.

<sup>1176</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 167.

<sup>1177</sup> Simpson, 1996, 394-98.

<sup>1178</sup> Grimal, 1991, 372.

<sup>1179</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 77. Grimal, 1991, 350; Graves, 1960, 73-4.

<sup>1180</sup> *Idem*, no. 61.

<sup>1181</sup> Grimal, 1991, 246.



away by a wasting disease, envious *Libitina* stole, by premature destiny, this so very bright hope of a noble family.... at the age of nineteen.’<sup>1182</sup>

Frà Giovanni Battista Macedonio, as the newly appointed Commander of the Flagship in 1640, is attributed great leadership skills, being compared to Alexander the Great when he was ‘taking the lead and accordingly followed in the footsteps of Alexander to the triumph in the sea-fight near the Gulf of Goletta.’<sup>1183</sup>

‘In case you are wondering why *Pallas* is lamenting each one of her attributes over the slab of Frà Charles de Glandeves Cuges, he exhibited one as well as the other when he was alive; and in case you also did not know whether he was better at arms or studies, he shone out in the former when he was still a young man, as the Captain of a galley, he conquered a Turkish vessel, even after he was seriously wounded, he shone forth in the latter.’ *Pallas* was a Greek goddess, also known as *Athena* and *Minerva*. Her characteristics were war and wisdom, but also the cultivation of the olives and working in wool. Her attributes contained, among other things, a helmet, shield and snakes. In this inscription, the art and text are related, as *Pallas* is depicted. To show that this knight was illustrious in both these two qualities of this Greek goddess, the author of this inscription imagines her shedding tears over his loss.<sup>1184</sup>

Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg is compared to the Trojan *Hector*:

For the bones and memory of Frà Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg of Auvergne, who, just coming out of his puberty, not just once gave proof of warlike and Christian valour in frequent conflicts near the Hellespont. What kind of bloodshed the Maltese troops could pour out over the enemy, under the leadership of our Hector, in the African expedition aimed at Jijeli,<sup>1185</sup> and soon after in the theatre of war in the siege of Crete; the aggressors, by now gripped by fear, the allies, by now admired in astonishment. In his last duty, when Corone was besieged by the Venetians, he was assigned to the supreme command of the Maltese forces, and took the fate of the fortification of the beleaguered city in his own hands, and upheld it virtually alone, but alas! for so great a victory a soul should be sacrificed, and our leader was the price for that captured city, putting an end to living and conquering.’<sup>1186</sup>

In the Hospitaller context, the reference to the Trojan siege and the fight between *Hector* and his enemy *Achilles* is all about martyrdom. Although the siege of Corone as

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<sup>1182</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 168.

<sup>1183</sup> *Idem*, no. 299.

<sup>1184</sup> *Idem*, no. 81.

<sup>1185</sup> In the western part of the North African coastal region.

<sup>1186</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 115.

such was not comparable to the situations between the Trojans and the Greeks,<sup>1187</sup> it might mean that Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg was as courageous as the Trojan *Hector* in that he took on an overwhelming enemy alone,<sup>1188</sup> and by his courageous death, Hector is elevated to the ranks of the 'Blessed' of the Order, a Martyr of the Religion.<sup>1189</sup> It might be suggested that Jean Hector was 'Hectorite', as strong as *Hector* but also as doomed as *Hector*, as *Achilles* / the Ottomans were more powerful than the protagonist. Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg is further compared to the Classical *Hector* in one further respect, as the latter found his way into a medieval classification of soldier-heroes, called the 'Nine Worthies', widely celebrated and depicted in art.<sup>1190</sup> In this text, the use of the word *PALÆSTRA* is of interest. The Greek origin of this word, meaning 'boxing ring' or 'battlefield', and is fittingly chosen to suit the Greek context of warfare in the name *HECTORE*. Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg is a prototype of a Religious hero in defence of Faith. Here, the *HOSTES* are regarded as the *AGGRESSORES* while the knights, although in this case they initiated the attack to assist the Venetians to recover Corone from the Ottomans. Hector is not regarded as the aggressor, but a defender using attack as the best defence. The writers of this eulogy used their literary skills to make this Hector match the legendary *Hector* of Troy and his enemies, the despised *Achilles*. Nonetheless, this interpretation takes a liberal dose of poetic licence, the knights of the Order defend their position within successfully but general Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg dies in battle.<sup>1191</sup>

Besides heroism, intellect was appreciated and respected. Salvatore Imbroll was the Grand Prior and the official chronicler of the Order, and hailed as an intellectual: 'The Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Don Frà Salvatore Imbroll, the *Phoenix* of Maltese intellect, eminent with prioral dignity, lies here.'<sup>1192</sup> Imbroll published his best-known work, *Specula Melitensis encyclica, hoc est, Syntagma novum instrumentorum physico-mathematicorum*, in Naples in 1638. In those days, it was regarded as a ground-breaking book on the sciences. However, not everything that Imbroll wrote was deemed fit for publishing by the Order's Council. In his capacity as the official chronicler he had written about a painful period around Grand Masters del Monte and de la Cassière, which first had been approved but at second scrutiny were rejected, as the Council was informed that the reviewing commission had found objection with a few passages, which went against the Statutes of the Order. Usually, the Order commissioned books about its own history from selected writers for official publications. Unauthorised versions were officially condemned, and the Order would publicly take a distance from such works.

<sup>1187</sup> Corone (or Koroni or Κορώνη) lies on the south-west tip of the Peloponnese and was claimed by the Venetians in the thirteenth century, then captured in turn by the Ottomans in 1500. During the War of the Morea, the Venetians were able to recapture it in 1685, at least temporarily. See: Sire, 1996, 93-4.

<sup>1188</sup> Rieu (tr.), 1998 Homer, *Iliad*, chapters 21-22.

<sup>1189</sup> Gordon and Marshall, 2000, 1-16

<sup>1190</sup> The Nine Worthies were: Joshua, David and Judas Maccabeus (Jewish), Hector, Caesar and Alexander (Classical) and Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon (Christian). See for an account of the Nine Worthies: Sekules, 2001, 160.

<sup>1191</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, XIII, 98.

<sup>1192</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 149.

When the author could be identified as a member, repercussions would follow. Some unauthorised versions were placed on the list of condemned books of the Congregation of the Holy Office. Where possible, within reach of the Order's authority, secular authorities were asked not to allow non-authorised books on the Order to be printed. Not all works were judged equally, or with the passage of time opinions had changed. De Vertot's work, although at times very critical of his own Order, was allowed to publish his *Histories* in 1726, dedicated to Grand Master Antonio Manoel de Vilhena.<sup>1193</sup>

### 7.10 The survival story of Our Lady of Philermos

Our Lady also belongs in the catalogue of heroes. The icon of Our Lady of Philermos, brought over from Rhodes to Malta, became equally important to the Maltese as it was to the Hospitallers. As we saw above, in Malta, the icon found a new place of veneration when the Hospitallers made the St Lawrence church in Birgu the new Hospitaller Conventual church.<sup>1194</sup> Although this church was destroyed during the Great Siege of Malta 1565, the icon survived again; hence, Our Lady of Philermos was regarded as the one who saved the Order and the Maltese from the Great Siege. Bosio also attributes certain powers to the icon. At the darkest hour of the siege, an allegedly heavenly sign was given to the defenders on 14<sup>th</sup> August, the vigil of the Ascension of Our Lady:

The same evening, being the vigil of the Ascension of the glorious Queen of the Angels, it was seen that on top of the miraculous image of the Madonna of Philermos was perched the whitest of doves; this dove did not move for many hours; from this, the people were encouraged and regarded it as a good omen of being liberated very soon from the Siege.<sup>1195</sup>

Viperano had heard several accounts that the Turks,<sup>1196</sup> while fighting, had, at times, observed a woman dressed in white garments, a wild man dressed in hides, but with a divine countenance, and also a white dove just as it were divine, utterly terrifying them by this show of divine will. Viperano is suggesting here that even the Turks had seen apparitions of Our Lady and St John the Baptist.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1565, the *Grande Soccorso* the liberation fleet from Sicily finally arrived and started chasing the Ottomans from Malta. Its arrival was anticipated and longed for, but various circumstances delayed its departure from Sicily. Philip Williams has pointed out that the Spanish King, Philip II, the Prudent King, had

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<sup>1193</sup> Zammit, 2017, 208-17.

<sup>1194</sup> Horsler and Leslie, 2011, 28.

<sup>1195</sup> Bosio, 1598, 3, XXX, 635 B: *In quell'istessa sera, essendo la vigilia dell'Assentione della gloriosa Reina de gli Angeli; su veduta riposarsi sopra la miracolosa Imagine della Madonna di Filermo una bianchissima Colomba; la quale per molt'hore quindi non si tolse; dal che il Popolo prese pio, e buon' augurio do dover essere ben presto da quell'Assedio liberato.*

<sup>1196</sup> Viperano, 1567, 29. *Ipsa quoque a nonnullis audivi, Turcas pugnando interdum feminae cuiusdam aspecta vestimentis albis indutae, interdum sylvestris cuiusdam et pellibus induti hominis, sed divini specie, interdum etiam candente quadam Columba, quasi divino quodam numine perterritos fuisse.*

pertinently forbidden the Viceroy of Sicily, Don García Álvarez de Toledo y Osorio, to seek confrontation with the huge Ottoman fleet at sea, being more concerned with the preservation of his fleet than with liberating Malta. This, he argued, could be achieved later.<sup>1197</sup> The days following the arrival of the *Grande Soccorso*, the Ottomans were chased from Malta. Since then, the victory over the Ottomans in Great Siege is annually celebrated on 8<sup>th</sup> September as 'Victory day' or 'Our Lady of Victories.' Since this day is also the regular feast day of the Nativity of Our Lady, it may be suggested that it was deliberately chosen to increase the stimulant effect of the arrival. It is widely accepted, in Maltese society and within the Order, that this had been only possible through the divine help of Our Lady and that She saved Europe and Christendom altogether.<sup>1198</sup> What the Ottomans thought of this divine intervention is not known. Few documents are available in English regarding the Great Siege from the Ottoman perspective, and there is no mention of any apparition.<sup>1199</sup>

Grand Master Jean Parisot de Valette symbolically laid the first stone of Valletta on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1566 in the foundation of a church dedicated to Our Lady of Philermos, now as Our Lady of Victories. When the St John's was ready, his successor, Grand Master Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière transferred the Rhodiot icon of Our Lady of Philermos to a chapel after which it was named after it, the Chapel of Our Lady of Philermos, where the majority of the daily religious observance took place. In this chapel, the said icon is placed on the wall behind the altar of the chapel, within a monumental Baroque setup. Four columns, two on each side, capped with a broken segmented pediment with two standing putti on top, enclose the icon, which is rendered in a Byzantine canon. An ornate Baroque frame of various kinds of marble holds the icon, rendered in a Byzantine fashion. A silver cover, in the shape of the upper torso of the Virgin, is placed over the painting, so that only Her face is visible.

Each time the knights of the Order had to prepare for a battle, before sailing out of the harbour, they would come together in this chapel and pray for the intervention of Our Lady, the protectress of the Order. On their safe return, they would present Our Lady with the keys of the castles and fortresses of the cities they conquered.<sup>1200</sup> A bundle of old keys are still present in the chapel, although their provenance remains undocumented.<sup>1201</sup> In the chapel of Our Lady of Philermos there are three silver plates with inscribed texts, which mentions the cities of Hammamet, Lepanto, Passava and Patras. The inscribed text of the monuments of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt refers to this:

Alof de Wignacourt, performed no less heroic and constructive things, because through a 'single assault with his always victorious troops on the two forts

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<sup>1197</sup> Williams, 2015, 46.

<sup>1198</sup> Cassar and Mercieca, 2005, 67-75.

<sup>1199</sup> Erdoğan, 1992, 383-96.

<sup>1200</sup> Cutajar, 1992, 48.

<sup>1201</sup> One popular and persistent interpretation is that these keys were originally the keys of a jailer, which can be seen in the painting of Caravaggio 'The beheading of St John the Baptist,' which is in the oratory of St John's Co-Cathedral.

[respectively] at Lepanto and Patras, [then] Hammamet torn asunder, the stronghold of Tunis depopulated, the capture of countless barbarians' vessels, the repulsion, again and again, of the inroads of the [barbarian] fleets, convinced the whole of the Orient that he was formidable. His munificence surrounded all Malta with towers, fortified Valletta with bulwarks by land and sea, quenched the thirsty population from perennial springs, rendered [him] most dear to the whole West. Benevolent kings visited [him], [even] the infidels regarded [him] with honour in their posts of ambassador, which is contrary to custom for all Christian Princes.'<sup>1202</sup>

Similarly, the inscribed text of Frà Signorino Gattinara states that 'Passava, Lepanto, Hammamet, Tunis experienced [him] as courageous both where he was Captain of a galley and where he was Captain-General of the whole fleet.'<sup>1203</sup> Frà Pompeo Rospigliosi's inscribed text refers in this respect to 'four prescribed expeditions, until, in the campaign against Hammamet, he was captured in the midst of fighting [but] as soon as he returned to his comrades, he took the lead of a galley, twice as a Lieutenant, once as a Captain. With his renowned reputation of glory, he took part in the storming of Juzur Qarqannah and Corinth.'<sup>1204</sup>

In the Italian chapel at St John's an icon was present, belonging to Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa.<sup>1205</sup> It was a copy of the icon Our Lady of Lenciano (Matera), but otherwise also known as Our Lady of Carafa.<sup>1206</sup> Part of his inscribed text reads in translation: 'Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa, a hero by his virtue, nobility, most eminent by his reverence, observance, had wished by his last will that the icon of the Virgin, the Mother of God, his very own property, famous for miracles, was to be kept in this chapel, where it still can be found, to be adorned with reliefs.' Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa died on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1617. This icon connects to both the expulsion of the Order and of the French from Malta.

In 1798, the Order was once again expelled, this time by Napoleon Bonaparte. In contrast to the Siege of Rhodes of 1522, Bonaparte showed himself less a gentleman than Süleyman, and the Order was ousted without any honours of war, and the knight of the Order were not allowed to carry many possessions out of Malta. Only Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch obtained permission from Bonaparte to take the relic of the hand of St John and the icon of Our Lady of Philermos with him, but not before all the precious stones were pilfered from the reliquary and its frame.<sup>1207</sup> After the French had

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<sup>1202</sup> *Idem*, no. 360.

<sup>1203</sup> *Idem*, no. 304.

<sup>1204</sup> *Idem*, no. 158 (d. 1662).

<sup>1205</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 318.

<sup>1206</sup> Cutajar, 1992, 48.

<sup>1207</sup> Sire, 1996, 242. The French had gathered all the treasures of the Order, including the silver of the hospital and the churches of Malta and stowed them on board of the French flagship, *L'Orient*. Admiral Nelson was chasing after Bonaparte and caught up with him at the coast of Egypt. In the following battle at Aboukir Bay on

been expelled themselves in 1800, the local church authorities placed the above-mentioned icon of Our Lady of Carafa in the chapel of Our Lady of Philermos, to fill the void. This illustrates very well the different values an artwork can have in the context of identity and image. The icon of Our Lady of Philermos, sacred to the Order and the Maltese, had no value to the French invaders, save its precious stones. It was of such great value that, after it got lost in the post-Malta period, the search for it was never given up.

The reconstruction of the icon's trail is a rather complicated matter: Some of the exiled French knights, who preferred to be expelled by their own French compatriots rather than to serve the French Republic of Napoleon Bonaparte, which they regarded as regicide republic, moved to Russia and formed the Russian priory. They elected their host, Tsar Paul I as the new Grand Master of the Order. Via the Grand Master von Hompesch, who at first remained at Trieste and later died disgraced and penniless in Montpellier,<sup>1208</sup> both the relic of St John and the icon of Our Lady of Philermos were passed onto Tsar Paul I on his investiture, who placed them in the Russian Imperial Museum. The icon now had a new frame, a gold *riza* and set with precious stones. When Tsar Paul I was assassinated in 1801, the icon was transferred to the Winter Palace in St Petersburg and, after that, to the palace at Gatchina. Sire, in 1994, wrote that after the Russian revolution of 1917, the icon was taken to Yugoslavia and lost out of sight.<sup>1209</sup> However, thanks to the detective work of Frà Richard Divall, the icon was located once again, and its trail from 1917 onwards reconstructed.<sup>1210</sup> Divall did not only trace and verify the icon in 1997 in the National Museum of Montenegro, but also the alleged relics of Saint Helena's Piece of the True Cross and the Right Hand of St John the Baptist at the Orthodox Monastery of St Peter, at Cetinje, Montenegro. After the revolution, Maria Feoderovna, who was the Dowager Empress (formerly Princess Dagmar of Denmark) took these items back home to Denmark. A copy of the icon was made and was sent to Rhodes in 1925. Later, they were moved to the Royal House near Belgrade and placed in the chapel of the royal palace at Dedinje. After the palace was bombed in 1941, it was thought that the items were destroyed. Again, the relics and the icon had survived against all odds and were taken from the beneath the rubble of the royal chapel by Orthodox Religious from Serbia, only to be confiscated by Tito who wanted to sell them on the black market, which apparently did not happen.<sup>1211</sup>

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<sup>1st</sup> August 1798, *L'Orient* was sunk and some of the Order's treasures are presumably still at the bottom of the sea. Napoleon Bonaparte, and with him, a few treasures escaped to France.

A web search into this matter has yielded no result, except many speculations, *e.g.* either more of it than was thought was shipped to France, or was spent in Egypt, some part was buried there, other parts taken to Russia to pay for the expenses *en route*. In any case, 90% of the Maltese church silver was looted and was never returned.

<sup>1208</sup> For a detailed account, see Galea, 1976.

<sup>1209</sup> Sire, 1996, 242.

<sup>1210</sup> For a detailed account, see Divall, 2013.

<sup>1211</sup> Divall, 2011, 28. At present, the icon is still in the monastery in Montenegro.



### 7.11 Rival saints St John, St Paul and St James

While for the Maltese St John was a known patron saint, St John had not the same meaning for the Maltese population as for the Order, for whom he was their patron from the early days in Jerusalem. Our Lady was a shared patron saint between the Order and the Maltese. The first signs of a Marian culture in Malta had appeared already around the third century. Since then, She has become solidly embedded in the religious fabric of Malta,<sup>1212</sup> as much as She, later on, became inerasable too from the Hospitaller identity. Only during the period of the Arabic invasion and occupation of Malta from 870 to 1091, Christianity was at its lowest level, if not completely removed from Malta, and consequently, the Marian cult had dwindled.<sup>1213</sup>

With St Paul, the national patron saint of Malta, the case is allegedly reversed, as St Paul was undoubtedly known to the Hospitallers, but in the context of Jerusalem did not carry the same weight as St John, the *precursor Christi*. The shipwreck of St Paul in the year 60, as described in the Acts of the Apostles 27 and 28 of the New Testament, is felt by many Maltese as the birth of their Latin European identity. Possibly as a reaction to the traumatic Muslim devastation of the island in 870, the Maltese required to re-establish their Christian roots traceable back to Apostolic times.<sup>1214</sup> The Christian identity of the Maltese was long in place before the Hospitallers came into being.

The identity of the Order, personified by St John the Baptist, lived at times uneasily with the identity of the Maltese, personified by St Paul and the Maltese Hispanic nobility who had a natural preference for St James. After the episode of the uprising against Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily in 1282, known as the 'Sicilian Vespers,' Malta passed from Angevin to Spanish hands.<sup>1215</sup> Malta remained a Spanish fief under the Order. Spanish influence did not stop in 1530 when the Order arrived, it reached most parts of Maltese society, political, economic, religious, linguistic, genetical and cultural, and it integrated well into the higher echelons. Through (arranged) marriages they became principal feudatories, carried defence responsibilities and had a firm hand in local politics. Fruitful collaboration ensued between Spaniards and Maltese in the commercial area, which did not exclude privateering and ambassadorial work.<sup>1216</sup> On a larger, political scale, Malta was a Spanish frontier naval base and became part of the Spanish commonwealth.<sup>1217</sup>

### 7.12 St James's Spanish projections on the Maltese St Paul

Both the apostolic saints James and Paul were transported via a rather miraculous manner to remote parts of the world, where they preached and converted. St Paul, during his life, as a survivor of a shipwreck, arrived in Malta in the year 60, and is described in the Act of the Apostles 27 and 28 of the New Testament. The story of St James is even more spectacular. St James, one of the Twelve Disciples, is accused of seditiousness and

<sup>1212</sup> Borg, 1983.

<sup>1213</sup> Wettinger, 1987, 87-104; Brincat, 1995, 1-52; Dalli, 2005, 265-74.

<sup>1214</sup> Buhagiar, 2007, 1-16.

<sup>1215</sup> Runciman, 1995.

<sup>1216</sup> Fiorini, 2013, 9-27.

<sup>1217</sup> Freller and Herget, 1999, 105-120.

beheaded on orders of Herod Agrippa in the year 42. Melczer discusses a good number of texts which mention the presence of St James in Spain, among others, St Paul's Epistle to the Romans and Aldhelm of Malmesbury's *Carmen in duodecim apostolorum aris* (seventh century). The *Breviarium apostolorum* (c. seventh- or eighth century) mentions St James preaching in Spain, being martyred in Judea by Herod and buried in Achaia Marmarica. An eighth-century hymn *O Dei verbum patris* refers to St James as the *potius Ispania*, the conqueror of Spain or the patron saint of Spain.<sup>1218</sup>

The cult around St James was created through a combination of early legends and hope of a free Spain after the Moorish invasion of 711. How the remains of St James arrived (or were identified as such) in Spain, and who made the tombs and why it was allegedly initially forgotten, remains unknown. The miraculous part, that element which gave body and soul to this saint's Spanish identity, is that the relic of St James' entire body, according to various seventh- and eighth-century texts, was considered to have been translated to a field near Santiago. In this field, some ninth-century shepherds had discovered a forgotten tomb with inside a whole human body, intact and undisturbed. When bishop Theodemir declared that these were the remains of the disciple St James, Spain instantly had not only a complete body of a martyr as a relic, but also a formidable political weapon. Such implications were instantly clear to King Alphonso II (729-842) of Asturias and Galicia. When managed well, it could consolidate his kingdom, spark further the Reconquista and create a cult of a metaphysical saviour of Spain. The timing of the arrival was impeccable since the Arab and Berber armies of the Umayyad Caliphate had seized vast tracts of former Christian Visigoth Spain. A small pocket of Christian resistance in northern Spain started fighting back, and their Reconquista lasted for about 750 years until completion (c. 722-1492). St James became increasingly associated as the patron saint of this recovery struggle against the Islamic intruders. Melczer argues that the overlapping and exchange between myth and history was successful indeed and gave rise to a fertile breeding ground for historical attitudes and motivations.<sup>1219</sup> It may be added here that the shipwreck of St Paul did the same for Malta, where the facts and fiction surrounding the shipwreck gave a fertile breeding ground for religion, identity, myth and folklore.

A turning point was the probably mythical battle of Clavijo in 834/44. The Spanish were facing a much larger number of enemy soldiers and Ramiro I, King of Asturias-León prayed to God for victory. The next day, a cloudy day, the sky suddenly opened and St James came down from Heaven on a white stallion, brandishing a sword. This apparition, also witnessed by the enemy, caused great panic and Ramiro's army as able to slaughter 70,000 of the Umayyad soldiers. St James was thenceforward referred to as Santiago Matamoros, St James the Moor-slayer.<sup>1220</sup> Although scholars argue that it had been a

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<sup>1218</sup> Melczer, 1993.

<sup>1219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1220</sup> Rowe, 2011, 23-25.

mythological battle, nonetheless St James became the strongest of ideological icons, an embodiment of Spanish national identity.<sup>1221</sup>

The originally Aragonese/Castilian or Hispanic Sicilian nobility of Mdina had transferred some aspects of Santiago Matamoros on St Paul, in the sense that the genre stories, in which St James featured, were now projected on St Paul.<sup>1222</sup> According to tradition, in the 1429 siege of Mdina,<sup>1223</sup> the city was saved by St Paul in a similar manner as St James saved the day at Clavijo. The Hispanic nobility of Mdina probably fuelled this genre story. The similarities are striking: it was a cloudy day and the heavens split, and St Paul came down on a white stallion and with his flaming sword chased away the Moors. In 1682, as a remembrance of that event, the Cathedral Chapter commissioned Mattia Preti to paint a canvas representing St Paul on a white horse defending Malta. This painting is still in the chapel of the Annunciation. It shows Mdina on the background, and St Paul charging down from the Heavens on a white stallion, brandishing his sword. On the foreground, Turks, instead of Moors, are running away, with fear engraved on their faces.

### 7.13 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the basic identity markers of the knights of the Order, as told by the *corpus* and as presented by historians using information gathered from documents, artistic representations and material sources. Although members of the Orders, in the capacity of historians, such as de Vertot, would not only criticise their own Order but also sketch a very romantic and ideal corporate image. There is great emphasis on virtues as a moral compass, providing a strong image of very principled men, who were driven by piety and could therefore be pious on one occasion and fearsome warriors on another.<sup>1224</sup>

The Hospitallers knew how to dispense charity and how to take care of their souls. It is remarkable, that piety, which is so prominent in the *corpus* and at St John's, does not appear in the sequence of Matteo Perez d'Aleccio at the Grand Masters' Palace in Valletta. Presumably, piety was understood as being deeply ingrained into the fibre of any Religious of the Order.

The *corpus* informs us about the religious and etymological side of the matter, as it appears that the Hospitallers' self-image is, first and foremost, of a Religious, not a monk, soldier or nurse, although the word *Religious* could include those characteristics in

<sup>1221</sup> Carballeira Debasa, 2012. For the Iberian contemporaries, it was acceptable to presume that his body had returned to the place he had preached and converted. A chapel was built to house the remains and a pilgrimage site was born on the field under the stars (literally, as the Milky Way lies straight overhead), Santiago de Compostella.

<sup>1222</sup> For an account on the importance of genre stories to explain difficult topics in an educational and captivating manner, see McKenzie, 2009.

<sup>1223</sup> Charles Dalli, 2005, 265-74. The Moorish Hafsids attack on Malta and Mdina. Rabat, the suburb of Mdina, was totally destroyed. In this siege, about twenty per cent of the male population died during the fighting. Also, about 900 Maltese soldiers died and approximately 4,500 people were carried off into slavery from Malta.

<sup>1224</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol.1, Preface.

alternating configurations too. What is perhaps more remarkable, is that they are Religious who belong to the Hospitaller Republic, underpinning a strong sense of cohesion and sovereignty. The word *Hospitaller* itself is used throughout the Order's history from the early years, as Cuozzo has demonstrated with the use of the *espitalier*. It seems that *Hospitaller* became a term of endearment to distinguish their image from that of all other orders.

It appears that the Order was always seeking a deeper connection with a larger past, their Golden Age, probably to have a more prestigious genealogical background, as it had done during the foundation period of the Hospital in Jerusalem. The floor of St John's, including the sepulchral monuments, has a certain air of Jerusalem and of *Romanity* about it in its textual content and artistic outlook. The presence in the *corpus* and at St John's of the word *HIERVSALEM* and all its grammatical variations represents both a deep longing and memory about their roots. In a similar vein, several references have been found in the inscribed texts of the *corpus* to Classical *personae* and the iconography is very much an interpretation of their sense of continuity from the Roman Empire into the Holy Roman Empire, a line of thought strengthened through the acknowledgement that the Roman Catholic Church was the only surviving institution of the Roman Empire. It seems that the Hospitallers interpreted that they were in some sense also the heirs of the Roman world, with their galleys and military discipline. The above-mentioned monument of Grand Master Nicola Cotoner, for instance, makes reference to *devotio hostium* and Fama.

In a conceptualisation of the *raison d'être* of the Order, one would find words like chivalry, piety, heroism, religion and suffering, but not romance, in contrast to the usual idea of a (medieval) knight. A Religious of the Order was a *miles Christi* with a vow of chastity, and being a member of a *militia* or *ordo* infers struggle, piety and hardship, in emulation of Christ's suffering.<sup>1225</sup> The only woman revered in their lives was Our Lady. Heroism was also attributed to the Virgin Mary, especially in the role as Our Lady of Victories. Specifically, the story of the survival of her icon throughout the sieges of Rhodes and Malta. The accompanying narratives of apparitions to the Maltese, the Knights Hospitaller and the Ottomans, have made her the great defender of the Order. She is attributed with the victory over the Ottomans in the Great Siege.

Virtues play an all-encompassing role in the life and death of these *milites Christi*, and the values these virtues represent supplement the idea of complete knighthood. In the Grand Masters' Palace, the Cardinal, Theological and Honourable virtues are integrated with the heroism of the Knights Hospitaller during the Great Siege of 1565. All of these virtues can be found in the *corpus*, supporting the claims of excellent character, great deeds made in the inscribed texts and iconography, in brief, the virtues are the embodiment of being a Religious of the Order.

In the *corpus* there is a balance between what is said and done regarding the two mottos of *Obsequium Pauperum* and *Tuitio Fidei*, providing charity and applying chivalry. There are many mentions of the commemorated taking part in battles, raids and naval attacks, and engaging in charity. Furthermore, besides hands-on charity, their money

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<sup>1225</sup> Kaeuper, 2009.

talked too. Many of the departed in the *corpus* mention that their money provided for the building of hospices, xenodochia, churches and altars, as much as it built fortifications and ships.

The direct link to *memoria* is that charity is a fundamental building block of Hospitaller cohesion, the core of their existence. Without engaging in charity, there would little to be proud of and nothing to remember. Charity, and all the other virtues are indispensable for Hospitaller remembrance. Furthermore, all these slabs and monuments of the *corpus* are vying with each other for attention, but not necessarily for intercessory prayers. By giving *charity* and all the other virtues a prominent place in the text and as symbols in the iconography, this also enhances the Hospitaller cohesion and the depth of the *memoria*. Text and symbols are in tandem here to provide a deep meaning and significance of the Order's *raison d'être* related to its twin mottos. Within this Hospitaller parameter, it is not enough to say what they did, but that they did it in a magnificent manner. There is presumably a psychological effect too. A simple slab with just text has not the same effect on the passers-by than a visually attractive and impressive slab. It is the chance to excel, to continue one's life after death as a witness of the Hospitaller relevance and a teacher of morals and values. The concept of total art in the church cleverly weaves all the elements of the Order's identity and religiosity together.

The importance of St John the Baptist is understood, since he is the patron saint of the Order. His virtues and divine role became the guidelines for each knight. Other patron saints too, as has been discussed, were able to transfer their characteristics and attributes from one region or language to the other, as is the case with St Paul and St James.

The self-image of the Order shows many signs of acculturation with events which took place in their new home, Malta, something they could not escape. Patron saints were important for the building and maintenance of the Order's corporate image, such as St Paul and St James. It may be suggested, in this context, that the assimilation of the heroic deeds of St James to St Paul were local contributions of the former Spanish nobility of Malta and the Maltese population toward image shifting and shaping of the Order. Near-identical deeds of St James contra the Moors and St Paul versus the Ottomans found their way into paintings and the self-image of the Order. The deeds of Santiago Matamoros, St James the Moor-slayer, were projected on St Paul, who became the slayer of the Ottomans, the 'Mataturcos' of Malta. In the sense of identity building of the knight, St Paul became as important for them as for the Maltese. At present, St Paul is the national patron saint of Malta. Notwithstanding the influence of the Order, St Paul remains very much a Maltese property, *San Pawl*.





Image 24: Santiago Matamoros, St James the Moor-slayer. Oil on canvas. Museum Pedro de Osma



Image 25: *St Paul Conquering the Turks*, chasing away invaders from Mdina, 1429. School of Mattia Preti, oil on canvas. Cathedral at Mdina, Malta. Photo: Author



Image 26: St James the Moor-slayer. Miraculous intervention by St James, in aid of Ranierus I of Asturias in the imaginary battle of Clavijo (936) Artist: Mattia Preti, Chapel of Castile, St John's Co-Cathedral. Oil on canvas. Photo: ©Martin Bonnici Photography



## Chapter 8 The phenomenon of the Ottoman image

### 8.1 The Ottomans perceived

This chapter discusses the perception of the Ottomans by the Hospitallers and the Maltese and their influence on the self-image of these actors. Malta and the Maltese must be included, since the Hospitaller self-image was altered, at least for a part, when swapping Rhodes for Malta. Much of what had happened previously was put in the shadow by the more recent events the Order experienced in Malta and the resulting identity aspects found their way into the art and the *corpus* at St John's. In these events, the Ottomans played a key role and there is probably no better tried and tested manner to make one's self look good by making the 'other' look bad. It shows a political side to the story the *corpus* is telling, but also the application of what at present would be called social identity theory. It sketches the position of the Ottomans in the broader history of Europe, compared to the details of the relevant local Maltese history, as Malta and Gozo are often missing in the bigger picture. Finally, a more detailed image of the Ottomans is presented, based on historical sources, including their contrasting role as 'friendlies' and business partners. In this chapter, the emphasis is on the Ottomans and the Maltese, and through this comparison, another contribution to the understanding of the Hospitaller self-image is made.



### 8.2 Contrasting dynamics: Ottomans, Europeans and inter-Christian warfare

On an international level, it can be said that the Ottoman expansion from the capture of Constantinople in 1453 onwards was quite distressing for the various establishments in Europe, such as the Habsburgs, the Romanovs, the Spanish, the Venetians and the French. At its peak in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had expanded to very threatening proportions, both in size and military weight, seeking hegemony in the Mediterranean by sea and in the Balkans over land. Laying siege to Vienna (both in 1529 and 1683) created even more tension, so close to home to the European centres of power.<sup>1226</sup> On balance, the Mediterranean experienced a struggle for control between the expanding Spanish Empire to the east and the Ottoman expansion to the West. Agoston calls this the 'epic rivalry' between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs.<sup>1227</sup> The Turkish threat in the Mediterranean, perceived or real, did not only come about by its expansion to the West, it also existed through cooperation with Western European powers, such as France and Venice, which allowed the Ottomans to gain footholds in the Mediterranean as a participating trading partner,<sup>1228</sup> making use of the inter-Christian warfare which flared up throughout Europe as the result of the Habsburg-French animosities. In the English Jacobean period (1603-25), there was even Anglo-Turkish collaboration, fusing commercial and foreign policy interests and the attempt to establish an English foothold

<sup>1226</sup> Finkel, 2005, 136.

<sup>1227</sup> Ágoston, 2015, 612-37.

<sup>1228</sup> Williams, 2015, 31.

in the Mediterranean.<sup>1229</sup> Although the French-Ottoman and Venetian-Ottoman cooperation benefitted their mutual trade, it came to the detriment of certain Mediterranean populations, who had to bear the brunt of the regular Ottoman corsairing activities, such as the Maltese archipelago.<sup>1230</sup>

At times, the warfare between Christianity and Islam diminished, to be replaced by internal warfare between Roman Catholics versus Protestants and Sunnis against Shi'ites. In the West, Pope Gregory XIII (1573-85) feared the Protestants more than the Ottomans.<sup>1231</sup> In great contrast to the Hospitaller opinion about the Ottomans, Dutch Protestant contemporary opinion could not have been more different, as the Dutch had revolted against the Habsburg-Spanish (Roman-Catholic) domination.<sup>1232</sup> In 1565, the loosely federated seventeen provinces of the Netherlands were ruled by a Spanish Habsburg king. A year later, iconoclastic riots occurred, a clear indication Protestantism was rising in the Netherlands as a protest against the Roman Catholic Spanish rule. During the 1560s, large numbers of people from various strata of Dutch society were 'actively or passively against the Church of Rome.'<sup>1233</sup> The motto of the emerging Dutch Protestant navy, the *Geuzen* or 'Sea Beggars' in 1574 was *Liever Turck dan Paus*, 'preferring the Turk over the Pope.'<sup>1234</sup>

### 8.3 Who was then the Turk?

But who were the Turks when they were at home? Warwick Ball questions if it is even possible to define what the Turks or the Ottomans were and of what kind of ethnic groups and kinships the Ottomans consisted. The answer given is that the Turks were far-Eastern peoples, from somewhere in Mongolia and southern Siberia, *e.g.* the Khazars, from which the Seljuk Turks originated.

The inner view of what consists of the Turkish identity comprises of all the peoples who were part of the Ottoman Empire, but who could have a language and ethnicity outside of that Ottoman identity.<sup>1235</sup> Further to Ball, there is a 'pan-Turkish' identity, transcending and uniting all the various groups.<sup>1236</sup> Ball claims that the term 'Turk' should rather be understood as 'pan-Turk,' which united all groups of Turks, such as Türgesh, Karluks, Kirghiz, Uighurs, Karakhanids, Oghuz, Seljuks, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Ottomans and many others. This is notwithstanding their different but related linguistic and ethnical backgrounds, because non-Turks were incorporated to the pan-Turk identity too, for instance, Soghdian, Mongol, Hsiung-nu, Huns, Chinese and many other peoples, ranging from India to Bulgaria. Ball prefers to describe this pan-Turk identity as multicultural and multi-ethnic. However, the prevailing idea was that one had

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<sup>1229</sup> Love, 2001, 47 and 51.

<sup>1230</sup> Ágoston, 2015, 612-37.

<sup>1231</sup> Braudel, 1992.

<sup>1232</sup> Prud'homme van Reine, 2005. Known as the Eighty-Year War (1568 -1648).

<sup>1233</sup> Boxer, 1973, 1-10.

<sup>1234</sup> Prud'homme van Reine, 2005, 159.

<sup>1235</sup> Ball, 2013, 22.

<sup>1236</sup> *Idem*, 47.

'Turkishness', later so important for being a Turk and at present the Turkish nationalist ideology.<sup>1237</sup> There was actually a problem with defining what a Turk was. Many Ottoman rulers took as their wives non-Turkish slaves,<sup>1238</sup> creating dynasties of rulers of very mixed genetic backgrounds.

*Westward travelling Turks become Islamised*

It seems that the Turkmen were always on the fringes and pushing these borders to the limit. When the Turkmen eventually became Islamised, a religion that suited their needs, this intensified their urge to go west and conquer.<sup>1239</sup> From within their own region, there had been no fitting religion available, as for instance, the pagan Mongols had not made their religious choices yet until late in the fourteenth century. Although coming in contact with many religions, the Mongols were interested in none. Eventually, notwithstanding many missionary attempts to convert them to Christianity, they opted for Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>1240</sup> The Mongol Silk Road caravans were mostly organised by Muslims, but the Ottomans became Islamised not through trading but through contacts with other successful warriors.

Goodwin describes how Islam can be regarded as a frontier religion, always on the move with its adherents. Unlike its two colleague monotheist religions, Islam does not have a fixed priesthood. Its followers are guided by their five prayers a day and reading of the Koran, wherever they may go. It teaches them values and to unswervingly and tirelessly 'combat unbelief, but peaceable, unless provoked.'<sup>1241</sup>

In the thirteenth century, the Turkmen were further pushed westwards by the Mongols, fleeing for their unsurpassed cruelty, and arrived at the eastern shores of the Mediterranean at the end of that century. They met with a myriad of small principalities of people who had come before them and had lost their nomadic lifestyle, settling instead for taxation and cultivation, and holy war against the Byzantines. All the same, the Turkmen were not really welcome and were sent further to the coast, where they eventually acquired the mariners' life and continued their nomadic existence at sea, fuelled by a holy war against Christian and Byzantine shipping.<sup>1242</sup>

Going westwards was not a smooth affair, as their progress was halted by Tamerlane, who had conquered large tracts of the Middle and Near East, from Baghdad to Syria. Tamerlane crushed a much larger Ottomans army in 1402, at the Battle of Angora.<sup>1243</sup> This was a severe setback for the Ottomans, who only 50 years later reached Constantinople in 1453 from Asia Minor. They had been on a westward march for at least 1000 years, stretching their Turkish culture and ethnicity from China to the Balkans. Politically, the Ottoman Empire reached even further, from Algiers to Iraq, to the

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<sup>1237</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1238</sup> Goodwin, 1989, 634.

<sup>1239</sup> Sire, 1996, 56.

<sup>1240</sup> Beckwith, 2009, chapter 8. Starting point of the Turkman Islamisation was in 751 at the battle near de river Talas in the Tien Shan Mountains.

<sup>1241</sup> Goodwin, 1998, 5.

<sup>1242</sup> *Idem*, 7.

<sup>1243</sup> Beckwith, 2009, chapter 8.

Turcophone Republics of former Russia and from the Balkans to Egypt. The heart, however, of the Ottoman Empire since the conquest of Byzantium, was on the fringes of Europe in Constantinople.<sup>1244</sup> Due to the Ottoman insistence of a *Rum*-identity, they declared themselves to be the successors of the entire Byzantine realm.<sup>1245</sup> In a likewise manner, when from the fourth century onwards, Christianity had become a Roman identity, the Ottomans carved a *Rum*-identity for the Turks,<sup>1246</sup> as much as the conquered Byzantines had called themselves *Romaioi*, since this name entitled the latter to both a past and a future.<sup>1247</sup> The acculturation of this Byzantine concept of being and belonging, gave the Ottomans also a sense of destination and superiority.

The ever-expanding territory of the Turkish culture and its consequent synergy of Turkification, was not by replacement of populations but through cultural assimilation and by gradual (forced) identity change. In the 600 years of their existence, the Ottomans conquered or spread their influence over large parts of the Middle East, South-Eastern Europe and North Africa. Since the Ottomans allowed for a certain measure of difference in religion or culture, Ottoman identity became very diverse and rich.<sup>1248</sup> At times, a converse identity-changing process could take place, as the sample of the Bulgars show. Originally a Turkish tribe, they completed a process of reversal and became anti-Turkish instead.<sup>1249</sup> Others, such as those Catholics of what is now Bosnia-Herzegovina, were gradually conquered by or sold out to the Ottomans from 1459 onwards,<sup>1250</sup> and found themselves trapped behind the Ottomans lines, and were forced into the Muslim religion.

#### **8.4 Ottomans and Muslim attacks on Hospitaller Malta**

As discussed in chapters 5.4 to 5.7, the Ottomans had on numerous occasions attacked Malta on a large scale, and for the rest had carried out frequent raids for slaves and booty. They had attempted so many times to incorporate Malta into their empire, not because of an impulsive reaction but because they had a long term strategy in mind to conquer Europe via the Mediterranean.<sup>1251</sup> The list of recorded attacks is rather long, while the amount of unrecorded attacks is everyone's guess.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire declined, in particular after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, following the defeat of the Ottomans in the Great Turkish War (1683-89), which started with the Ottoman Siege of Vienna in 1683. Although on land their power decreased, at sea the Ottomans and their client-kings along the Barbary Coast were still a formidable power.

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<sup>1244</sup> Ball, 2013, 22.

<sup>1245</sup> Ergul, 2012, 629-645. There are more similarities, in for instance, the genesis stories of the Turks whereby wolves bring up children from which the Turkish nation originates has parallels with the Roman genesis of Romulus and Remus.

<sup>1246</sup> *Idem*, 631. This *Rum* identity was never accepted by the Greeks or the Europeans.

<sup>1247</sup> Kaplanis, 2014, 81-97.

<sup>1248</sup> Ergul, 2012, 631.

<sup>1249</sup> Ball, 2013, 22, 47.

<sup>1250</sup> Fine, 1994, 575ff.

<sup>1251</sup> Ágoston. 2011, 105-131.

The Treaty of Karlowitz was a treaty on dividing of territories conquered or reconquered by the Habsburg-Ottoman conflicts in, among others, the Balkans, Poland and Lithuania,<sup>1252</sup> and did not apply to the open seas. Molla Hüsrev, the chief jurisconsult of Mehmed II, famously said that one could not draw borderlines on the sea. He also maintained that the seas did not belong to the domain of war or the domain of Islam, meaning that neither the Dar al-Gharb (House of War or House of the West) and Dar al-Islam (House of Islam or House of Peace), could claim its ownership.<sup>1253</sup> Between 1715-17, the Ottomans declared war because Venice had broken some conditions of the Treaty. Austria made short measure of the Ottoman army at Belgrade, and a planned Ottoman attack by sea on Corfu came to nothing.

Notwithstanding the above suggestion that the power of the Ottomans had seriously diminished, the threat to Malta remained and Ottoman attacks continued on Hospitaller Malta, as can be gleaned from the *corpus* and other literary sources. A failed attempt of the Ottomans occurred in 1613, while in 1614 there was a successful raid on the village of Żejtun by Khalil Pasha.<sup>1254</sup> In 1704, there was another serious threat of an Ottoman invasion. That not more raids reached the shores of Malta was probably thanks to the presence of the Order's fleet in the Mediterranean. In 1701, 1706, 1709, 1710, 1713, 1714, 1716 and 1721, successful strikes were carried out against the Barbary Coast corsairs to prevent attacks on Malta and Gozo. Alarm was raised in 1709 when reports reached Malta that a large Ottoman fleet was about to leave Constantinople for an attack on Malta. Diplomacy did its work and reinforcements reached the island. A half-hearted attack on Gozo was indeed carried out whereby some smaller vessels, lying on the coasts, were burnt. Between 1716 and 1719 the struggle against Ottomans flared up, and on all occasions, the Ottoman vessels were either captured or chased away.<sup>1255</sup>

### 8.5 The Maltese perception of the 'Turk'

The many razzias and attacks had undoubtedly a traumatising effect on the local Maltese population, which is reflected in Maltese idiomatic expressions regarding the 'Turk', available in the Maltese dictionary. Conceptually, this will include the Moors, Muslims from Mauritania, who in likewise manner, often in collusion with the Ottomans, attacked Malta and Mediterranean shipping in general. A cursory glance at the Maltese dictionary will reveal several idiomatic expressions under *Tork* and none of these expressions is praising the 'Turk.' The Moor, *Moru*, is only mentioned as the Moor who invaded Spain. In the light of modernity and political correctness, these idiomatic expressions may sound horrible and outdated, but history has shaped many populations without future philosophies or ideologies in mind. Also, to have gained an entry in the dictionary, one must have earned it. These expressions are thought to have come about

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<sup>1252</sup> Finkel, 2005, 319.

<sup>1253</sup> Ġoston, 2011, 626.

<sup>1254</sup> Spiteri, 2013, 42-3.

<sup>1255</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, book 13, 103-13.

in the period between 1429 and 1551,<sup>1256</sup> the years that Malta had become the victim of large-scale invasions and depopulation by the Moorish Hafsids and the Ottomans, but a precise date is not known. The presumed total depopulation of Malta by the Muslims in 870 also wiped out any form of memory of previous historical events on Malta.<sup>1257</sup> The situation on Gozo, at present Malta's sister island, remains unknown, although the chances are that it was not affected by this major hostile takeover. It is thought that Maltese legends and folktales go back to 1090, the year that King Roger I arrived in Malta and through a military intervention placed the Muslim community of the island under Norman overlordship.

Then, Muslim prejudice was overtaken by Ottoman prejudice, when the Ottomans became the leading forces behind Islam.<sup>1258</sup> Malta followed a general pattern of Turcophobia as wherever the Turks or Ottomans arrived, they applied their trademark of brutal treatment on populations. Sadly, this Turcophobia was not a case of an invented tradition following the ideas of Hobsbawm and Ranger.<sup>1259</sup> For instance, the *Il-Parata* is a traditional Maltese re-enactment mostly held during the morning of Carnival Saturday, during the Hospitaller era. It is a light-hearted, but boisterous sixteenth-century ritualised sword fight - dance, signifying the victory over the Ottomans in the Great Siege. At present, it is usually children partaking in the dance, while in the past, the Maltese were always very excited about it, as a carnival without *Il-Parata* was not considered a carnival at all.<sup>1260</sup>

Maltese is a semitic language and offers users to express themselves very strongly. The continuous threat of the Ottomans also caused a undeniable stereotyping of the Ottomans, in word and image. A few examples of proverbs from the Maltese dictionary relate to the 'Turk':<sup>1261</sup>

*Iswed Tork*, (lit.) as black as a Turk (here the word Turk is misused for Moor or Berber who, unlike many Turks, are dark-skinned);

*Ipejjep daqs Tork*, he smokes like a Turk. Probably a reference to the Great Siege where the Turks used to smoke large quantities of hashish to become fearless in battle or to numb the pain of battle;

*Twieled Tork*, a Turk is born, said when an impossible or rare event happens, such as rain and sunshine at the same time;

*Qagħad la Torka*, he squatted in the Turkish manner, similar to women (to do his 'business');

*Xit-Torok trid?*, what on earth do you want? (lit: What the Turk do you want?);

*Haqq it-Torok!*, by the Turks!, or Curse the Turks! (an expression which is still regularly used in cases of incredulity or surprise without any knowledge of the literal meaning, or when something goes wrong);

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<sup>1256</sup> Dalli, 2006, 235-6.

<sup>1257</sup> Wettinger, 1986, 87-104.

<sup>1258</sup> Vella Gauci, 2010.

<sup>1259</sup> Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992.

<sup>1260</sup> Cassar Pullicino, 1992, 49-50.

<sup>1261</sup> Aquilina, 1990.



*Tarbija qabel il-magħmudija ngħidu li għadha Torka*, this is a description of an unbaptised baby: the baby is still a Turk because it is not yet baptised;

*Nsemmu dawk li ma jemmnux b'Alla, it-Torok ta' bla knejjes*, atheists are called Turks without a church;

Outside of the dictionary, another number of popular expressions used to be frequently used;

*Sar tork*, turned Turk, changed over to Islam and abandoned the Christian faith;

*Għadu Tork!*, he still remains a Turk, refers to a person still not baptised.

*Ara ġej it-Tork għalik*, mind! the Turk is coming for you. This was used by mothers to scare unruly children: a warning that if they did not behave, the Turk would come for them and take them away.

In the Maltese language, there are some proper names and expressions based on the Turkish experience. Besides that, there are many more Maltese place names, valleys, and wells etc, which have no other meaning than indicating a topographical space.<sup>1262</sup>

### 8.6 Identity miscalculation

During the Great Siege, the Ottomans tried to use a ploy of psychological warfare to destabilise the Order of St John, hoping for mutinies and rebellions among the native population, as they had successfully done in Rhodes.<sup>1263</sup> Mustapha, one of the Ottoman commanders, had assumed that there was no love lost between the Maltese and the knight of the Order, who had, after all, been given possession of their island as a feudal fief, contrary to earlier promises from the Spanish overlord. Mustapha tried to kindle the fire of resistance against the Hospitallers by saying that the knights maltreated them and had brought great disaster to the island in the form of this siege and many other attacks. Since the Maltese spoke a language similar to Arabic, Mustapha played the ethnicity card, saying that he would promise freedom and fair treatments should they turn sides. What he did not reckon with was the well-developed identity of the Maltese, their sense of ownership of their islands and Christian culture. They replied that 'the Maltese would rather be the slaves of St John than the companions of the Grand Turk.'<sup>1264</sup> Mustapha had miscalculated the effects of the perpetual raids and razzias, as those of 1429 and especially 1551 were still fresh in the minds of the Maltese. And Gozitans. It is very probable that the audiences Mustapha tried to reach were precisely those people, and their ancestors, who had suffered the most and Mustapha's offer had reminded them of the endemic vulnerability of the Maltese islands.<sup>1265</sup>

### 8.7 The 'Turk' in the corpus

The period where Turks are mentioned in the *corpus* in St John's, runs from 1554 to 1781. In some inscribed texts, the Turk is only mentioned matter-of-factly, while in others

<sup>1262</sup> Vella Gauci, 2010.

<sup>1263</sup> Bradford, 1964; Balbi di Correggio, 2011; Spiteri, 2005.

<sup>1264</sup> Bradford, 1964, 165.

<sup>1265</sup> Dalli, 2006, 235-6.

there are strong opinions and even stronger emotional overtones regarding the Ottomans. Although the expansion of the Ottomans has permanently embedded itself into the history of Europe, the question arises how the Ottomans were perceived by the Order and the Maltese on the one side, and the Ottomans themselves on the other. The Ottomans were comprised of people from many different origins and ethnicities, ranging from Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans and Africa, all of whom had adopted or adapted to the Ottoman identity, or were under Ottoman authority.<sup>1266</sup> Notwithstanding all this diversity, the Order of St John and the Maltese population had a rather restricted notion of who was who within the Ottoman and North African world. In a mode of generalisation, everybody fighting with the Ottomans was, guilty by association, a 'Turk' and everybody coming from the North African coast was a 'Moor'.

The Ottomans, in the *corpus* at St John's, are also referred to as the *Thraces* or *Turcae* (both Classical names), *Othomanes* and *Mahometae* (and other orthographical variations), although the latter could also refer to the North African Muslims. The Ottoman Empire was also referred to as 'Asia'. The words 'Infidel' or 'enemies of the Religion' were used regularly in the context of the earlier mentioned first motto of the Order, *Tuitio Fidei*. Turks frequently feature in the *corpus* as 'the Turks, or the 'Turkish fleet', without being implicitly judgmental or without any contempt implied, just military business. Barbary corsairs were mainly called 'barbarians' or 'infidels' on occasion. Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt's inscribed text mentions in one breath 'the splendour of the knight, the terror of the barbarians,'<sup>1267</sup> using the biggest possible contrast as a tool for identity building. Then there is 'the hideous Ottoman militia,'<sup>1268</sup> while Jean Parisot de Valette (d. 1568) fulminates against the enemies of our Faith, while he was 'a terror to the enemy, guardian-of-the-people and the curse-of-the-enemy, the dread of Asia and Libya and once the Guardian of Europe.'<sup>1269</sup> The 'Moor' also features several times in the art and in twice the *corpus* at St John's: The dying Moor, *MORIENS MAVRVS* in no. 53 and the Mauritanian pirate ship *MAURITANAE PIRATICAE NAVIS*, in no. 100.

A few knights had outlived the Siege of Rhodes in 1522 and the Great Siege in 1565. Boniface de Puget Chastuel, who died in 1614, also survived the Great Siege and the Battle of Lepanto: 'In the Siege of Malta he was in charge of the fortifications and war engines, in a naval battle he fought against the Turks, [leaving them] defeated.'<sup>1270</sup> There was at that time no need of enriching the word 'Turk' with adjectives or other descriptives. The word 'Turk', in this contemporary context of Malta, was laden with fear of a next attack, which could well mean the end of Malta.

The tone gets a notch higher in the text of Bernardino Barba (d. 1621): 'Bernardino, you are unfolding what trophies you won from the enemy when the Turkish fleet barbarously outnumbered besieged Malta, what trophies the dying Moor [yielded when] defeated, what trophies the Turk, his galley often stained with his own blood,

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<sup>1266</sup> Ball, 2013.

<sup>1267</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 360.

<sup>1268</sup> *Idem*, no. 179. Melchior de Robles died a hero in the Great Siege of 1565.

<sup>1269</sup> *Idem*, no. 359. Grand Master Jean de Valette Parisot, died 1568.

<sup>1270</sup> *Idem*, no. 166.

surrendered [to you] when you were Admiral.’<sup>1271</sup> Although the whole oeuvre of inscribed texts mentions diplomacy, the inscribed text of Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt (d. 1622) explicitly makes mention of extraordinary diplomatic ties of the Order with the Ottomans, notwithstanding their many clashes at sea. He seemed to claim that he was one of the few Christian sovereigns who had diplomatic ties with the Sublime Porte: ‘Benevolent kings visited [Wignacourt], [even] the infidels regarded [him] with honour by way of their postings of ambassadors, which is contrary to custom for all Christian Princes.’<sup>1272</sup> One is omitting here the existence of intensive diplomatic traffic between the French or Venetians with the Ottomans. The former had over the years built excellent trading relationships with the Ottomans and had grown uneasy with the Hospitaller interventions.

The Mediterranean had, in the words of Fontenay, remained the pulse of the western economy and the sea had survived many a crisis, from the Black Death to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. With the latter event, a polarisation of the Islam-Christianity dichotomy was also introduced, which accommodated the Hospitaller policing strategy. Goods from all over Asia were brought overland to Mediterranean ports and shipped from there to Europe by Muslim and Christian traders.<sup>1273</sup> France endeavoured to protect its trade with the Ottoman Empire and pressured the Order to grant immunity to French ships, even if they were carrying Turkish goods. This resulted in the Turks arranging for French passports to enjoy the same immunity.<sup>1274</sup> French traders had most of their markets in the relative safety of the European hinterland, far away from the Mediterranean Coast and had less to fear from the Ottomans, who formed a real and present danger for the people living in the Mediterranean. This offered justification and opportunities for the Hospitaller and corsair fleets to engage in highly effective and profitable attacks on Ottoman shipping although Europeans trading with the Ottomans thought that the Order was interfering too much. As the Ottoman Empire eroded more and more at the end of the eighteenth century, the French increasingly gained access, leading in 1788 a French ambassador to say, perhaps unwisely, that it had become ‘one of the most beautiful French colonies.’<sup>1275</sup>

Hospitaller opinion about the Ottomans was certainly one of respect for their formidable adversary. For the knight of the Order, the struggle against the Turks also seemed to require a life-long dedication. From the *corpus*: Frà Vincenzo Martelli (d. 1658) ‘confirmed his strength with duty and his duty with strength, whose right hand, full of justice, did not draw the sword except against the enemy of his Faith and during combat in [his] twenty years of maritime service against the Turks.’<sup>1276</sup>

Fighting against the Turk was not without danger. The writers of the inscribed text of Flaminio Balbiano (d. 1669) want us to know that ‘...Envy became acquainted with the

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<sup>1271</sup> *Idem*, no. 53.

<sup>1272</sup> *Idem*, no. 360

<sup>1273</sup> Fontenay, 1993, 55.

<sup>1274</sup> Blouet, 2004, 111-3.

<sup>1275</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, 103.

<sup>1276</sup> *Idem*, no. 172.

fact that I, as the Captain-General of the galleys, came to the rescue at a not importune moment too, of the Cretan Sovereignty in peril. With my word and deed, I cast down the Turks attacking and occupying the outer bulwark of the besieged capital...'<sup>1277</sup> while Jean-Jacques de Verdelin (d. 1673) was 'a vanquisher of the Turks in naval expeditions,'<sup>1278</sup> and the later Grand Master Nicola Cotoner (d. 1680) 'raised a victory to the disgrace of the followers of Mohammed from his ship's prow.'<sup>1279</sup> Carlo Gattola (d. 1684) was a man 'whom they witnessed...in the burning of the Turkish fleet at the Hellespont.'<sup>1280</sup> Franz Xavier von Hassenstein (d. 1688) experienced both ends of the Ottoman pincer-movements, first 'in the siege of Buda and as a Captain of a Jerusalemite galley in numerous expeditions against the Turks.'<sup>1281</sup>

### **8.8 Some reasons to attack Malta: the long and the short term**

There was a long-term dynamism of *ghaza* at work, a Holy War, directed both at the West as the direct enemy and competitor for the Mediterranean, and the Arabic world, which had to be brought under Ottoman 'protection' to carry out better the task of conquering Europe. The *ghaza* in the sense of the Quran-backed principle of 'just conquest' had taken up an important place in the identity of the Ottomans, as much as the concept of 'just war' was ingrained into the mind of the Knights Hospitaller.<sup>1282</sup>

As Buttigieg and Tabone have demonstrated, the reasons for Ottoman soldiers to go to Malta and partake in what would later be called the Great Siege, were very much a mix of short term and long term religious, material and secular reasons.<sup>1283</sup> One of the reasons was that probably the Ottomans received daily complaints about the Hospitallers and that made Malta a very likely target.<sup>1284</sup>

In the long term, first and foremost, was the principle of the said *ghaza*. The bulk of the Ottoman soldiers (not the Sipahis and the Janissaries) were holders of a *timar*, a military fief which expired with the holder. These fief-holders either fought in person or provided persons and horses for the *ghaza*, and had therefore a real interest in territorial expansion, so that more land became available to them. Whether this reason alone would have justified the expense of a campaign to Malta is not quite clear,<sup>1285</sup> inasmuch calculating a profit and loss account when one embarked on a Crusade encountered many variables, unforeseen circumstances and expenses.

The Ottoman *Sipahi-timar* system was a socio-economic system, described as something which 'brought a happy combination of the state's militarily needs and social security for the peasantry.' Sipahis were elite troops/cavalrymen who also fought in

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<sup>1277</sup> *Idem*, no. 227.

<sup>1278</sup> *Idem*, no. 159.

<sup>1279</sup> *Idem*, no. 183.

<sup>1280</sup> *Idem*, no. 77.

<sup>1281</sup> *Idem*, no. 275.

<sup>1282</sup> Haque, 1976, 123-134. Cassola, 2005.

<sup>1283</sup> Buttigieg and Tabone, 2008, 29-38.

<sup>1284</sup> Williams, 2015, 59.

<sup>1285</sup> *Ibid.* See also Cassola, 2005.

Malta during the Great Siege, along the Janissaries and others. The origin of this phenomenon may have been borrowed from both the Anatolian Seljuk Turks and the Byzantine fief system, because it was a 'grant of land as fief' or a 'fief with the obligation to naval services alongside supplying horsemen.' Others hold that it was an indigenous development.<sup>1286</sup> The Sipahis, Janissaries and other slave-soldiers received no annual pay other than compensation by landed property and a share of the spoils of war. The overall purpose of the *timar* system was to lift the burden of maintaining a standing army from the Ottoman State and placing this burden onto the fief-holders, whereby the Sultan's fief-holders, or military vassals, were obliged to supply armed troops and keep them at their own cost. It also gave the treasury an extra income as taxes were raised over those landed properties.<sup>1287</sup> In view of the expansionist politics, the aim was to increase the number of Sipahis and to reward them with landed property in conquered territory in order to assimilate the conquered and to bring them under control of the Ottoman State. This gave the Sipahis control over agricultural lands and their produce. The Sipahis were allowed to raise taxes and keep a percentage for themselves which then obliged them to render (military) services to the Ottoman State.<sup>1288</sup> A similar system of conquering and importing landowners was also in use with the Teutonic Knights in Eastern Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.<sup>1289</sup> There were religious motives involved too. A golden bracelet taken from a Turkish officer had an inscription in Arabic, which reads (in translation): 'I do not come to Malta for wealth or honour, but to save my soul.'<sup>1290</sup>

The Ottomans needed Malta as a naval base for further attacks, as Istanbul was too far away. According to Balbi, Süleyman had planned to conquer Malta as a springboard to conquer Sicily, Italy and the weak underbelly of Europe, France.'<sup>1291</sup> Süleyman reportedly had declared that 'it is my great desire to capture Malta not for its own sake, but because of other and greater enterprises which will follow this expedition if it be successful.' The Ottoman Empire had seemingly reached its maxima with regard to the Mediterranean, as much as it had reached its overland limits at Vienna in 1529. Stephen Spiteri has calculated that the exorbitant cost of this campaign was in the region of a fifth of the total annual income, in addition to the expense of building thirteen new galleys and one galeot.<sup>1292</sup>

Costs alone would have been a decisive factor whether a campaign would be executed, but there were some other, personal, reasons too for Süleyman. The short-term factors relate to many issues, such as revenge for past events, the threat to Ottoman shipping and

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<sup>1286</sup> Miltzer, 2005.

<sup>1287</sup> Haque, 1976, 123-134. Cassola, 2005.

<sup>1288</sup> Buttigieg and Tabone, 2008, 23-8.

<sup>1289</sup> Munro, 2008, 123-44.

<sup>1290</sup> Bradford, 1964, 66.

<sup>1291</sup> Bradford (tr.), Balbi di Correggio, 2011.

<sup>1292</sup> Spiteri, 2005, 24. The overall cost of the campaign was estimated to be 60 to 100 million *akçes*. The overall income for the Ottoman treasury in the first half of the sixteenth century was calculated at 300 to 500 million *akçes* annually. The total size of the fleet was estimated at 130 galleys, 30 galeots, 9 barges, 10 large ships and some 200 smaller vessels, with a total crew of 30,000 men, 40,000 quintals of gunpowder and more than 100,000 rounds of shot. Four basilisks were on board, the trusted weapon of the siege of Constantinople of 1453. It was the biggest ever Ottoman fleet sent out on a single campaign.

enslaving of Muslims. There was still the matter of Rhodes, where the very young Süleyman had let the Order of St John sail away, as a gallant victor. In his old age, his omission of terminating the Order was continuously bothering him.<sup>1293</sup> Malta and its fine harbours, to the understanding of Süleyman, were the key to the Mediterranean, the sea he wanted to be master of, just as the Romans had been. There was this old grudge within the Muslim world that Islam had only been able to hold on to the island for two hundred years before they lost it again to the Normans. Reports came in that the Hospitallers were steadily reinforcing Malta, which meant that not only Malta would be more difficult to take but also that its strategic value would become more important.<sup>1294</sup>

Süleyman was surrounded by advisors, such as Dragut Reis, who urged Süleyman to annihilate the Hospitallers, who were continuously disrupting trade, pilgrimages and communications between Constantinople, Africa and the Levant. Dragut, as a corsair, was very familiar with Malta and Gozo, while he was also the lieutenant and successor of his best friend, Barbarossa, the famous pirate. His motivation was revenge for the loss of his stronghold called 'Africa,' at the hand of the Hospitallers.<sup>1295</sup> Dragut himself was now Governor of Tripoli and King of Algiers, after he had chased the Order out of the castle at Tripoli, where his old foe Jean de Valette had been in charge. Dragut was also outraged with the Hospitallers and their privateers because they disturbed his own marauding business. Once he had been able to wrest Tripoli from the Order, the next logical step was to try and take Malta too. There was enough motivation for a *ghaza*, although there were also more practical reasons, such as to keep the system of *timar* alive and ongoing.

And then, there were the fabled boudoir politics of the Inner Service of Ottoman Court, the *enderun*, encompassing the Sultan, his family and the *kapıkulu*, the 'Slaves of the Sultan' who had important positions within the household.<sup>1296</sup> The influence of Süleyman's wives and his favourite daughter Mihrmah, of his preferred wife Roxellane, was substantial.

The strategic position of Malta, at the narrowest part of the Mediterranean, was clear to everyone. With relatively few ships, the Order could secure the channel between the West and East Mediterranean, controlling all the shipping lanes between Africa and Sicily. Repeatedly, this led to capture of merchant ships, slave-trading ships, pilgrims on the way to Mecca and occasionally a ship in which a court member of Süleyman had an interest. The latter was the case with a ship financed by Mihrmah and another one owned by his chief-eunuch Kustir-Aga. During the year 1564, the Hospitaller corsairs had captured a small fleet of Ottoman ships, confiscated the precious merchandise and offered the high-ranking passengers, among them the nanny of Mihrmah, freedom in exchange for a ransom. Süleyman was provoked beyond repair, and from all sides, he was encouraged to take action. Roxellane, for the repose of her soul, had left a rather large amount of

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<sup>1293</sup> Balbi, 2005, 6-7.

<sup>1294</sup> Spiteri 2005, 37.

<sup>1295</sup> De Boisgelin, 1804, chapter IV, 36-40.

<sup>1296</sup> Cassola, 2005, 17.



money after her death to be used for an attack on Malta.<sup>1297</sup> Possibly, these provocations were the spark which set the whole matter ablaze and in the *Divan*, the Sultan's official council, of October 1564, it was decided Malta should be attacked.<sup>1298</sup> It was thought that this would stop the privateers of Malta, and that Muslim slaves could be freed, since they had the impression Malta was swollen with them. Securing safe shipping lines for Ottoman commerce was another reason, further to keeping the overland caravans' trade alive and to prevent the Order from capturing Muslim pilgrims at sea on their way to Mecca. The insolence of the Hospitallers had deeply hurt Süleyman, after he had been so gallant in 1523.

### **8.9 The war against Mohammed and the ghaza, the war against the Christians**

Although the Treaty of Karlowitz had arranged and confirmed the various territories to the parties involved, it did not exclude the Ottomans of venturing, directly or indirectly, into the Eastern or Western Mediterranean and the Treaty did not include the North African vassals of the Ottomans. After all, the Ottomans had the religious duty to carry out their *ghaza* or *jihad* in whatever manner.<sup>1299</sup> Abou-El-Haj illustrates this by highlighting some aspects of the negotiation process at Karlowitz, where the Ottomans, at the beginning and at the end of the negotiations, never sacrificed their principle of perpetual hostility. According to Abou-El-Haj '...mutuality and peace, at this point...is in meaning the *jihad*, in other words, peace was the continuation of war by other means.' This powerful language was to show sultan Mustafa, who apparently suffered under illusions of grandeur and had given himself the title 'conqueror of the world', that although the Ottomans had to give back some territory, they still negotiated the treaty as the victors.<sup>1300</sup> They also acted according to their own legal framework, which stated that it was only legal to agree a peace treaty with non-Muslims when it was advantageous to all Muslims, and without such benefits, a peace treaty would be illegal. When the advantage was no longer there, it became a legal requirement to break the treaty.<sup>1301</sup>

The *ghaza*, as a war conducted for the sake of Islam, was a much broader concept than the Christian holy war. It allowed, and encouraged, taking Christian territories. Ansary adds that the true miracle of Mohammed was that the Muslims won many battles, even when outnumbered. Success brings success, and their perpetual war with continuous victories confirmed that miracle. Their territory kept expanding to the cost of others, of course.<sup>1302</sup> The Ottomans had already their own version of holy war and absorbed and adjusted the *ghaza* principles when they embraced Islam and consequently the Muslim

<sup>1297</sup> The eyewitness account of the Great Siege of Francesco Balbi di Corregio was first published in Spanish in 1567 in Alcala de Henares. See Bradford, 2005.

<sup>1298</sup> Bradford, 1964, 13-18; De Vertot, René de, historian and member of the Hospitaller Order, 1728, vol. II, book 13, 190.

<sup>1299</sup> Spelling variations are found in literature, such as *ghaza* or *gaza*.

<sup>1300</sup> Abou-El-Haj, 1974, 115-131.

<sup>1301</sup> Imber, 1997, 84-5

<sup>1302</sup> Ansary, 2009, 74.

ideal of conquering the Dar al-Gharb to expand the Dar al-Islam.<sup>1303</sup> Through such expansion, the dynastic warriors, or *Ghazi*, from the Seljuks of Rum, managed to create an empire. This particular *Ghazi* tradition blossomed because of the open Byzantine-Ottoman borders, in sparsely populated areas. Unhindered, they were able to realise their Islamic ideal of territorial expansion, besides the lure of booty. The incessant warfare was an ideal occupation for nomadic people and resulted in territorial losses for the Byzantines and caused gradual cultural and religious changes among the populations. Consequently, crumbs of territory spread over large tracts of land fell into the hands of the Ottomans, enabled them to establish their rule. Although later warfare was more institutionalised through regiments of Sipahi cavalry and Janissary infantry, raiding always supplemented official warfare.<sup>1304</sup> Finkel compares the Ottoman commitment to holy war, with a goal to submit all the lands of the infidels to Islam, with the Christian proclamation of the Crusades.<sup>1305</sup>

Writers of the eulogies in stone at St John's certainly emphasised on this point, and although the identity of the Ottomans was a complex matter, at St John's, the 'Ottomans' are mostly reduced and simplified in text and image as a Turk whose unrelenting march was stopped by the Order. Heinrich Ludger von Galen (d. 1717), 'while at the time when wars raged on both land and sea in the year 1704, was the Captain of a galley...and served instead as one of the Generals of the Military while the Turks were threatening to bring war against this island in the year 1708.'<sup>1306</sup> Examples of this conviction are - according to their epitaphs, Jean François Chevestre de Cintray (d. 1721), who 'on his appointment as a galley Captain, was sent to Pope Clemens XI by this Sacred Assembly in order to obtain his support against the Turkish fleet [which was] threatening to invade this island,'<sup>1307</sup> and Domingo Pajo de Abreu y Lima (d. 1742) 'was made Prefect of the Cottonera stronghold in order to ward off the Turkish threat.'<sup>1308</sup> These texts provide mental images which are as much constructed identity as the visual artistic rendering of the 'Turk'. These images would have had, of course, a different impact on the Hospitallers and their contemporaries, as they would have known or remembered these events, or even participated in them. Such impressions of the Ottomans both confirmed the Hospitaller bias and respect towards them. However, after a few hundred years and a few degrees change in the course of public opinion, these images may tell more about the Hospitaller than the Ottoman culture.<sup>1309</sup>

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<sup>1303</sup> Ergul, 2012, 631.

<sup>1304</sup> Abou-El-Haj, 1969, 467-475.

<sup>1305</sup> Finkel, 2005, 5-6.

<sup>1306</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 272.

<sup>1307</sup> *Idem*, no. 108.

<sup>1308</sup> *Idem*, no. 85.

<sup>1309</sup> Harper, 2011, 1-21.

### 8.10 Identifying the other: *Turcica* in Malta

The reputation of the Ottomans was firmly established in the fifteenth century, giving rise to an artistic *Turcica*, appearing in many works of art. An example from the Netherlands is a series of woodcuts of Turks on horseback by Jan Swart van Groningen, in particular one hand-coloured woodcut *Solimanus imperator Turcharum 1526* of Sultan Süleyman and his cortege of 1526.<sup>1310</sup> Jan Swart was inspired by the Habsburg defeat at the hands of the Ottomans at Mohács in Hungary, whereby its capital city Buda was occupied by the Ottomans. 'The artist here,' writes Harper, 'conforms to the tradition of glorifying an imperial ruler even though that ruler is the nominal enemy.'<sup>1311</sup> Bronwen Wilson reflects on the Turk in the late sixteenth-century Venetian portrait books.<sup>1312</sup> One of her conclusions is that identity-making in the Renaissance required of persons to dissimilate and to adopt a guise or *persona* and the *Turcica* helped people to think about their own identities and how to see and identify 'the others'.

### 8.11 Stereotyping the enemy: *Turcica* at St John's

Part of the discussion is if and how the inscribed texts of the sepulchral slabs and monuments at St John's belong to the phenomenon of *Turcica*. When the Ottoman Empire started growing, similarly the worries about this empire grew at the same rate, resulting in the fifteenth and sixteenth century's massive output of literature and art regarding the Ottoman threat. The Turks were portrayed by many contributors, ranging from the enslaved to diplomats, as the 'common enemy of Christendom.'<sup>1313</sup>

Throughout the rich iconography at St John's, one may find caricatures of the 'Turk' and 'Moor.' Their facial 'grammar', their physiognomic resemblances, were transformed into mere representations, giving way to stereotyping ethnic groups.<sup>1314</sup> A 'Turk' is here, without exception, depicted as a person with a shaved head and only a Mohawk-like strip of longer hair in the middle, a big, drooping moustache and a long, pointy nose, based on the countenance of a generic Janissary. This stereotype, or archetype rather, came about by prejudice, fear, ignorance and oversimplification and it is quite certain that these generic portraits were caricatures in order to demonise the enemy. North African Moors are shown either as generic Arabic or generic African, while many attributes defining Arabic culture are illustrated on, among others, paintings, sculptures, sepulchral monuments and slabs, for example, long robes, turbans and Arabic military paraphernalia such as Ottoman helmets, round shields and scimitars.

<sup>1310</sup> British Museum collection. Description: Süleyman on horseback, riding to left, accompanied by a soldier with a spear. 1526. Published by: Willem Liefrinck. Print made by: Jan Swart van Groningen. Jan Swart created, in five blocks, an Ottoman triumphal procession with thirteen figures on horseback, including Sultan Süleyman with cortege.

<sup>1311</sup> Silver, 2011, 185-215.

<sup>1312</sup> Wilson, 2012, 52.

<sup>1313</sup> Ágoston, 2015, vol. 2, 612-37. Ágoston suggest that more than 3,500 such *Turcica* titles were published in the sixteenth century.

<sup>1314</sup> Wilson, 2012, 52.

The prevailing view was that of a European superiority over the concept of the Ottoman, which view changed from the seventeenth century from a 'tyrant' into a 'despot' in the eighteenth century, remarkably enough when the Ottomans went from very powerful to less powerful.<sup>1315</sup> In Malta, the concept of an Ottoman was, at St John's in any case, always expressed in art as the 'Oriental despot'. To be precise, the representation of the Ottoman was externalised by caricatures in painting and sculpting of the most feared Ottoman soldier, the members of the elite Janissary corps, as previously described.

A case in point at St John's is the sepulchral monument of Grand Master Nicola Cotoner. His bust is set in front of military paraphernalia, while his symbolical spoils of war, some with a moon crescent, indicate that he was a victor. The setting reminds the viewer of the Roman concept of *devotio hostium*,<sup>1316</sup> and can be defined, in the Hospitaller context, as conveying an object or person, after being captured, as a gift to God. This *devotio hostium* was not the same as a *hostium ducis*, the Roman aristocratic self-sacrifice in battle, although there are some links. Through this *virtú* of *devotio*, a Roman general would show that he was willing to dedicate and sacrifice his own life in battle as a gift to the gods to achieve victory. As a result, the general would display extraordinary courage, as his self-sacrificial behaviour made him near invincible. There are some texts in the *corpus*, which resound this atmosphere, such as the aforementioned Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg (no. 115) who, in his analogous role of *Hector*, gloriously died in battle. One may compare this kind of *devotio* to a *sacramentum* of a martyr too.<sup>1317</sup>

Over the bust of Nicola Cotoner, is the figure of *Fama*, the Roman goddess who heralds Cotoner's reputation throughout the world on her trumpet. The *putto* points at the illustrious coat of arms of this Grand Master. The whole upper register of the monument is weighing down on the shoulders of two caricatures in chains, an incarnation of near-unconquerable enemies, the 'Turk' and the 'Moor', the eternal enemies of the Order and the Maltese population. Although the Turk and the Moor are still of a superhuman musculature and strength, they are now rendered powerless in chains, but not killed. The Grand Master with help of God, disarmed evil, and prevented them from carrying out further atrocities, just as faith disarms evil spirits and demons. For the Maltese, this monument would have inspired trust in the Grand Master, for keeping the local population safe against these merciless enemies. Creating stereotypes and caricatures of the conquered *Übermensch*, assisted the Order to demonise their enemy with these images. But there are also more objective images available, 'even ethnographic in purpose' rather than a generalisation or caricature, with accurate details in, for instance, physiognomy, clothing and weaponry.<sup>1318</sup>

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<sup>1315</sup> Ágoston, 2015, vol. 2, 613.

<sup>1316</sup> Versnel, 1976, 365-410. In the *devotio hostium*, the wish is near-identical with the promise to the gods in order to have the wish fulfilled: both the ruin of the enemies and their properties. Originally, *consecratio* took place by the destruction of the property and the killing of the enemy, and later, in many cases, just symbolically. The enemy and their property, in Hospitaller context, can be either on land or at sea, territory, people and goods, or in the form of ships, crew, passengers and goods.

<sup>1317</sup> Barton, 1995, 40-2.

<sup>1318</sup> Silver, 2011, 198.





Image 27: Sepulchral monument of Grand Master Nicola Cotoner, at the Chapel of Aragon, St John's Co-Cathedral, Valletta, Malta. In the lower register, a 'constructed Turk and Moor.' Photo: Author

Images of the Turk in Hospitaller Malta seem to comply with the theory of James Harper, whose view is that these images ‘often tell more about the cultures that produced and consumed them than they do about the cultures they purport to depict.’ Harper calls these ‘engaged depictions’ because they may allegorise military victory or provide an oriental ambience. *Turcica* in Malta is generally part of a larger whole of artistic output of ‘constructed imagery’, throughout all the properties of the Order in Malta and Gozo. The earlier mentioned wall paintings in the Grand Masters’ Palace of the cycle depicting the Great Siege of Malta 1565 by Matteo Perez d’Aleccio are samples of multiple interpretations. He painted this work between 1575 and 1581, a good ten to fifteen years after the event. In this work, factual depicting varies widely, and both the attires and weapons of the Ottoman besiegers and the Hospitaller defenders are a sample of a liberal interpretation, stereotyping and generalisation. It produces ‘constructed knights,’ ‘constructed Maltese’ and ‘constructed Turks’, in the sense mentioned by Harper, reflecting and revealing the Order’s ‘needs, anxieties and agendas.’<sup>1319</sup>

Reliefs sculpted on the walls of the German Chapel at St John’s offer four similar caricatures of the ‘Turk’, designed most probably by Mattia Preti or his bottega. In nearly all the work of Preti, the Turk is depicted in conformity with the above construction of what the average Janissary or Sipahi could have looked like. There is no attempt to individualise the ‘Turk’, as giving them humanity would defeat the purpose of a caricature as a tool of demonising the enemy. This caricature of the ‘Turk’ was already known, as it also appears in print elsewhere in Europe. Frà Raffaele Maria Filamondo produced a work *Il Genio Bellicoso di Napoli, Memorie Istoriche* (Naples, 1694). In the section devoted to Frà Alvaro Minutillo e Quinonesa, his portrait is produced by Parrino of Naples of 1691, with a similar depiction of a ‘Turk’.<sup>1320</sup>



Image 28: The caricature of the ‘Turk’ (bottom left) in *Il Genio Bellicoso di Napoli, Memorie Istoriche* (Naples, 1694), on the page of Frà Alvaro Minutillo e Quinonesa

<sup>1319</sup> Harper, 2011, 1-21.

<sup>1320</sup> Filamondo, 1694. His paternal uncle was Giovanni Minutillo, whose sepulchral is at St John’s. See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 367.





Image 29: Details of the sepulchral monument of Grand Master Nicola Cotoner, with a 'constructed Turk and Moor.' Photo: Author



Image 30: Details of a relief of 'constructed Turks' or Ottoman Janissaries or Sipahis. Design: Mattia Preti, at the German Chapel, St John's Co-Cathedral. Photo: Author

The afore-mentioned Spanish composer Don Fernando de las Infantas also composed musical works about the Turkish menace. He composed two Motets, the psalm *Ecce quam bonum*, from the Song of Moses: Exodus 15 (c. 1570) and the *pro victoria contra turcas sacri foederis classe parta* (1571). In the former, the music takes the form of a plea of deliverance from the Turks and prays for The Holy League to be successful at sea against the same Turks. In the following year, De las Infantas produced one of his finest, in the genre *Cantemus Domino*, in which the victory of the Holy League over the Ottomans at Lepanto is celebrated.<sup>1321</sup>

### 8.12 Allegory of the Triumph of the Order

Although the totality of the artistic expressions at St John's articulates the Hospitaller *raison d'être*, there is one piece in particular which sums it all up, including some aspects of *Turcica*. Mattia Preti, during the early years of his career in Malta, between 1661 and 1666 painted the whole barrel vault of St John's, titled *The Life of St John the Baptist*.<sup>1322</sup> Around 1666, Preti covered the whole width of the face of the interior west wall, over the main entrance, with a large lunette painting named *The Allegory of the Triumph of the Order*. This *Allegory*, is, like most of the Hospitaller art, a prime example of the emic view of the Order.

The focal point of the *Allegory* is the figure of Our Lady of Victory, who will be described in the following passages. Before entering into an analysis of the *Allegory*, a short excursion is made to the Classical sources of inspiration for the allegory of the Roman Catholic Our Lady of Victory. In the upper register of the *Allegory of the Triumph of the Order*, right above the window, a female figure with a helmet adorned with ostrich feathers, clad in a Classical cuirass over a red dress, is brandishing a sword in one hand and holds the flag of the Order in the other. On the cuirass, there is the eight-pointed cross of the Order in white. In the narrower context, this figure both refers to an allegory of the Order, generally known as *La Religione*,<sup>1323</sup> and to *Nike Athena*, the Greek goddess and personification of Victory, the Olympian virgin warrior goddess. At St. John's, *Nike Athena* is transformed into a Christian allegory, supporting the Order, as a late and highly telling kind of *spolia paganorum*. In the wider context, the scene reflects that from Renaissance times onwards themes from Classical works, were well applied by artists.<sup>1324</sup>

Next page: Image 31: *The Allegory of the Triumph of the Order*, by Mattia Preti. Lunette painting on the west wall, St John's Co-Cathedral. Artist: Mattia Preti, oil on limestone, c. 4.5 x 18 m.

Photo: Photo ©Martin Bonnici Photography

<sup>1321</sup> Dival, 2010, 1-16.

<sup>1322</sup> For an account of Mattia Preti, see Scibberas, 2012.

<sup>1323</sup> Magro Conti and Vella, 2016, 141. This allegory was later used by Maltese artists to create church statues as the Allegory of Malta.

<sup>1324</sup> Grimal, 1991, 66-7, 294. With or without the combination with *Athena*, with attributes such as wisdom, defence of towns, heroic endeavour, household activities and the introduction of the olive tree. Similar scenes of (military) victories are common enough, whereby the glorious lady stands victoriously on the weapons of the conquered or the conquered themselves, such as Matthieu Le Nain, *Allegory of Victory* (c. 1635); Bartholomaeus Spranger, *Minerva Victorious over Ignorance* (c. 1591); Peter Paul Rubens, *Marie de Medici as Bellona* (c. 1622-1624).







To place the link between *Nike Athena* and Our Lady, we need to go back to Constantine the Great. His city Constantinople, in the fourth century, had become a city where the old and new religions fused. *Nike Athena* was no longer honoured with her own cult. Instead, she was assimilated into the cult of the Virgin Mary, who was the new powerhouse for women within a patriarchal context, just as *Athena* had been. *Athena's* shrine, the most prominent on the Parthenon, changed into a Marian shrine. Since assimilation works both ways, soon enough the Virgin Mary was given some of *Nike Athena's* attributes, such as the breastplate with the *gorgoneion* (a protective amulet with the Gorgon head). During the fourth century, the Virgin Mary acquired war-like aspects, brandishing a spear and standing on top of a fortification, encouraging the besieged. Thence she became a patron of cities too. Both Nike and Our Lady were renowned virgins and known as 'Queens of Heaven,' had the reputation of being prudent and wise, able to tame brute force, as in Botticelli's *Pallas and the Centaur* of 1482. Soon after, her military role became more pronounced. A painting by Mantegna of 1502, *Expulsion of the Vices from the Garden of the Virtues*, the Virgin Mary is a warrior maiden rendered in full armour when she single-handedly drives out the Vices from Eden. There is a play of virtues here, *Fortitude*, *Temperance* and *Justice* take on *Ignorance*, *Avarice*, *Malice* and *Inertia*.<sup>1325</sup>

Via *Nike Athena*, this allegory has evolved into Our Lady of Philermos, the patron saint who had been with the knights in Rhodes during the 1480 siege, and finally into Our Lady of Victories in Malta during the Great Siege of 1565. Our Lady of Victories had become such a quintessential part of the spiritual life of the Order, that she now appears as the epitome of victory. It may be argued that there are hardly any 'Mary-like' characteristics about this figure. During the aforementioned sieges, apparitions of Our Lady played a crucial role. The victory was attributed to her intercession, hence Our Lady of Victories. Her most prominent role was in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Just before the battle began, there were religious ceremonies on the fleet of the Holy League and of the Ottomans. On the Christian ships, crucifixes were hoisted topmast. On the *Real*, the flagship of Don Juan of Austria, the Pope's banner was raised, holy water was sprinkled on the crews who prayed for absolution.<sup>1326</sup> In Europe, the victory at Lepanto was considered a great relief from the Ottoman threat and believed to be caused by divine intervention of Our Lady. Since this intercession took place on the first Sunday of October, in this case 7<sup>th</sup> October 1571, the day of the annual procession of the Confraternity of the Rosary in Rome, the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary is held on the anniversary of the Battle of Lepanto.<sup>1327</sup> In the Maritime Museum of Birgu, Malta, there is a painting by Antonello Riccio of Sicily, who painted *The Madonna of the Fleet*. In this painting, the Madonna is *assunta*, sitting on a cloud in heaven, holding the Infant Christ and a military helmet.<sup>1328</sup>

<sup>1325</sup> Deacy, 2008, 144-5.

<sup>1326</sup> Crowley, 2009, 264.

<sup>1327</sup> Espinosa-Rodriguez, 2007, 35-8.

<sup>1328</sup> This Allegory is also adapted for use in the local Maltese *fešta* culture, to make statues of the 'Allegory of Malta,' or Melita, a likewise female figure, clad in armour, with a red cape and a helmet with ostrich feathers

Returning to the *Allegory*, in the upper register it is shown that Our Lady is more powerful than the Ottoman army. She is not only standing triumphantly on top of three conquered enemies, as a *Victrix*, but She also tramples them. The three figures, also allegories, are representing the traditional eternal enemies of the past, a follower of Mohammed, an Ottoman and a Moor (or a Berber). These are depicted as larger-than-life caricatures, with contorted faces and figures, dramatic tension and exaggerated musculature,<sup>1329</sup> who could only be overcome by the Order with the help of Our Lady and God. They lay on their bellies on the floor and stretch out their arms to the heavens, in a gesture of panic, disbelief and surrender while begging for mercy. In later paintings, such as 'St John the Baptist giving Audience to the Allegory of the Order of St John,' which can be found at the Church of Our Lady of Sarria, Floriana, St John the Baptist here encourages *La Religione* to continue her defence of the Order and the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>1330</sup> It may be inferred that St John, although not visible in *The Allegory of the Triumph of the Order*, is kindling and nursing the old ideals of the Reconquista and St James Matamoros, and that the achievements of his namesake Order are now accomplished through *La Religione*, as Our Lady. Her red cape is, similar to the flag she is holding, flowing in the wind, just as the garments of *Nike Athena* usually do. Although Our Lady resides in Heaven, this allegorical representation has no wings, The colour red may carry many meanings, such as passion, fertility, warmth or love, but also the colour of war, the power of fire, hate, evil, destruction, godless people and the spilling of blood. In this context, it probably also refers to Her divinity, as according to the Roman Catholic beliefs, Our Lady entered Heaven with body and soul. Many saints depicted in St John's, such as the various renderings of St John by Mattia Preti and Caravaggio, are also covered by red garments, togas or cloaks. The ostrich feathers on the helmet are symbols of justice and truth, and more importantly in this context, a symbol for the virginal motherhood of Our Lady.<sup>1331</sup> Over her head, two angels are descending from heaven with an open crown of victory, both to show that the sovereignty of the Order is a *Deodandum* and as a justification for the existence and actions of the Order.

The flaming angelic sword here is probably inspired by St Jerome's Vulgate version of Genesis 3:24, *flammeum gladium*, held by the cherubim, guarding the way to the tree of wisdom, after God had expelled Adam and Eve from Paradise.<sup>1332</sup> In analogy, the deeper meaning would here be that Our Lady had chased away and expelled the enemies of the Faith from Malta. A drawn sword, generally the symbol of justice, can decisively slice the bad from the good, becoming the sword of just war.<sup>1333</sup> A flaming sword might then

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(white and red, for the Maltese flag), sword in one hand, the Maltese flag in the other. Samples to be found in the St Philip Parish Church, Zebbug and the Matrix Parish Church of St George, Qormi.

<sup>1329</sup> Richter, 1996, 174-5. Nike and Athena are depicted in a fight of the Olympians against the Giants, in particular Alkyoneus scenes of the Gigantomachia – War of the Giants. Both the iconography of the Gigantomachia and the Allegory of the Triumph of the Order are characterised by the same kind of exaggerated features.

<sup>1330</sup> Debono, 2013.

<sup>1331</sup> Oesterreicher-Mollwo (ed.) 1991, 135, 164. Hall, 2001, 168, 210.

<sup>1332</sup> Gryson (ed.) *Biblia Sacra, iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 1994, 8.

<sup>1333</sup> Oesterreicher-Mollwo (ed.) 1991, 150-1. Hall, 2001, 87-8.

cauterise the wound, saving the good and discarding of the bad. In the rendering of the sword by Mattia Preti, the sword does not look as if it has flames, as the shape is more akin to a flambard, famous for its wavy, corrugated or flamboyant blade. Similar depictions can be found in manuscripts, where there are indeed flames licking the wavy blade of the flambard,<sup>1334</sup> which sword, judging from the 'Allegory', was possibly attributed with mystery and supernatural powers. In European military history, the flambards were more often used for show than in an actual fight. This description seems to fit images like the *Allegory* discussed here,<sup>1335</sup> and it appears that with one fell swoop of the sword, Our Lady has conquered the enemy.

On the left of Our Lady of Victories, a *putto* is chaining the defeated enemies, while on the right another *putto* is showing a tablet, representing either the Scriptures, the Ten Commandments, or, as a consequence to the circumstances of the Great Siege, the rationalisation for just war.<sup>1336</sup> To the left of the sword of Our Lady, two *putti* are coming down from Heaven, carrying a magistral hat, a cotton plant and palm fronds. The magistral hat may symbolise a Heavenly justification of the Grand Magistracy bestowed on the brothers Cotoner i d'Olesa, as the Order is only answerable to the Pope, the representative of God on Earth. The cotton plant refers to the two Grand Masters Cotoner, but maybe not in an obvious way for the modern reader. The Cotoner family, in whose coat of arms the cotton plant is quartered with that of the Order, was and is a well-known noble family who had cotton plantations in the old and the new world. On the symbolic meaning of the cotton plant in the seventeenth century, there is little information available in academic literature, neither is there any in the Scriptures. Since the Cotoners spent a fortune on the baroquefication of St John's and since they both patronised Mattia Preti,<sup>1337</sup> it was more than a courtesy for this artist to render the coat of arms of the Cotoners into an everlasting symbol of their generosity and their efforts in carrying out the resolve of the two mottos of the Order. It may be not unreasonable to suggest an element of self-aggrandisement and immortality too of their deeds and names.

In the upper register is also displaying, on the left-hand side, a background of Maltese fortification walls (including a typical watchtower, called *Gardijola*), from which cannons are being fired. This suggest that the visitors are looking at a generic battle scene of the Great Siege. A further interpretation can be that Our Lady shaped an impenetrable (fortification) wall to protect the just cause of the Order against the unjust cause of the enemies of the Religion, whereby *Tuitio Fidei* and *Obsequium Pauperum* are the central aspects. At the base of the walls, knights of the Order of St John, distinguishable through

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<sup>1334</sup> Malta Maritime Museum, MMM/2729. A good sample is the cover of a manuscript manual for maritime signals (flags, banners, light signals, lanterns, cannon shots etc.), *Per Regola della Savadra di Malta circa la navigazione & combattimenti* made by or for Frà Giovanni Battista Spinola when he was elected as the Captain general of the Order's fleet of galleys in 1699. The cover is made by Mattia Preti or by students of his *bottega* in the 1690s.

<sup>1335</sup> Schneider and Kobler: Flamberg, 1992, Sp. 633–638.

<sup>1336</sup> Hall, 2001, 88. Victory personified uses a shield for a tablet. Modern meaning in e.g. Kuntz, 2004. Besides the connotations of just war, Mosaic law may be regarded as a paradigm for harmony and a well-ordered society.

<sup>1337</sup> Sire, 1996, 78. Nicholson, 2007, 96.



their *sopra veste* with their livery of a white cross on a red field (*gueules à la croix pleine d'argent*), are piled up on heaps on the battlefield after having fallen victim of the Ottomans. This is not only a strong identity marker, it also refers to the statutes which stipulated that any knight deserting a battle will be 'deprived of the habit and cross of the Order.'<sup>1338</sup> In the *corpus* and in the art commissioned by the Order, reference to the idea of martyrdom is normative. In analogy of the research of Simon Ditchfield regarding early Christian (virgin) martyrs and 'new warriors of Christ,' the *corpus* is replete of examples of Knights Hospitaller who died in action against the enemy of the Faith, or generally in the service of the Lord, and became martyrs of the Faith.<sup>1339</sup>

On the right-hand side of the same upper register, a set of columns represent the entrance of the Heavenly City of Jerusalem, where the angels come out from within the colonnade, to greet the new souls destined for Heaven. Both on the left and right from Our Lady of Victories, angels come down from Heaven and are distributing palm fronds to the new martyrs of the Order, those slain in the Great Siege, to show that their life's pilgrimage on Earth to the Heavenly City of Jerusalem was concluded successfully, 'rejoicing forever...united in glory with the holy martyrs.'<sup>1340</sup> It also resembles an aspect of the return of the First Crusaders. Of those still capable of travelling, many had replaced their weapons with the palm fronds, to show that they had fulfilled their penitential pilgrimage while entering their home in triumph.<sup>1341</sup> Although for mortals a palm frond is a symbol of a successful pilgrimage to the earthly Jerusalem,<sup>1342</sup> in the *Allegory* the temple in Jerusalem is in this context not the physical temple in view of the critique in the Bible on the temple as a physical place,<sup>1343</sup> but the idea of the Heavenly City of Jerusalem in the Augustinian spirit.<sup>1344</sup> This idea of the Heavenly City is referred to in the *corpus* by Frà Giovanni Battista Macedonio: 'he was raised to the Heavenly Capital, on separating himself from the earthly yoke.'<sup>1345</sup> The inscribed text of the slab of Frà Bernardo Scaglia refers to this as follows: 'He became Prior of Capua, hence he conquered the hazards of the open sea with prudence gaining supremacy over the enemy with his art of combat, while he spread out his foundations along the ethereal abodes of the immaterial, since he built his temple not on Earth, but in Heaven.'<sup>1346</sup> For those knights of the Order who died as martyrs, there was no need to have their souls cleaned in Purgatory, as these were

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<sup>1338</sup> De Vertot, 1770, 49-50.

<sup>1339</sup> Ditchfield, 2001, 183-205. Also, see Gregory, 2001.

<sup>1340</sup> Robinson, 2004, 149-51.

<sup>1341</sup> Riley-Smith, 2012b, 10; Risse, 1999: Pilgrims often returned to Europe with a palm leaf, collected at Jericho, after being re-baptised in the river Jordan there. It became the *Palmer's* symbol of moral rebirth, besides being a symbol and souvenir that the pilgrimage and connecting vows had been fulfilled.

<sup>1342</sup> Riley-Smith, 1999, 5.

<sup>1343</sup> Acts 21:6, Acts 7:47-49, Mt 23:29, In 4:21. Christians, in contrast to pagans and Jews, do not need a temple or alters to come closer to God, because worship could be done in the spirit of things, since God is to be found everywhere. Hence, the *ecclesia* is not a building but a group of worshippers.

<sup>1344</sup> Böer (ed.) 2012, *St Augustine of Hippo*, Especially Book 22 applies, where 'the beloved and heavenly city is not defrauded of the full number of its citizens' (Chapter 1).

<sup>1345</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, 299.

<sup>1346</sup> *Idem*, no. 202 (d. 1600).

regarded as white as snow.<sup>1347</sup> Even in the statutes of the Order reference is made to the 'end of this pilgrimage of the mortal life, they may enjoy the eternal reward for which God created them.'<sup>1348</sup>

Other angels are hovering over the bodies of the fallen knights-martyrs, offering them palm fronds to confirm their heroism, as in this particular instance the palm branches are also a symbol of victory, just as Nike would present a winning athlete a wreath of palm leaves. After that, they presumably collect their souls and fly them to Heaven, as to the right of the flag, a heavenly scene is just visible with what looks like a fallen knight just received into Heaven.

The lower register is split into two by a window. Here the two main mottos of the Order are displayed, on the left hand side *Obsequium Pauperum*, and on the right hand side of the window *Tuitio Fidei*. In the left section, the figure dressed in a black church robe, adorned on the front with the eight-pointed cross in white,<sup>1349</sup> is the Grand Master Nicola Cotoner i d'Olesa, who ruled between 1663 and 1680. He is tending a person in a sickbed. Lavishness is bestowed upon the patients, to show the Order's state-of-the-art healthcare: in this painting, the patient is depicted lying in a single bed and he is served his food and beverages from silverware, the most micro-hygienic material of the day.<sup>1350</sup> It was a duty that the Grand Master on Sundays would personally care for the sick, in the view of the Order's charter of hospitality and charity. His magistral hat is carried by his pages, because of his required humility when in the presence of the sick. The Order regarded the sick as 'Our Lords the Sick' (or the *Signori Malati*) and therefore it was proper that the Grand Master served the sick with a bare head, as Christ could be among them. A Grand Master also carried the title of *Custos Pauperum*, a guardian of the sick and the poor while at the same time he was also their servant. For this reason, the clothing of the Grand Masters should be humble, because the Lords the Sick are poorly dressed if not naked.

In the right section of the window, the part of *Tuitio Fidei*, there is a person dressed in the same kind of church dress, and this is the aforementioned Grand Master Raphael Cotoner i d'Olesa, brother of Nicola, who held the magistracy between 1660 and 1663. He is pointing at a painting of a galley and fortifications in the background, as the message is that the Order has power *terra marique*, both on land and at sea. He was involved in the war against the Ottomans at Candia during the three years of his rule.<sup>1351</sup> Raphael Cotoner is wearing his magistral hat, as he acts as the Head and Prince of a sovereign monastic military Order. After his death due to illness, his brothers created the following eulogy for their late Grand Master Raphael. It appears inscribed in marble on his sepulchral monument at St John's. In translation, it reads:

<sup>1347</sup> Sission and Higgins, 1993, *Dante Alighieri*; Le Goff, 1984.

<sup>1348</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, Old and New Statutes, 8.

<sup>1349</sup> Oesterreicher-Mollwo, 1991 149: On a symbolic level, the church robe of black material is a symbol of mourning, *i.e.* the suffering of Christ, which is contrasted by the white eight-pointed cross, as white would be signifying hope. See also: O'Lynn, 2007, 5-43.

<sup>1350</sup> O'Lynn, 2007, 5-43; Sire, 1996, 216.

<sup>1351</sup> A.O.M., 1770 ff. 12-20.

Passer-by, whoever you are, halt your journey, you are stepping into the Maltese Chapel of Aragon and you are seeing its sacred monuments. Here he is, the first Grand Master of the Cotonera lineage, here he is, Raphael, established Grand Master ahead of time, such an excellent brow worthy of the Maltese crown, such an excellent mind for war and counsel, his care, trust, observance, talent, prudence, strength had given so much precious assurance to life so that, when he was seized so early to the Heavenly heights, his hastened death had caused grief to the Order. He, who did not consider [it right] that the reins of dominion should change hands, entrusted the rule of sovereignty to his brother, do not seek the others, the first of the lineage paved the way for the second. This is enough passer-by, go on your way.<sup>1352</sup>

De Vertot confirms that this kind of succession by a singular decision by a Grand Master was a rather strange affair, as there were stringent rules and regulations regarding the election of Grand Masters. The reality seemed to be that there was no other likely candidate with those personal qualities and financial background to continue on the way forward set out by Raphael, shaping identity through art. During the conclave, all the electors just went in for formality's sake and the next day Nicola Cotoner was proclaimed Grand Master<sup>1353</sup> (for the election process, see chapter 5.12).

These two scenes of the Grand Masters are set around a window, and each side is adorned with mythological figures, painted in white and symbolising Hospitality, holding *cornucopia*, the horns of plenty. They are rendered in white, because Hospitality must be pure, since works of Charity are acceptable to God.<sup>1354</sup> The window itself is decorated with embossed palm fronds, a symbol of martyrdom and victory. The message is clear, the Order of St John may give abundantly to both charity and defence to fulfil their duties.

### 8.13 Epilogue

When the Order and the other participants in the Holy League finally managed to make a beginning of the Ottoman decline after Lepanto, Europe was taking this safety for granted. Europe, as a cradle of new ideas, went through a series of events which revolutionised public thinking and state policies, Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Enlightenment and matters such as the Treaty of Karlowitz. The latter Treaty established the Ottoman position after their defeat in the Great Turkish War (1683-89). Commercial motivations took over in some countries, such as France and Venice, who felt rather comfortable trading with the weakened Ottoman Empire and uncomfortable with the unchanged long-term goals of the Order related to the same Ottomans. A certain amount of hypocrisy can be detected here. First, Europe needed the Order to keep the Turks at bay. When that was achieved, political memory-loss occurred, as the Order was then regarded as anachronistic regarding modern state policies and therefore counter-productive to modern commercial ambitions. Religious arguments of saving Christendom

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<sup>1352</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 196.

<sup>1353</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. II, book xiii, 85-90.

<sup>1354</sup> Ripa, 1709, 40.

were no longer deemed relevant. When it came to justify war, it was argued that only modern states could do so, not a military religious Order in isolation and on its own terms. The long-distance distortion then blurred some realities, as mainland Europe had also benefitted from the Treaty of Karlowitz. As events in the *corpus* indicate, the Mediterranean still had to endure Ottoman piracy, as this continued unhindered, while fighting back through corsairing was no longer acceptable to modern Europe.

In scale and importance, all the previously mentioned events were not to be surpassed until Napoleon Bonaparte, on his way to Egypt in June 1798, stopped in Malta and evicted the Order without too much trouble. The French Revolution made an end to the ancient nobiliary chivalric Order, as it was no match for the rise of European nationalism, industrial revolution and commercial drive of the French bourgeoisie.<sup>1355</sup> A catastrophic event from which the military side of the Order never recovered. It meant the loss of the Order's fleet and the end of the Hospitaller Catholic Republic in Malta. In a parallel development, Bonaparte had also made an end to the Dutch naval dominance of the Dutch Republic in 1795.<sup>1356</sup> Ultimately, it did not matter if one had been anti-Turk or pro-Turk.

The dramatic content of a page in the *Libri Defunctorum* informs the reader about the French invasion of Malta on 9<sup>th</sup> June 1798 and the subsequent expulsion of the Order three days later, on 12<sup>th</sup> June. '*A quo Religio Nostra ab exercitu Gallorum ab hac Melitae insula nostroque Conventu expulsa fuit*', by which Our Religion, by force of the French, was evicted from this island of Malta, Our Convent.<sup>1357</sup> Nonetheless, some knights stayed behind and were buried at St John's after the French themselves were evicted by the British in 1800. For the carers of the dead and the undertakers, it was business as usual, as theirs is crisis resistant. A week later, on 19<sup>th</sup> June 1789, the death is recorded of the noble Frà Jean-Batist Mongondier of the *langue* of Provence, who was then buried in the cemetery of the Church of St Publius in the suburb of Floriana. Like many other churches, St John's was plundered and what remained of its memory was left to decay.<sup>1358</sup>

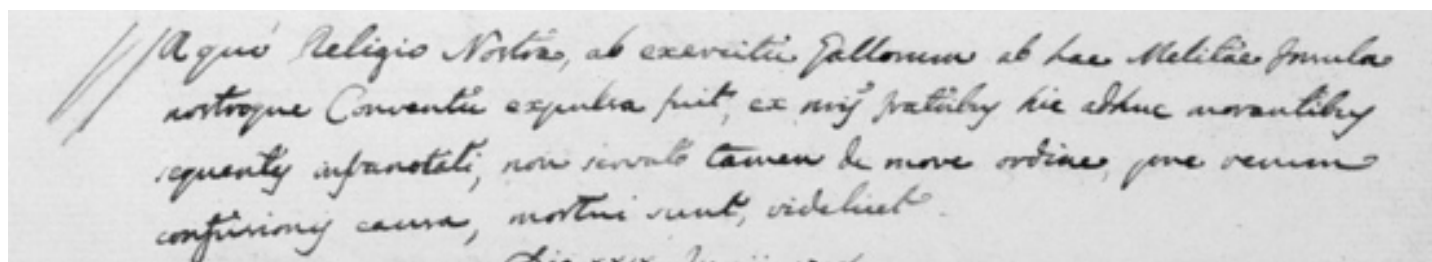


Image 32: A.O.M. 1949, 23<sup>r</sup>. Entry of the 9<sup>th</sup> June 1798. Photo: Author

<sup>1355</sup> Freller, 2003, 2-11, here 2.

<sup>1356</sup> Prud'homme van Reine, 2005.

<sup>1357</sup> A.O.M. 1949, 23<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>1358</sup> Testa, 1997, 115-118.

### 8.14 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed and demonstrated how the *corpus* answers the question of who the Ottomans were both from the Hospitaller emic point of view and through the perception of the Maltese population, as part of their memory and image forming process and to show the scale and intensity of the Ottoman drive to conquer the world. This chapter has also provided a much more refined and wider image of the Ottomans and the complex matter of establishing their identity. Although there were many different peoples fighting for the Ottomans, the Order of St John had a rather restricted notion of who was who within the Ottoman invading navy and army of 1565, while the Maltese population, who had fallen victim to the continuous razzias and slave traders attacks, had their own ideas about them. For the Maltese, all the Turkish history, identity and variety did not matter; they identified those people who came and destroyed their islands and enslaved them, simply as the 'Turk'. Nonetheless, the Order and the Ottomans were not always at war, there was diplomacy and mutual agreements were reached, *e.g.* in the field of ransoming slaves.

Although the Order did its utmost to demonise the 'Turk' and made sure that Europe was continuously aware of the efforts of the Order, at Christendom's fringe, to keep Christendom and Europe safe, there were generally amicable relationships with the Ottomans and the North Africans. Often a delicate balance between cooperation and hostility. Diplomacy was a great tool. Cooperation occurred with North African rulers against the Ottomans, as the former were mainly Shi'ites Muslims and the latter Sunni Muslims. Although the Hospitallers policed the Mediterranean and captured many a Muslim ship and enslaved many a Muslim, it would be a mistake to state that the Order was anti-Muslim. In reality, there was mutual understanding and co-operation in order to facilitate smooth commercial operations on both sides.<sup>1359</sup> On the other hand, if the history of the Knights Hospitaller was closely associated with an anti-Muslim stand, the memory of the Maltese was also marked by setbacks in the relationships they had with the North Africans and the Ottomans. The 1429 and 1551 *razzias*, the Great Siege of Malta and the plethora of raids on the islands afterwards seeing the short intervals with which these events happened and the vivid memories these generated, were enough to mark Malta's anti-Muslim position for a long time. What can be said in this context is that without the Ottomans and their expansionist policies, the Order and Malta would not have developed as they did.

While for the Maltese the Ottoman threat was an endless source of worry, the Order may have judged it as a continuous challenge and a measure for their heroism, as the *corpus* testifies. A large part of the art at St John's is inspired by the fear and challenges the Ottomans presented to Hospitaller Malta. Hospitaller memory was well served by externalising and eternalising these victories over the Ottomans on an unprecedented scale. Fear of the Ottomans was exploited to emphasise their role as the Guardian of

<sup>1359</sup> Buttigieg, 2011, 1-18; Mallia-Milanes, 1995, 120; Nicholson, 2001, 125-6; Vann, 2014, 109-19.

Vann, 2007, 159;



Europe. All this art unmistakably enhanced the Hospitaller self-image in a way that was very much an 'us against them' situation, whereby the Order was the underdog, a very minute David against an enormous Goliath. *Turcica* also found its way to St John's. The Order used the standard repertoire of *Turcica* and adapted it to their needs.

With regard to symbolism, the Hospitallers stayed within the safe boundaries of what had been published and regarded as canon in the field of symbols. Within the Hospitaller context of St John's, the use of the cotton plant, found in the heraldry of the Cotoner family, may be regarded as a newly invented symbol, in addition to the large oeuvre of existing symbols, not only at St John's but possibly also to art in general. Cotoner's cotton plant represents here their generosity in maintaining the two mottos of the Order. Furthermore, this cotton plant may be regarded as the epitome of the blessings the Cotoner brothers brought upon the Order and the Maltese population, the bringers of opulent and triumphant baroque art, wealth, protection, prosperity and medical science.

The Spanish rulers, among others Charles V Emperor of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, and Phillip II, were continually at war to stop the Ottoman expansion to the West. The Spanish had many Christian European enemies themselves through their perpetual warfare and colonisation politics, such as the Dutch, the French and the English. European unity meant little to the French or the Venetians when profitable trade and strategic alliances could be made with the Ottomans. On the other hand, people in the Mediterranean were worried about these approaches, as they rather not wanted anyone to encourage the Ottomans to come any closer as they already were. The Ottoman motivation to try to capture Malta was emotionally, politically and practically. Süleyman felt that his generosity was betrayed by the Hospitallers and he needed revenge, most of all to repair his hurt ego and to appease his household, the latter having lost much investment when the Hospitallers captured their ships. Politically, because Malta was the hinge on which the Ottoman dream of expanding into Europe and capturing Rome was swinging.

Napoleon Bonaparte achieved what the Ottomans could not, the enemy from within Europe prevailed over the enemy from outside. The Order was stripped from all its wealth and its image shredded. Bonaparte had thought he had delivered a *coup de grâce*, and I am suggesting that the power of memory pertaining to the Hospitaller self-image managed to revive the Order in the 1830s, some 30 odd years later.

## Chapter 9 A short case study of two German knights von Königsegg

### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter is a short case study of two sons of two lineages of the von Königsegg family who served in Malta. It is relevant to the social and political context of *memoria* and self-image, as the self-image of the Roman Catholic German nobility was largely compatible with the self-image requirements of the Order. On the one hand, it confirms the notion of nobility as recorded in the *corpus*, while on the other, when trying to understand it backwards, it seems that the *corpus* and St John's were status magnets for Europe's nobility. Having one's family name and lineage on the memorial floor of St John's was the ultimate status. There might have been also an element of inter-German competition going on, as was the case with the other *langues*. In the *corpus*, there are references to German family honour, for instance, 'Franz Sebastian, Count of Wratislaw, Grand Bailiff of Germany...Prior of Bohemia...Ambassador to Clement X... detesting any kind of vanity, always lived piously, in emulation of his brother's generosity, he bequeathed 50,000 gold pieces to the Public Treasury.'<sup>1360</sup> Not less impressive was the career of Johann Sigismund, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Bailiff of Schaesberg, Commendator of Steinfurt and of Münster...supreme Receptor of all Germany...appointed to the Most Venerable Counsels of the Blessed Johann Wilhelm, Palatine Elector, as well as of Emperor Charles...<sup>1361</sup> One of the top achievers was Frà Philipp Wilhelm...

'Count of Nesselrode of the Holy Roman Empire, and Grand Prior of Germany in Reichenstein, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in Heitersheim who, as a minor, enrolled in the Sacred Militia of Jerusalem...Receptor in Lower Germany...Captain the Flagship...Captain-General of fleet of galleys...Grand Bailiff of Germany...Venerable Curators of the Common Treasury, in charge of the War Affairs of the Venerable Congregation of Sailing-Ships, Governor for the Poor and of the almshouse built in the suburb of Floriana. By no means forgetful of Death, placed this slab for himself while alive in the year 1747, at the age of 70, so that you who will read this may piously pray to the Eternal Creator for his soul.'<sup>1362</sup>

and Frà Gregorio Spinola, Bailiff of the Sacred Religion of Jerusalem, descending from the famous family of the Marques of Roccaforte and of the Holy Roman Emperor...<sup>1363</sup> These samples show us means, opportunity and motive to spend a considerable sum on passage fees for a noble son to be entered into the Order, which was, implicitly, seeing not only a return on their investment in status, reputation, memory, *memoria* and so on, but also confirmation of their standing, high offices and heroic deeds in the past by the dearly

<sup>1360</sup> See Part III, Appendix I, no. 270.

<sup>1361</sup> *Idem*, no. 271.

<sup>1362</sup> *Idem*, no. 280.

<sup>1363</sup> *Idem*, no. 111.



departed members of the same lineage. Hospitaller Malta depended for its defence on the nobility of Europe, to enrol their sons into the Order, not only as a status requirement but also a duty.

*Memoria*, at least for nobility, covers several meanings, since it includes, besides the meanings discussed in this work, also the concepts of nobility and noble group identity, the family, the 'House of', the lineage, but first and foremost, the confirmation of their own nobility and their standing in the ranks of peers. This associates to their forebears and others with related lineages, the longevity of the lineage and the reputational quality this memory and *memoria* holds. Oexle states that *memoria* is a condition of Fama,<sup>1364</sup> and this had, as a consequence, a strong influence on the posterity consciousness of the nobility, resulting in a large artistic output such as genealogy, heraldry, *Ahnengalerien*, *Sukzessionsbilder*, seals, coinage, cannon, church bells, weapons, books, artefacts, sepulchres, music, archives, portraiture, architecture, maps, clothing, armour and codices. All these matters pertaining to externalisation of memory and *memoria* of the nobility, was also valid for related groups, such as Popes, Hospitallers, clergy, monks and nuns. Of importance here is also the manner in which nobility had organised its succession, through bloodlines rather than through capability.

An excursion will be taken to Germany, where we can follow the origins of two lineages of a noble family, their image creation, their rise and fall, the process of enrolment and the consequent careers of these two knights of the German *langue* of the Order. Two von Königsegg family members had been enrolled in the Hospitaller Order and both had stayed for a period in the Convent in Malta. There are sources available for Joseph Anton von Königsegg in the Gräflich Königsegg'sches Archive (GKK) at Königseggwald, Swabia, Germany, the archives of the Piarists Brothers at Hungary, the Archives of Malta and few other sources, mostly gathered from the various publications of Horst Boxler. There are fewer documents related to Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels, the great-uncle of Joseph Anton von Königsegg-Aulendorf, as unfortunately the Königsegg-Rothenfels archives were the victim of an all-destroying fire. Besides that, all these documents are in GKK, there are also copies in Boxler Bibliotheca (BB). Franz Xaver Graf zu Königsegg-Aulendorf (FXKA), the grandfather of the current count of Königsegg-Aulendorf, Johannes, in the second half of the nineteenth century, collected all the documents he could find about his family. There are thousands, stored at GKK and copies at BB: 17 volumes of the FXKA-copies (about 9,000 pages, hand-written by Franz Xaver) and 14 volumes of primary sources and secondary literature (about 8,300 pages).<sup>1365</sup>

The Order of St John was, and still is, a nobiliary order and many members are still drawn from Europe's aristocratic families. This brief case study of the von Königsegg family may serve as an example how a noble family originated and how one lineage managed to survive political turmoil, wars and financial disasters, and the other one not.

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<sup>1364</sup> Van Bueren and Oexle, 2005, 55-78, here 55.

<sup>1365</sup> I was able to carry out research at GKK and BB in 2015, thanks to a research grant made available through Prof. Dr. D. de Boer.

It is also insightful to see how these lineages found their place and identity within the ranks of their peers, making contributions to war, peace, society and the arts.

The Hospitaller Order was of great interest for Europe's noble families, as it offered their younger sons a future. It cannot be underestimated how much it meant to have a son in the Order, as entering a son meant a serious capital expenditure with regard the *passaggio*. For a noble family it also meant a higher esteem from their peers. Having a Hospitaller for a son, held the potential promise that the family coat of arms would be exposed to the world. Any honour gained by the son through the Order, was honour gained by the family. This concept is recurrent in the *corpus*, and is perhaps best explained by the inscribed text of Frà Bernardo de Ezpeletay Xavier of Navarra, relating how much 'he embellished both his family and his Order with the splendour of their virtues,'<sup>1366</sup> or by Frà Henri d'Estampes Vallancay, who 'gained both his achievements and merits on par with any of his ancestors,' *ET GESSIT ET MERUIT PAR QUOQUE MAIORIBUS*.<sup>1367</sup> In this respect, the Hospitaller lifestyle of following ethos and pathos reflected well on those families.

## 9.2 Von Königsegg: foundation legends

Like many clans and families who came into power and money, there was a drive to look for connections to much older and prominent family ties. Hence, the von Königseggs had their own foundation legends, just like any other noble family, and just like the Hospital in Jerusalem had acquired or constructed over the years. In the case of von Königsegg, *miracula* were not included, but close. The von Königseggs never seriously made use of these legends to advance themselves; a healthy amount of scepticism prevailed over the centuries, and they took a pick-and-mix approach, using what seemed a reasonable and credible interpretation. They could have, had they wished to, made use of the stories that a Königsegg had been involved in 922 in the battle for the German Kingdom to become the König, or that another one was present when Christianity was accepted. Nor did they make use of the legend that a clan of the Guelphs, wishing to see the dark lands *transalpinum* mixed with the extinct clan of the *Vögte* who rose from their graves in the *Schwarzwald*, the Black Forest, for the occasion. Also, the etymology of 'Königsegg' is not from a Guelph named Cuno who built a burgh on a corner (*Eck* or *Egg*) in 650 and named it 'Cuno's Egg,' *i.e.* Königsegg.<sup>1368</sup> However, Cuno is the first entry in the legendary family tree of the von Königsegg.<sup>1369</sup>

## 9.3 Von Königsegg: origins

Von Königsegg is an ancient noble ministerial family from Upper Swabia. When von Königsegg ministerials appear for the first time in twelfth century documents, these show that they moved rather swiftly and decidedly into the centre of the royal-imperial power,

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<sup>1366</sup> *Idem*, no. 191.

<sup>1367</sup> See: Part III, Appendix I, no. 327.

<sup>1368</sup> Boxler, 1993, 77ff.

<sup>1369</sup> *Idem*, 80.

which was just about to pass from the Guelphs to the Hohenstaufens. Thus, the first mention of the name Königsegg before 1180, identifies these early Königsegg ancestors as Guelph ministerials, who were in close contact with Henry the Lion or with the influential monastery on the island of Reichenau.<sup>1370</sup> Of this early period one person stands out, Meingoz I von Reute, Fronhofen and Tobel, who lived between 1155 and 1210, who is regarded as the ancestor of all Königsegg family members of present.

From the many descendants of Meingoz I, long since in the service of the Staufen Emperors, two brothers, Ulrich I (1266-1296) and Berthold III (1262-1290) were prominent. They both named themselves after the original castle Fronhofen, and since 1251 also after Königsegg, a castle in Upper Swabia they had acquired from their former feudal lords in 1311. More importantly, at the end of the thirteenth century, they became the founders of the lineages von Königsegg of Rothenfels and of Aulendorf respectively.<sup>1371</sup> Hans Dionys I was the first Königsegg to be made baron, in the summer of 1510.<sup>1372</sup> One person exercising an invaluable influence on the rise of the Königsegg family was Berthold II von Fronhofen und Königsegg, mentioned in the records in 1239 and who died in 1273. He was the first in the family to bear a seal as a knight, with which the coat of arms of the house is confirmed.<sup>1373</sup>

#### **9.4 The von Königsegg lineages of Rothenfels and of Aulendorf**

As mentioned above, the common origin of von Königsegg was started by Ulrich I and Berthold II at Königsegg Castle, and shortly after their properties were extended through a gift of a residence in the town of Aulendorf, also in Swabia. This area was awarded by the Hohenstaufen rulers, and as loyal royalists, the Rothenfels made a successful inroad into the world of politics, later on providing services to the Habsburgs. Hugo II of Königsegg zu Aulendorf und Rothenfels (1596-1666) laid the foundation for both the lines of Aulendorf and Rothenfels which are still existing today.<sup>1374</sup> In order to make both lines stronger, he separated them, retaining the larger dominion of Rothenfels for himself, while Aulendorf went to his youngest brother, Johann Georg II (1604-1666). This was allowed on the basis of an inheritance, executed on 7<sup>th</sup> January 1588 at Castle Aulendorf. The final division into the counties Königsegg-Rothenfels and Königsegg-Aulendorf was achieved by means of a notarial deed of 9<sup>th</sup> October 1662, preceded by the elevation of the Königsegg family into the rank of Imperial Counts by the Emperor on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1629.<sup>1375</sup>

Hugo II's son, Leopold Wilhelm von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1630-1694), already held the rank of Vice-Chancellor of the *Reich*. In the tumultuous years before and during the second Ottoman Siege of Vienna (1683), under the command of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha, his efforts were decisive regarding the successful defence of the city

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<sup>1370</sup> *Idem*, 81ff.

<sup>1371</sup> Boxler, 2005, 17.

<sup>1372</sup> *Idem*, 245ff.

<sup>1373</sup> GKK Rep. all the sources are recorded in the GKK Report and described in Boxler 1993 and 2005

<sup>1374</sup> Boxler, 2005, 60ff, 157ff.

<sup>1375</sup> *Ibid*.



against an enemy outnumbering the defenders almost eightfold. With regard to the defence of Vienna, usually the heroic resistance by Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg from 14<sup>th</sup> July to 12<sup>th</sup> September 1683 and the relief force arriving under the command of King Johann III Sobieski of Poland made the headlines. However, what is seldom mentioned is that Leopold Wilhelm tirelessly forged alliances which were the backbone of Vienna's successful defence. The Emperor himself, who had fled to Passau, accompanied by some 80,000 Viennese citizens, was able to reward his loyal diplomat and thus, after the victory, Leopold Wilhelm, the Emperor's Vice-Chancellor, received a large piece of land on which he built the *Palais Königsegg*. On 15<sup>th</sup> October 1675, Leopold Wilhelm Count von Königsegg-Rothenfels was awarded the Great Palatinate by the Emperor (title of a Palatine and Court Count: among others with the right of elevation to knighthood, bestowal of academic predicates, coat of arms, far-reaching privileges and income ).<sup>1376</sup>

His son Sigmund Wilhelm Graf zu Königsegg-Rothenfels (1663-1709) continued his father's mission as envoy and successful military career in battles that led to reconquering of large parts of the Balkans from the Ottomans. He entertained important guests at *Palais Königsegg*, and he organised a lavish ball for Tsar Peter the Great in 1698. Despite his successful career, Sigmund Wilhelm unfortunately proved to be an unreliable administrator of the family fortune and heritage. He was dismissed by the family council, but too late. The price to pay for excessive spending started the financial ruin of this branch of the family.<sup>1377</sup> The nail in the Rothenfels estate's coffin was Christian Moritz Commander of the Teutonic Order of Altshausen, (1705-1778), who displayed theatrical tendencies. The locals ridiculed him as a *Schlemmergraf*, a Court Fop or a 'gourmet count'. In 1803 the family had to exchange the remains of his highly indebted estate for a Habsburg crown estate in Hungary (today Rumania), where there was neither a manor house nor an economic basis to survive as a gentleman.

### 9.5 Von Königsegg footprint

On another plane, the Königsegg footprint was not only in properties, such as castles, mansions, mills, and breweries, but also in woods, farms, wine-estates and hunting grounds, and they left their marks a large part of the Germanic world and beyond and had, besides in Germany, properties in what is now Austria, the Czech Republic (Bohemia), France, Belgium, Hungary, former West-Prussia (now Poland), East-Prussia (now either Poland or Russia), Russia, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia and Switzerland.<sup>1378</sup>

In other areas, the von Königsegg families have left their mark too. They commissioned cannons, church bells and chasubles, artefacts, and numerous paintings, portraits, *Ahnengalerien*, *Sukzessionsbilder* and parish churches. In the field of sepulchral art and heraldry, various von Königseggs were very visible. There was great emphasis on their prominence, as their lordship was also entitled to produce their own coinage. However,

<sup>1376</sup> *Idem*, 465ff.

<sup>1377</sup> *Idem*, 504ff.

<sup>1378</sup> See for a detailed account of all the properties: Königsegg-Aulendorf and Boxler, 2016.

since they were relatively small, their own coinage had little impact, until they united their forces in a so-called *Münzverein* in 1396. Later on, when the von Königsegg-Rothenfels branch was elevated to the status of the Great Palatinate by Emperor Leopold I in 1675, their coinage was more effective. Of particular interest is the coinage made by Maximilian-Friedrich, Fürstbischof (Prince-Bishop, and Kurfürst (electoral prince) of Cologne and Graf (Count) zu Königsegg-Rothenfels (1708-1784). Maximilian-Friedrich also had for a while the young Ludwig von Beethoven under his protection, who dedicated his first works to the Fürstbischof, such as *Drei Sonaten für Klavier* (1783).<sup>1379</sup> All this status and public spending was essential for such a family to remain on the desired level. In order to extend the family efforts and achievements to a higher level of visibility, and therefore gaining status and influence, having sons in the Order of St John was an excellent instrument.

### **9.6 The influence of Luther, Bonaparte, the Russian Revolution and the Second World War**

Shortly after Martin Luther's Protestant revolt and the Augsburg Peace of the Reich and Religion of 1555, the imperial estates were guaranteed their possessions and were promised the free practice of their religion. In chapter 5.16 of this book the unreliability of this guarantee has been discussed in view of the Hospitaller Order losing their properties to the new Protestant powers. In the case of German speaking world, the denominational disputes continued because the documented rights of the peasants were not observed, and all these wanted was to have their rights and promises confirmed again. The Great Peasant War (1524-1525), whose origin lay in the county of Stühlingen and despite the wildest legends, actually began quite harmlessly through a change of power. As in so many conflicts, ignorance, maliciousness and greed led to an extremely violent uprising, which was crushed in blood by the united rural, urban and spiritual lords under George von Waldburg's military leadership, causing severe damage to manorial properties. Thus, the Königsegg fortress of Marstetten was reduced to ruins, while other Königsegg castles and palaces got away with just a few scratches.<sup>1380</sup>

Fortunately for the von Königseggs, the most devastating war of their times, the Thirty Year War (1618-1648), although wreaking havoc in Upper Swabia, did not destroy the economic foundations of this family. This war, in the end, had led to a consensus between the mostly Protestant cities and the mostly Catholic rural dominions, even if marauding gangs of predominantly Swedish origin went through Upper Swabia in a rampage of murder, theft and rape.

In contrast to the older Rothenfels branch, the Counts of Königsegg-Aulendorf did lose some of their landed properties and part of their independence, due to extensive expropriation through 'mediation' by Bonaparte after his reorganisation of Europe. The Counts of Königsegg-Aulendorf did forgo their claim to power in comparison to earlier times, becoming subjects of the former *primus inter pares*, the newly created King of

<sup>1379</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1380</sup> For a detailed account, see Oka, 1995. For an introduction to the Peasants' War, see Blickle, 2015.

Württemberg. In the end, all that remained for the Counts of Königsegg-Aulendorf was their private property, which became more and more difficult to maintain. After having held for centuries and many generations the office of Bailiff (later hereditary bailiff) of the Imperial Bailiwick of Swabia o.b.o. the Habsburgs, following this forced reorganisation they no longer held any such important offices. The last of these bailiffs or shire reeves was Ernst Johann Maria Graf zu Königsegg-Aulendorf (1755-1803).<sup>1381</sup>

The Second World War and the subsequent takeover by Stalin's henchmen put an end to this branch as a political force, but not the branch itself. Of the 28 properties they had in Russia, nothing remained. Everything that even remotely smelled of capitalism, was destroyed, including mills and farms.

The lineage Königsegg-Rothenfels was continued by János Géza (\*1977), at present residing in Budapest. His great-grandfather Ludwig Johann Nepomuk (1874-1930), also merits mention. He was called to the Court of Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa as an agrarian expert. Whilst in Ethiopia, he refused the offer to marry an Ethiopian princess, but dedicated his time instead to write a series of books about his sojourn in Africa's only free empire.<sup>1382</sup>

### 9.7 The tale of two Königsegg Knights of Majority

The focus is on two family members, each of a different lineage. Of one, Graf Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1672-1744), very little is known, besides that he had occupied high offices in the Order and reached the age of 72. Of the other, Joseph Anton von Königsegg-Aulendorf (1728-1754), much more has come to light, but sadly he died very young, at the age of 25.

Franz Anton Joseph Ignaz Vinzenz Ludwig Graf von Königsegg-Rothenfels, was born in Vienna on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1672 to Wilhelm von Königsegg-Rothenfels and Maria Polyxena von Schärffenberg, and probably baptised on that same day in the St Michael's Church at Vienna. There is a six-year gap noticeable between Franz Anton and his older brother, probably due to miscarriages or stillbirths. The boy's godparents were Paul Sixt Graf von Trautsohn and his wife Maria Catharina Gräfin von Trautsohn, née zu Königsegg-Aulendorf.<sup>1383</sup>

Franz Anton was enrolled in the Order of St John in Malta at the age of six years, on 7<sup>th</sup> May 1678, and recorded in the entry register, which entry was signed by Grand Master Nicola Cotoner. The entry reads in translation: 'The noble boy, Franz Anton Joseph Ignaz Vinzenz Ludwig Graf von Königsegg, son of the Noble Leopold Wilhelm Graf von Königsegg, Privy Councillor of His Imperial Majesty and Imperial Vice-Chancellor, is granted admission to the Order, having been granted papal permission by Pope Innocent XI, given in Rome on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1678.'

Franz Anton entered as a Knight of Minority in the rank of Knight Justice of the German *langue* and the Bohemian Priory. Although he had not yet taken the religious vows, he

<sup>1381</sup> Boxler, 2005, 894, 62ff., 850ff., 756ff.,

<sup>1382</sup> *Idem*, 514ff., 563ff., 556ff., 567ff., 647, 627ff.

<sup>1383</sup> FXKA Nr. 146.

was declared an adult, provided that 1,000 golden *scudi* were paid annually for this privilege and standing.<sup>1384</sup> Usually, a person was admitted into the Order as a Knight of Majority, as a novice between sixteen and twenty years of age. Nonetheless, minors were also allowed to enter. Twelve-year-olds could become Pages of the Grand Master, but even younger children were admitted in minority. This required special dispensation, either by the Pope or by obtaining a Bull of Minority, available from 1631 onwards, as the result of a special grant made by that year's Chapter-General. The passage money, the *passaggio*, for a Minority candidate was double that of a Majority one. Entering early had great advantages, as seniority started at the entering date. Hence, Franz Anton Ignaz had on entering already an advance of six years standing over a Page at the age of twelve. In general, the novitiate was twelve months, and after taking simple vows, the obliged *caravans* were fulfilled, three or four seasonal terms at sea on a galley.<sup>1385</sup> Part of the novitiate was providing service in the hospital, the core duty of a Hospitaller. Besides that, the novices were taught the history and the customs of the Order, trained in their religious duties and their behaviour monitored and corrected. Courtly manners were indispensable, and so were their chivalric qualities. Franz Anton Ignaz enjoyed a career in the diplomatic corps of the Order and must have had therefore some very well-honed skills. Military prowess went cheek-by-jowl with religious devotion. Understanding the advantages and benefits of a heroic and pious death was part of their military and spiritual training.<sup>1386</sup> One of the places where the novices could get inspiration was, of course, the sepulchral slabs and monuments at St John's. At 21 years of age, the novitiate ended, and they took their solemn vows. After five years residence in the Convent they were eligible for a commandery, but a wise man stayed in the Convent and fulfilled as many offices as he could, to build up a good name and managerial stamina, as can be applied to Franz Anton Ignaz. Seniority was obviously a strong point in the competition for the best jobs, but merits counted as much.<sup>1387</sup> This is probably the main reason why the inscribed texts of the *corpus* show great emphasis on the number of offices they competently fulfilled and so much importance was given to the 'pleasantness of character.' This all would be for the benefit of the younger knights.<sup>1388</sup> Franz Anton Ignaz would have undoubtedly fit the bill, as he ended his career in the top offices the Order had to offer. High birth was a requirement, but without proper skills no diplomat would have a lasting career.

Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg was promoted to the *Consiglieri del Complotto* (one of a group of advisors) *per la Ven(eran)da Lingua d'Allemagna* on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1698,<sup>1389</sup> at the age of 26. Besides having the advantages of early enrolment, Franz Anton Ignaz must have possessed the intelligence befitting for a career diplomat. Since there is no mention of his absence, it may be concluded he was in the Convent at that time. Franz Anton had

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<sup>1384</sup> A.O.M. 4714-4722, 1678.

<sup>1385</sup> Sire, 1996, 83.

<sup>1386</sup> *Idem*, 218.

<sup>1387</sup> *Idem*, 83.

<sup>1388</sup> Munro, 2005.

<sup>1389</sup> A.O.M. 2226, f. 167<sup>r</sup>.

been the *luogotenente Gran Baglio*, the lieutenant of the Grand Bailiff, from 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1705 to 24<sup>th</sup> May 1715,<sup>1390</sup> when finally, *Francesco Antonio Comte de Konigegg abs.* was promoted to Grand Bailiff on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1716, at 43 years of age. When this promotion took place, he was absent from the Convent.<sup>1391</sup> He seemed to have been coming and going from the island of Malta.

Franz Anton Ignaz seems to have stayed in Malta from 1715 onwards. In 1715, he was on an inspection tour of the fortifications in Gozo, Malta's sister island. It was an official visit, in his capacity of Vice-Bailiff, *i.e.* as Lieutenant of the Grand Bailiff or *Magnus Praeceptor*, who had jurisdiction over the knights of German *langue*. The Bailiff was also responsible for Castel San Pietro and the old town of Mdina. Franz Anton Ignaz was welcomed with a salute by the commander of the island, Frà Didaco Garzia de Mula, an Aragonese, and later expressed his thanks for the welcome.<sup>1392</sup>

Franz Anton Ignaz was also involved in a tragic incident. In the late evening of 11<sup>th</sup> July 1717, he was accompanied by the Chevalier de Barbantane and Frà Heinrich Ludger von Galen, *V(enerand)ae Linguae Alemannia miles ac Com(en)da de Francofurti, et Moguntiae Commendatarius* (Commendator of Frankfurt and Mainz). The three had been in a village near Notabile (Mdina) on the way back from a visit of the church of Our Lady of Carmel. Franz Anton Ignaz was now Grand Bailiff of the German *langue*, a top position in the Order. At around 21.00 hrs, one of these three persons, attempted to drive the mule pulling the caleche to a faster pace, using the tip of his sword. As a result, the mule bolted suddenly, and the coachman was thrown off. As the mule continued to run amok, the three decided to jump off altogether at the same time, fearing for their lives, as the caleche uncontrollably bounced back and forth. When they tumbled to the ground, Franz Anton injured his shoulder and De Barbantane lost three teeth. Unfortunately, Von Galen went headlong into a ravine and hit his head on a boulder, *in terram cecidit, ibique statim capise ad lapidem colliso* and died instantly.<sup>1393</sup> Galen was laid out the following day in the German chapel of the Conventual church and was buried there among the other brothers of the German *langue*. Other versions of the accident circulated too. People had reported that a shining lantern scared the mule, apparently taking the form of a scarecrow.<sup>1394</sup> The name of the culprit who had pricked the mule with his sword was never revealed and the incident did not seem to have influenced Franz Anton Ignaz's career negatively.

The inscribed text of von Galen is as follows:

#### To God Supreme and Almighty

For Heinrich Ludger, Commendator of Mainz and Frankfurt, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire Von Galen in Essen, descendant of prominent ancestors of the most long-standing nobility of Germany - such as the once most celebrated lord, the Lord Bishop and Prince of Münster Christopher Bernard, a nephew on

<sup>1390</sup> *Idem*, 143<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>1391</sup> *Idem*, f. 21<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>1392</sup> Galea, 1986, 8.

<sup>1393</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1394</sup> Galea, 1986, 97.



his brother's side - who, while at the time when wars raged on both land and sea in the year 1704, was the Captain of a galley and twice Lieutenant of the Grand Bailiff in the years 1709 and 1711 and served instead of one of the Generals of the Military while the Turks were threatening to bring war to this island in the year 1708. Finally, he performed illustriously in practically all duties for the Holy Roman Empire by his very own virtues and with common approval. By now a great man, in pursuit of greater offices and merits, unexpectedly and to the great lament of everyone, plummeted to his death, when he unfortunately leaped headlong from a derailing carriage into a ravine on the 11th day of July 1717 at the age of 43. His brother, Christopher Heinrich, Count of the Holy Roman Empire of Galen, Lord of Essen, and intimate counsellor and imperial courtier of the Holy Emperor and the Catholic King, placed this slab in mourning.<sup>1395</sup>

Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels is mentioned in the *Libri Conciliorum*,<sup>1396</sup> dated 12<sup>th</sup> June 1720. There was a port issue with ships belonging to the Holy Roman Empire which Franz Anton Ignaz tried to solve. From the title of this entry, it is evident that Franz Anton Ignaz was both a Grand Bailiff of the Order and a gentleman of the household of Elisabeth Christine von Brunswick zu Wolfenbüttel, wife/consort of Emperor Charles VI.

The entry head reads: *Noi Cavalieri Fra Francesco Antonio del Sacro Romano Imperio Conte di Konigsegg e / Rothenfels, signore d'Aulendorf, e Staufen, Gran bali dell'Inclito Ordine Gerosolimitano / Commendatore delle commende di Maidelberg, Reichembach, Strigau e Miesluge, e / Gentilhuomo della Camera di Sua Cesarea, e Cattolica Maestra* (We, Knights Frà Franz Anton of the Holy Roman Empire, Count of Königsegg-Rothenfels, Lord of Aulendorf and Staufen, Grand Bailiff of the glorious Jerusalemite Order, Commendator of the Commanderies of Maidelberg, Reichembach, Strigau and Miesluge, and Gentleman of the Chambers of Her Empress, and Catholic teacher). The answer was recorded on the same day, saying that his letter was noted and filed, and that appropriate measures would be taken:

*Frater Marcus Antonius Zondadari Dei gratia Sacra Domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani et Militaris Ordinis St Sepulchri Dominici Magister humilis pauperumque Sacri Christi Custos,* (Frà Marc'Antonio Zondadari, by God's grace, Master of the Sacred House of the Hospitaller and Military Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Master of the Holy Sepulchre and humble servant of the poor of Holy Christ).<sup>1397</sup> Such exchange of letters also gives an insight in how much importance was given, as is today, in addressing each other in an appropriate manner.

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<sup>1395</sup> *Idem*, no. 272.

<sup>1396</sup> A.O.M. 1778 f. 59<sup>r</sup>, dated 12<sup>th</sup> June 1720.

<sup>1397</sup> *Idem*, f. 35<sup>r</sup>.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1721 he became the Prior of Hungary,<sup>1398</sup> a country recovered by the Habsburgs from the Ottomans through the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699.<sup>1399</sup> Since Franz Anton Ignaz was also a count of the Holy Roman Empire, he was probably the first choice for this position. From 1737, Franz Anton Ignaz was Grand Prior of Bohemia-Austria of the Order of Malta under the Grand Masters Raimondo Despuig (1736-1741),<sup>1400</sup> and Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca (1741-1773). Franz Anton Ignaz was mentioned in a letter of 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1742, regarding the granting of the Great Palatinate, addressed to Carl Seyfried from the line of Aulendorf.<sup>1401</sup> At the end of the year 1743, he went back to his homestead in Rothenfels, and in February 1743 he was named as *Ordensstatthalter von Böhmen* (Governor of the Order of Bohemia), and is mentioned among the committee members of the Greater Territory of Bohemia, *unter den Beisitzern der Größeren Landschaft in Böhmen genannt* and carried the title of Grand Prior of the Order of Malta.<sup>1402</sup> He then made an appearance in the Bohemian capital, when in April 1743 Empress Maria Theresia was on her throne and surrounded by the following court officials: the Count Colonel of the Oberstburggraf von Böhmen, *i.e.* Count Colonel of Bohemia (at Prague) v. Kinsky, Philipp v. Gallas, Wenzel v. Kokcrzewa, Philipp v. Kolowrat, Franz Leopold v. Buquoy, Rudolf v. Chotek, the Grand Prior Count v. Königsegg and the State Chamberlain Netolitzky.<sup>1403</sup>

Franz Anton Ignaz died at the age of 72 years on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1744, but where he died is not known. Presumably, it was not in Malta, because he is neither recorded in the *Libri Defunctorum*, nor is he in the *corpus*. Below is the proof of absence of Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels at St John's, or in Malta. He is not recorded in the *Libri Defunctorum* on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1744, and neither before nor after that date.<sup>1404</sup>

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<sup>1398</sup> *Idem*, f. 69<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>1399</sup> Ágoston, 2009, 309-10.

<sup>1400</sup> Zimmermann, Kempter Wappen 67; *Magyar Máltai lovagrend*, Liste 3.

<sup>1401</sup> FXKA Nr. 146.

<sup>1402</sup> *Ibid.*; Zimmermann, Kempter Wappen 67.

<sup>1403</sup> Arneth, Maria Theresia II 245.

<sup>1404</sup> A.O.M 1948, f. 97<sup>r</sup>.

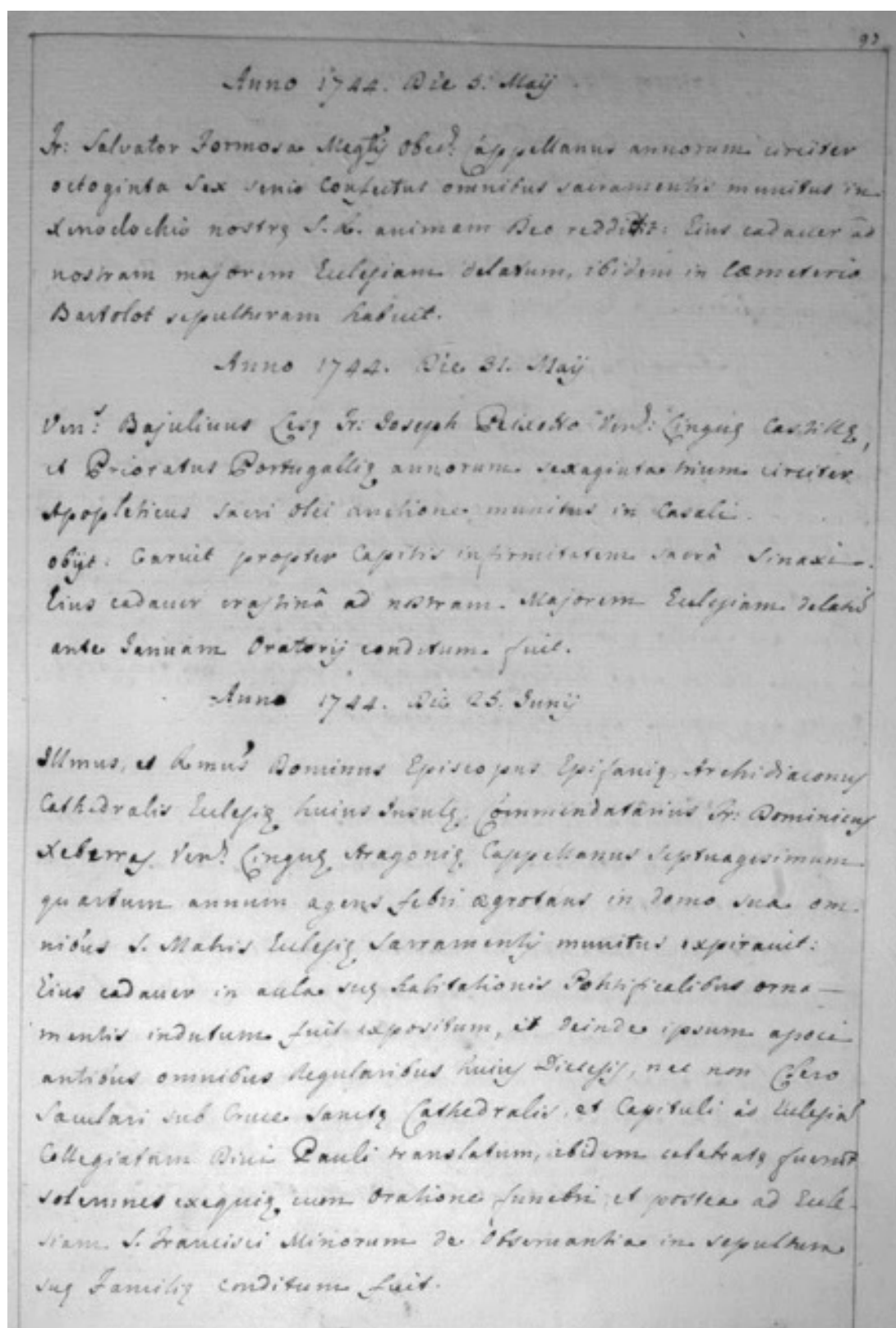
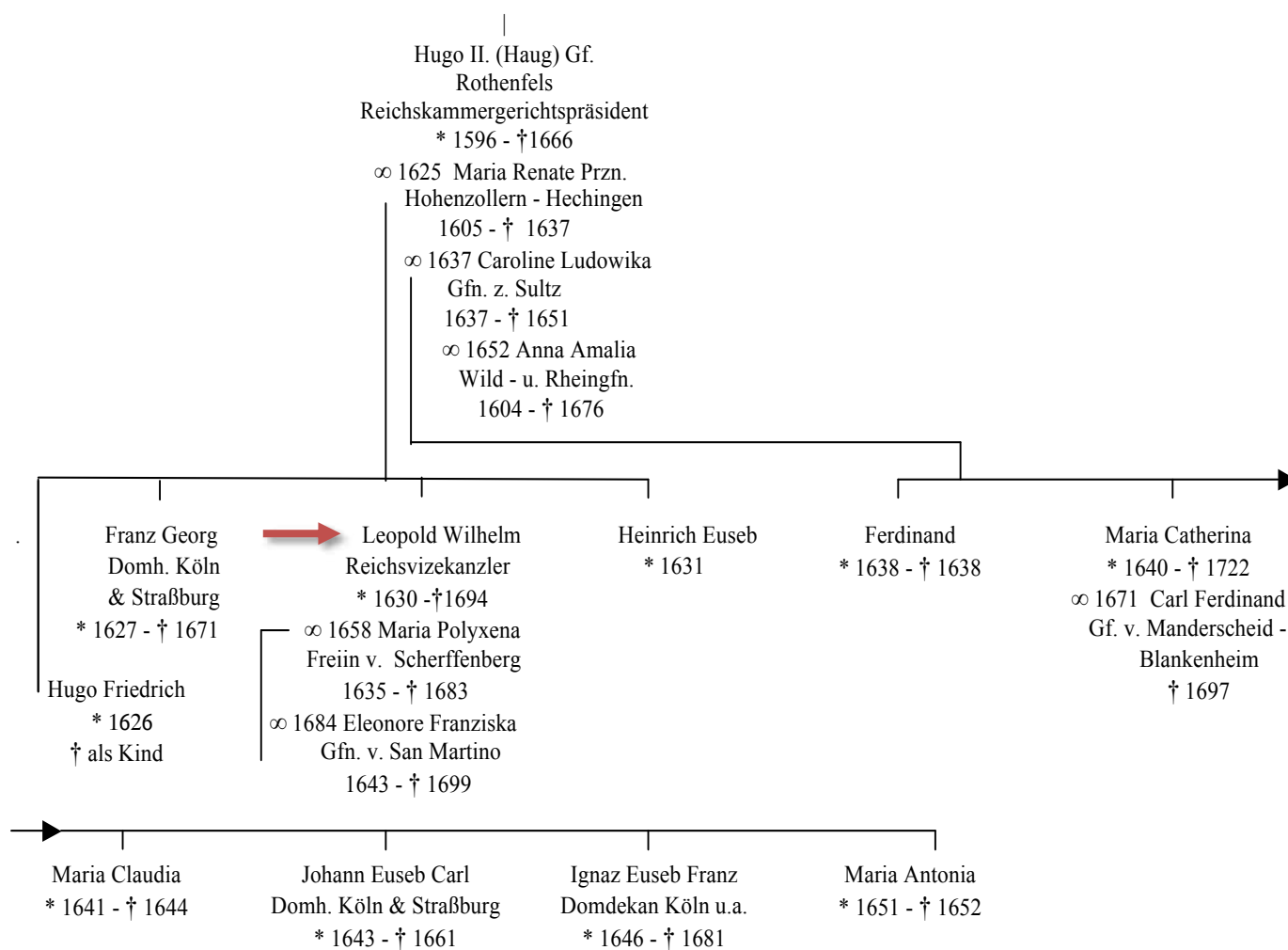


Image 33: A.O.M. 1948, f. 97r: No record of the demise of Franz Anton Ignaz in Malta on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1744

*Adelsnachweis* or the proofs of nobility of Graf Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1672-1744). German candidates needed 16 quarterings, *i.e.* 16 generations of both father's and mother's side. Indicated here is the father of Franz Anton Ignaz, Leopold Wilhelm. For Franz Anton Ignaz, see next page.<sup>1405</sup>

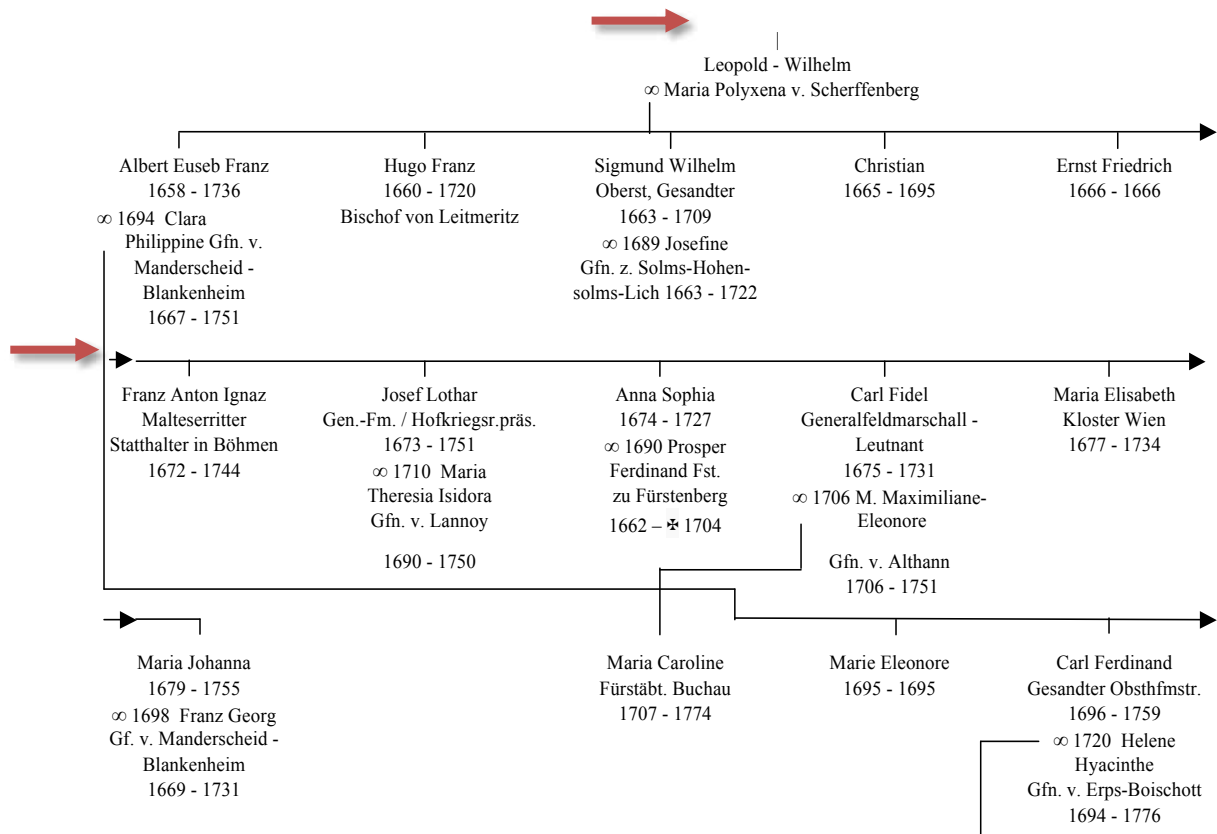
Figure 3: Proofs of nobility of Graf Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels



<sup>1405</sup> Königsegg and Boxler, 2016, 1161.

*Adelsnachweis*, or the proofs of nobility of Graf Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1672-1744), continued. Indicated are Leopold Wilhelm and Franz Anton Ignaz.<sup>1406</sup>

Figure 4: Proofs of nobility of Graf Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels continued.



<sup>1406</sup> Königsegg and Boxler, 2016, 1162.



Joseph Anton Ferdinand, hereinafter referred to as Joseph Anton, count of Königsegg-Aulendorf was born 15<sup>th</sup> January 1729, in Aulendorf and died 31<sup>st</sup> December 1754 in Szeged, Hungary. He was a son of Carl Seyfried I von Königsegg-Aulendorf, Landvogt, and Maria Friederike, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg. The von Königsegg branch of Aulendorf lives in southern Germany, Baden-Württemberg

In the Gräfllich Königsegg'sches Archive (GKK) at Königseggwald, Swabia, Germany, he is referred to in Repertoire 8, in folders GKK REP. XIV/6 and GKK REP. XXVII. The Aulendorf branch always remained owners of agricultural lands and hunting grounds. They preferred a lower profile and the family provided stability to its members, although they played important roles too. On the other hand, the Rothenfels branch of the family were more visible socialites, engaging in public offices and politics, but for a much shorter while. The cost of representation caused their bankruptcy. Afterwards, the cordial relationship between the two branches was restored, when the Aulendorf branch came to the rescue.

Concerning Joseph Anton, GKK REP. XIV/6, titled *Dignitäten Standes Erhöhungen Aufzeichnungen durch Orden, Mitgliedschaften, Joseph Anton Graf von Königsegg*, contains documents which are pertaining to the trajectory followed for enrolling Joseph Anton Graf von Königsegg into the Hospitaller Order. As with his relative Franz Anton Ignaz, this happened at a very young age. The process started practically just after birth and baptism and then continues when Joseph Anton is about four years of age, when it could be established that the boy would reach maturity, taking into account the high rate of child mortality in the past. GKK REP. XXVII concerns documents regarding the death of Joseph Anton von Königsegg in Hungary at a young age and the Holy Masses celebrated for his soul at Szeged, Hungary.

In the Archives of Malta (A.O.M.) in Valletta, Joseph Anton's presence is mentioned in a few documents, and another number of documents, where he is not explicitly mentioned, it is known he was present through the GKK documents.

The most important documents regarding Joseph Anton are in GKK REP. XIV/6, which contains 117 manuscripts, numbered 1-117. Individual pages are not numbered, some manuscripts are missing, and others are copies. The folder contains documents pertaining to the correspondence regarding the acceptance of the young Joseph Anton into the order of St John. The documents are in Latin, German and French. These documents give an insight into the bureaucracy, the protocols and requirements to be fulfilled and the costs involved for a smaller noble family of good standing to have their infant son enrolled in the Order of St John. The documents also show that the father, Carl Seyfried von Königsegg, was unfamiliar with the whole process and was enquiring for assistance.

As with his uncle Franz Anton Ignaz from the Rothenfels side, Joseph Anton needed dispensation from the Pope, regarding his minor status. Then, through an agent, the Order in Malta was contacted. The requirements were the submission of the papal

dispensation, the payment of the *passaggio* and the proofs of nobility.<sup>1407</sup> The latter document could be submitted when the boy was 16 years of age and on his way to Malta as a page.<sup>1408</sup>

The way the correspondents addressed each other is also worthy of note. When they were not familiar with each other, they obviously would address each other strictly according to protocol. Conversely, even cousins addressed each other according to protocol, but may end the letter in a more amicable way, such as *euer Liebden*. Even when a person lower in rank wrote to the Carl Seyfried von Königsegg, he ended some letters amicably, as if he were of the same rank, possibly out of a sort of reciprocal altruism. Some of the names encountered in these documents are familiar, as they also appear in the *corpus*, such as von Remchingen and von Thun.

Here follows a selection of the GKK REP. XIV / 6 documents to illustrate the path taken by Carl Seyfried on behalf of the ideal to get Joseph Anton enrolled in the Hospitaller Order. The file starts with a letter of Pope Benedictus P(a)P(a) XIIJ (r. 1724-1730). The letter is written in Latin. Pope Benedictus XIII answers the request of Carl Seyfried von Königsegg, Reichsgraf of the Holy Roman Empire, Graf von Königsegg-Aulendorf and Maria Friederike, Princes of Oettingen-Spielberg, the parents of the young Joseph Anton. The Count had decided that his youngest son, Joseph Anton, should pursue a career in the Jerusalemite Hospital of St John. Since the boy was only six months old, he needed dispensation of the Pope. He had sent a request for dispensation. Unfortunately, a copy of this request could not be found in the archives. Pope Benedict confirms to the esteemed Carl Seyfried and Maria Friederike, both *conjuges nobiles* (nobility by marriage), because they wished to enrol their son Joseph Anton von Königsegg-Aulendorf into the Jerusalemite Hospital of St John in the rank of Knight of Justice, that he would grant them the requested papal dispensation. The other reasons the Pope was willing to grant dispensation was because Joseph Anton was their natural and legitimate son and born within the borders of the German *langue*,<sup>1409</sup> so wrote the Pope, <sup>1410</sup> *...ipse minorus sit nihilominus in sua convente dicti hospitalis absentia in grade militem de justitia lingua et hospitalis praedictorum autoritate nostra et admittendi*, ...that we authorise this minor, notwithstanding his absence from his convent named the Hospital, to be admitted in the rank of Knight of Justice of the aforementioned *langue* of the Hospital. The letter of papal dispensation was signed on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1729 by Cardinal Oliverius. The cost for this dispensation was 47 fl(orins) 50 pf(ennig).<sup>1411</sup> The last folio, used as envelope, reads: *Copia Brevis Aplici Dilecto filio Magno Magistro Hospitalis S Jois Hierosolimitano directi pro*

<sup>1407</sup> Sire, 1996, 202. Proofs of nobility for the German *langue* was sixteen quarters (eight on each side) was the standard pedigree requirements in the German Order. This is deemed high, as the other *langues* required eight quarters. On the other hand, the Teutonic Order required 32 quarters of nobility, an impossible task for many noble families, as 32 quarters represented often a longer period of time than their actual nobility had been granted.

<sup>1408</sup> De Vertot, 1728, Old and New Statutes, articles 19, 20, 21, p. 13.

<sup>1409</sup> *Idem*, article 19, p. 13, which article states that 'such as are for entering into our order, must prove that they are born in the *langue* or priory in which they desire to be incorporated.'

<sup>1410</sup> GKK REP. XIV/6: 2.1

<sup>1411</sup> Boxler, 2005, 744; GKK REP. XIV/6: 2.2

*Josepho Antonio SRI Comite de Königsegg minorenni*. A copy of this dispensation was also sent to the Grand Master of the Order in Malta.<sup>1412</sup>

In answer to a request by Carl Seyfried to Johannes Christof, Freiherr von Freijberg zu Hirblingen, the latter answered in a letter written in Tirol on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1729. Johannes Christof, himself a *Maltezer Ritter*, was apparently asked for some advice regarding the enrolment application process. He advises Carl Seyfried von Königsegg that a letter should be sent to Malta to continue the application process. In this letter, Freijberg refers to Count Fugger of Kirchheim, who asked if the boy was an aristocrat, which question was already partly answered because Carl Seyfried was the Reichsgraf and his mother a princess, both acknowledged as legitimate and of good standing. The words used here are *Agnaten* (blood relatives) and *Cognaten* (related by marriage). Carl Seyfried von Königsegg was then asked to send the proofs of nobility, *Adelsnachweis*, to Malta. Johann Christof ended the letter with the following protocol,

*Meines Hochgreafliche Grafen*

*Patron*

*gehorsampster diener*

(he is lower in rank than the count, he is only a *Freiherr*, a *Liber Baro*, a free baron)

*Johann Christof Frijh(err) von Freijberg*

Tirol, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1729.<sup>1413</sup>

The *Adelsnachweis* is not included in this folder GKK REP. XIV/6. The proofs of nobility Joseph Anton von Königsegg und Aulendorf (1728-1754),<sup>1414</sup> contains the following information:

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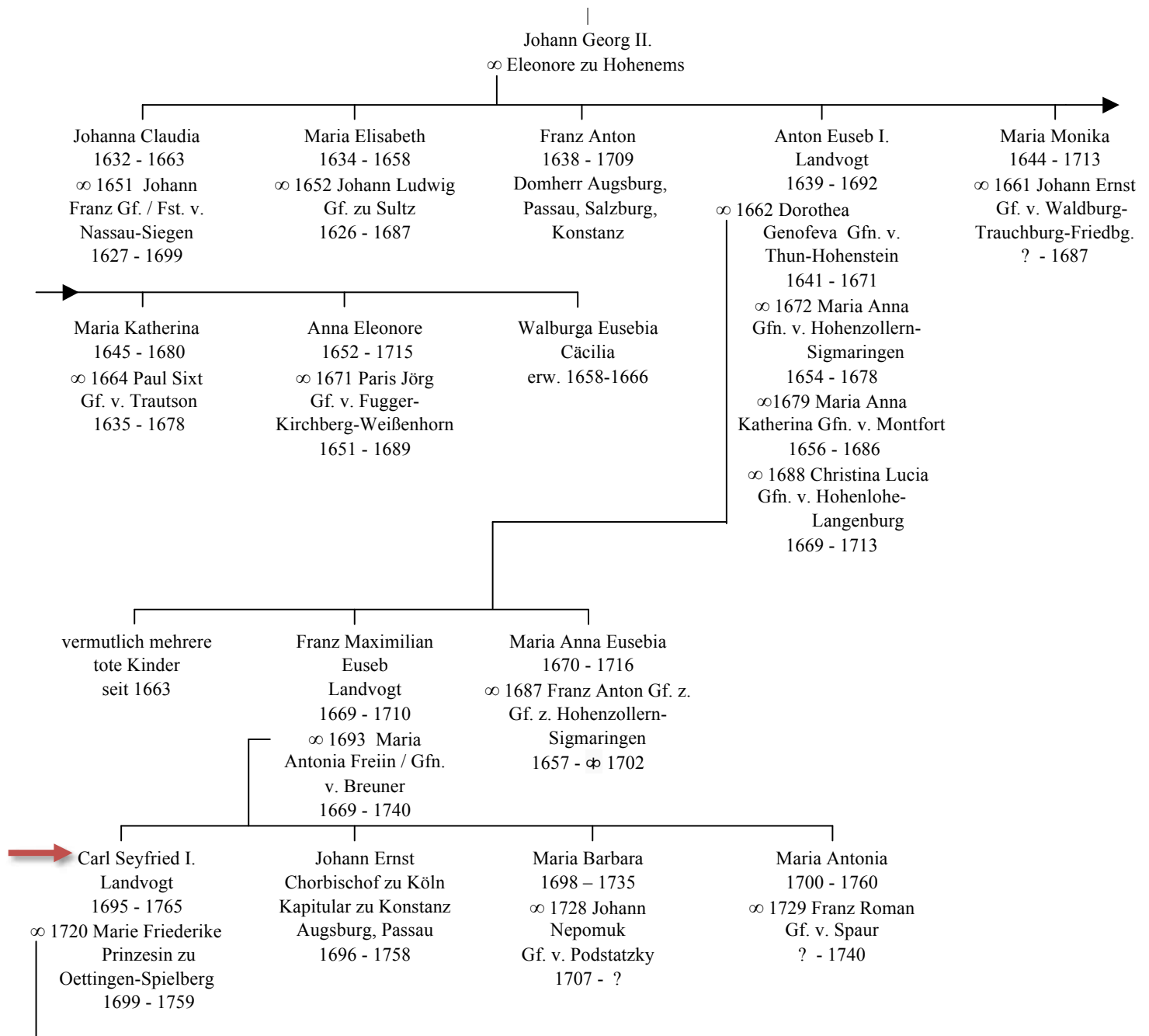
<sup>1412</sup> GKK REP. XIV/6: 2.4

<sup>1413</sup> *Idem*, 4.1

<sup>1414</sup> <http://geneall.net/de/ancestors/4819/adam-franz-anton-joseph-graf-fugger-von-kirchberg-und-weissenhorn/> > Accessed on 24-01-2017

*Adelsnachweis* or the proofs of nobility of Graf Joseph Anton von Königsegg und Aulendorf (1728-1754).<sup>1415</sup> Indicated here is the father of Joseph Anton, Carl Seyfried I. For Joseph Anton, see next page.

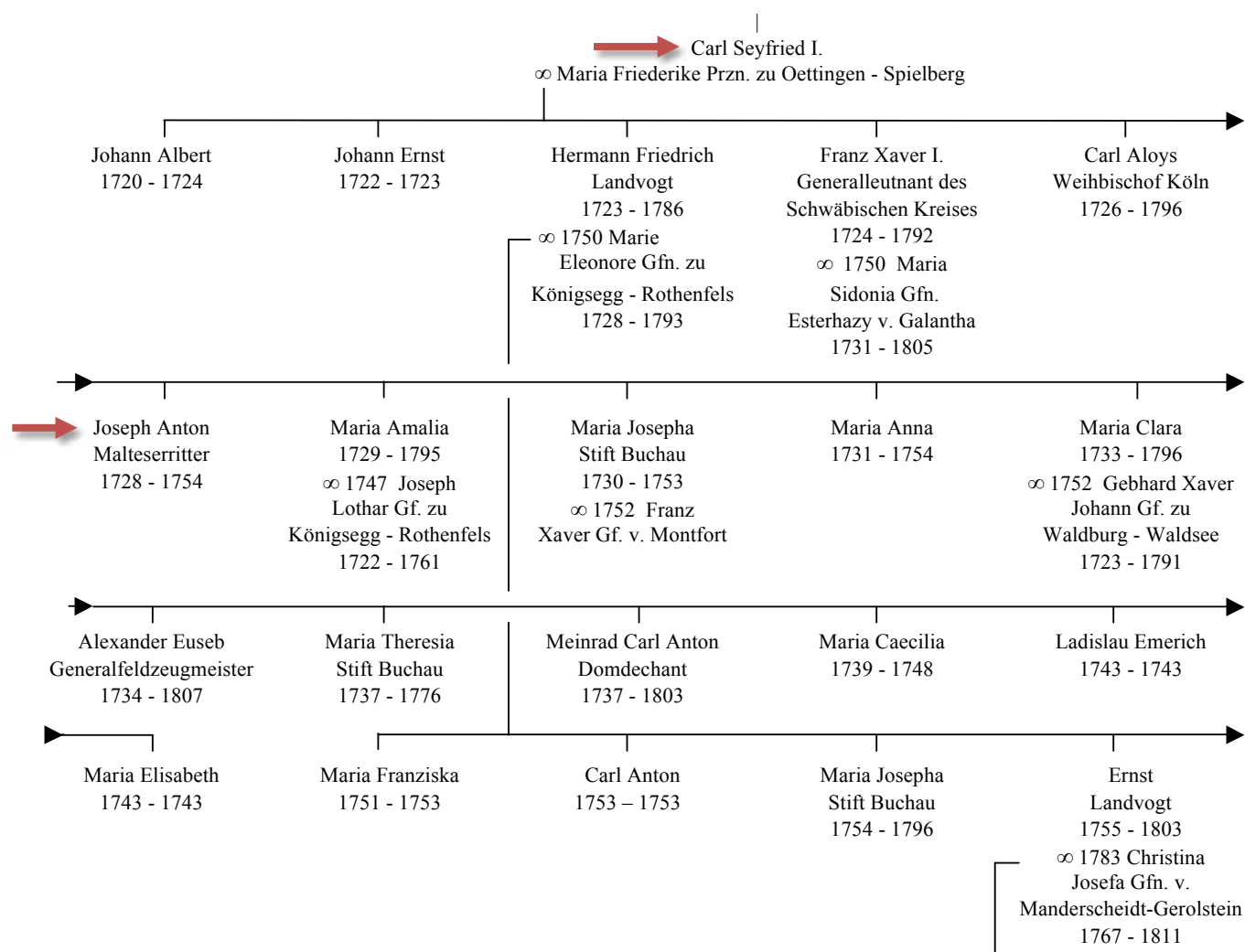
Figure 5: Proofs of nobility of Graf Joseph Anton von Königsegg und Aulendorf



<sup>1415</sup> Königsegg and Boxler, 2016, 1166.

*Adelsnachweis* or the proofs of nobility of Graf Joseph Anton von Königsegg und Aulendorf, continued.<sup>1416</sup> Indicated are Carl Seyfried I and Joseph Anton.

Figure 6: Proofs of nobility of Graf Joseph Anton von Königsegg und Aulendorf, continued.



<sup>1416</sup> Königsegg and Boxler, 2016, 1167.



The relationship to Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1672-1744) and Joseph Anton Ferdinand von Königsegg und Aulendorf (1728-1754) has a common factor in the person of Johann Georg, Freiherr von Königsegg und Aulendorf (1568-1622), who was the great-grandfather of Franz Anton Ignaz. The two sons of Johann Georg, Hugo,<sup>1417</sup> grandfather of Franz Anton Ignaz, and Johann Georg who became the great-grandfather of Carl Seyfried (the father of the boy Joseph Anton).<sup>1418</sup> Carl Seyfried von Königsegg wrote on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1729 to Herrn Grafen Fugger von Kirchberg-Weissenhorn (one of the more important and wealthy members of the high nobility), his cousin through Adam Franz Anton Joseph, Graf Fugger von Kirchberg-Weissenhorn, whose great-great-grandmother of his father's side was Maria Magdalene, Freiin of Königsegg-Aulendorf (1560-1592).<sup>1419</sup> The great-grandmother of the boy Joseph Anton was Maria Margarethe Johanna, Gräfin Fugger von Kirchberg und Weissenhorn. Carl Seyfried von Königsegg wrote he had decided that one of his sons, still a minor, should become a Knight of Malta...*Minorennitat zu Malta*. It was not quite clear to Carl Seyfried where and when he had to present his son and of how many *Agnaten* must be given proof of. Furthermore, what would the costs be? He would be very grateful if Graf Fugger would be able to inform him, and he closed the letter with *euer liebden*, since they were of the same standing and family.

Adam Franz Anton Joseph Graf Fugger von Kirchberg-Weissenhorn answered Carl Seyfried von Königsegg on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1729. Graf Fugger must have used fast couriers on horses, in view of the distances, about 400 km over modern roads. Fugger addressed Carl Seyfried as ...*hoch Gräflichster Herr fetter* (cousin) *und hochverehrtester Herr Bruder* (as in fellow noble by marriage) regarding the letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1729 and congratulated him with the fact that his son had been selected as a knight and consequently with the Papal dispensation. He referred him to a *Chevalier de Malte*, Baron von Remchingen, who was always stationed in Malta and Fugger had sent Baron of Remchingen all the information given about the *Agnaten* and the cost of the *passaggio*. These specifications of the *Agnaten* must also be sent to Malta or to be addressed to Fugger, who would then forward all the documents to Malta accordingly. Alternatively, he could also send everything to the Statthalter von Böhmen, the *Maltezer Ritter* Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1672-1744, Grand Prior of Germany), who was a distant relative (see above). Carl Seyfried was also informed that he needed to supply proofs of nobility of sixteen quarters and that he also would be informed on the amount to be transferred in view of the *passaggio*. Adam Franz Anton Joseph Graf Fugger signed this letter, dated 6<sup>th</sup> August 1729 and closed with ...*euer liebden* and a P.S.: please give my best regards to the Countess.<sup>1420</sup>

<sup>1417</sup> <http://geneall.net/de/ancestors/1794544/franz-anton-ignaz-von-konigsegg-und-rothenfels/> > Accessed on 24-01-2017

<sup>1418</sup> <http://geneall.net/en/ancestors/4772/karl-seyfried-eusebius-ferdinand-count-of-konigsegg-aulendorf/> > Accessed on 24-01-2017

<sup>1419</sup> GKK REP. XIV/6: 6. See also <http://geneall.net/de/ancestors/4465/franz-sigmund-joseph-graf-fugger-von-kirchberg-weissenhorn/> > Accessed on 24-01-2017

<sup>1420</sup> GKK REP. XIV/6: 7.1.

On 12<sup>th</sup> August 1729, a letter was received from the Maltese agent in Augsburg, Ignatius Mayer, who was asked by Fugger for assistance in the entrance requirements for the son of Carl Seyfried. Fugger informed the agent, Ignatius Mayer, about the minor son, the granted papal dispensation and the contacts in Malta. The agent asked if the copy of dispensation was a true certified copy with the same content, and if the money had been paid to Rome for the dispensation. The agent informed Fugger of the amount of the *passaggio* to be paid to Malta and about further costs. He would wait for an answer of Carl Seyfried, and Fugger confirmed that Carl Seyfried was aware of the costs and willing to pay further costs. The agent then confirmed Fugger's request to take care of the whole affair.<sup>1421</sup> With gratitude, Carl Seyfried wrote to Herr Baron von Freijberg zu Hirblingen on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1729 ...*meinen hochgeehrten Baron*, thanking him for his efforts and further assistance to get Joseph Anton enrolled into the Order.<sup>1422</sup> Soon after, on 29<sup>th</sup> August 1729, Carl Seyfried received a letter from the agent, Ignatz Mayer, sent from Augsburg. The agent had written to the Grand Master, which the latter received on Friday 26<sup>th</sup> August 1729. In the letter the agent proposed the entry into the Order of the minor Joseph Anton von Königsegg.<sup>1423</sup> Again, the speed of communication was rather fast. The agent, Ignatz Mayer sent a letter from Augsburg to Malta on 12<sup>th</sup> August and Carl Seyfried received confirmation 29<sup>th</sup> August that the Grand Master had received the letter. A copy of this letter is addressed to *Son Excellence Monsieur Le Baron de Remchingen, Grand Prior et Commandeur a Überlingen, Wessel und Borden, Gouverneur de l'Ordre de Malta et Grand Tressorier de son Altere Eminentissime Le Grand Maitre a Malta*. This copy was sent on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1729 by the agent Ignatius Maijer (or Ignatz Mayer) of Augsburg regarding the aspiring knighthood of the minor son Joseph Anton.<sup>1424</sup>

Financial details of the enrolment were received from the Baron von Enzberg, and Carl Seyfried was finally informed about the amounts involved regarding the cost of the *passaggio* and the reception, *in puncto receptionis*, of his son Joseph Anton, a minor. Von Enzberg confirmed receiving a copy of the Papal Concession. The Grand Master gave Carl Seyfried his consent to pay the *passaggio* over three years and stipulated that the balance had to be paid before the set period had passed, to assure the entry of his son. This *passaggio* amounted to 2,556 *Florijnen* and 36 *pfennig*. Once the money was paid, no restitution would be allowed. Payment in the *beschreiben sorten*, in the currency described, Florins, to the *General Receptoren* in Augsburg, Herr Antonio Prentano and *Gross Paleij* (Grand Bailiff) Baron von Gymnich. Carl Seyfried had also to submit a surety for the payments. He would receive a *schuldbekentenis* and two receipts in *quittungen in duplo*. Another important point in this letter was the question of the proofs of nobility, the *Adelsnachweis*. The *Agnaten* had to swear by affidavit that their information was true. However, there was no hurry, it was only necessary to present these affidavits when the boy had reached the age of 16, and it was time to travel to Malta. But the *passaggio* had to be paid in advance, *in antea enumerantium sum(m)a scutorum mille auri ad rationem*

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<sup>1421</sup> *Idem*: 8.1.

<sup>1422</sup> *Idem*: 9.1.

<sup>1423</sup> *Idem*: 10.1

<sup>1424</sup> *Idem*, no. 11 is copy of no. 10.

*Carenorum quattuor decim singulis scutis tuo nomino nostra Communi aerario tuo passaggio, sive trajectu persolvatur*, a thousand golden *scudi* to the ratio of 1 to 14 single *scudi* of *Carenorum* to the name of our Common Treasury for your passage money if the trajectory (of enrolment) was being effected. By 27<sup>th</sup> November 1729, the Grand Master issued a bull to the effect that Joseph Anton would be admitted, and that Carl Seyfried had five months' time to pay this amount, starting from 27<sup>th</sup> November 1729. In case he did not fulfil this commitment, Carl Seyfried would be informed that in that case another candidate would take the place of Joseph Anton. It also confirmed, that when all was said and done, the Baron of Enzberg would inform his Provincial Chapter and the Brothers of the Order. The date of this letter was 27<sup>th</sup> April 1733, closing with the notion that the process would be furthered, when Joseph Anton was 4 years of age.<sup>1425</sup>

From this moment onwards, the invoices seemed to be rolling in. On 9<sup>th</sup> June 1733 there was one of Johann Konrad Kirner, notary at Ravensburg, in answer of the letter of 28<sup>th</sup> April 1733 regarding the enrolment of the boy Joseph Anton: Fee of the notary of 8 florins.<sup>1426</sup> Carl Seyfried was asked to pay this invoice through his *Amtmann* (similar to a bailiff), Herrn Josef Georg Sonntag.

The invoice is specified as follows:

For the <i>Gräfliche requisitiones</i>	1 fl
For gold and silver (possibly the first insignia for Joseph Anton)	3 fl
For the notarial instrument	3 fl
Protocol fees	50 pf
( <i>illegible</i> )	50 pf
	-----
Total sum	8 fl

Ravensburg, 9<sup>th</sup> June 1733

Johann Conrad

Notary Public

Signed<sup>1427</sup>

On 2<sup>th</sup> June 1733, a specified bill of extra costs arrived at the desk of Carl Seyfried, for the sum of 3,776 Florins regarding the *passaggio*. It was sent to him by Commendator Carl von und zu Schöneberg, from Freiburg:<sup>1428</sup>

<sup>1425</sup> *Idem*, 48.1

<sup>1426</sup> *Idem*, 60

<sup>1427</sup> *Idem*, no. 61

<sup>1428</sup> *Idem*, no. 77 is attached to no. 78 and no. 78.1.

Cost enrolment fees regarding the receptor/receiver	
Spanish <i>Dobla</i>	75 fl 30
<i>ditto</i>	562 fl 30
In the Common Treasury at enrolment and acceptance of the proofs of nobility	
- for the proof of Nobility	300 fl
- for the painter (who paints the coat of arms quartered with the Order)	
- for the Chancellor	60 fl
- for the coat of arms in the register	18 fl
	18 fl
In Malta	
- enrolment fees as page re: proofs of nobility	28 fl
- for the nobility (records)	7 fl
- for the Secretary	3 fl
- for the Donat	2 fl
	-----
Sub-total	998 fl 30
For the enrolment as page, the additional costs are:	
- a notice to the Grand Master by the Chancellor	9 fl
- in the <i>Pagerei</i> , fees for the <i>Hofmeister</i> and the <i>Meistere</i>	4 fl
- for any unforeseen costs / contingencies	50 fl
	-----
Sub-total	1121 fl 30
Should he not be enrolled as a page (between 12-16 years of age) but at 16 years of age, then the costs will be: <sup>1429</sup>	
- for the <i>passaggio</i> , 333 1/3 Louis d'Or <sup>1430</sup> currency exchange amounts to - for	2,500 fl
the Common Treasury at the acceptance of the <i>passaggio</i> for the proofs of nobility	600 fl
- for the painter (for the coat of arms quartered with the Order)	600 fl
- for the Chancellor	18 fl
- for the coat of arms in the register	18 fl
In Malta	
- at the acceptance proofs of nobility	28 fl
- for the nobility (records)	7 fl
- for the Secretary	3 fl
- for the Donat	
	2 fl
	-----
Total	3,776 fl

<sup>1429</sup> *Idem*, no. 78.2.

<sup>1430</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol II, book XIII, 122. This amount is in confirmation with De Vertot, who calls the *Louis d'Or* 'Spanish Pistoles'. The *passaggio* for knights in minority was very high, and the income from this kind of fund-raising was conveniently used for financing many posts on the budget. Originally, this *passaggio* was meant to finance the building of a new *Collachio* in Valletta, but it was never built.

It was assumed that Joseph Anton did not enrol as a page, as he was enrolled as a twelve-year-old boy at the University of Ingolstadt, where he obtained the degree of Bachelor. The registered name at the university in 1740 was: Joseph Anton Comes de Königseck et Rottenfels in Staufen, Alendorf, Ebenweiler, *Equ(estris) Militeus*. From this it could be concluded that his enrolment in the Order of Malta went as planned and was approved.<sup>1431</sup>

Freyherr vom Stein zum Rothenstein, Commendator at Sulz & Wildbad (northern Black Forest) sent a note to Graf Königsegg, dated 27<sup>th</sup> July 1733. The letter was addressed to Carl Seyfried as *Hochedelgeborener Graf*, and states that in answer to his letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1733, he had forwarded the letter to Commendator of Schwäbisch Hall and the Baron von Enzberg. In view of the valid Papal Dispensation, the Commendator of Schwäbisch Hall had issued the *Bonniene* (approval). From this process, it seemed that a lot of people were involved, and that one valid signature would lead to the next. Apparently, multiple signatures gave the request more weight and standing.<sup>1432</sup> Then there was a gap of many years, until it was reported in a letter of 7<sup>th</sup> October 1750, received on the 28<sup>th</sup>, that Joseph Anton had started his prescribed caravans in Malta, when he was 21 years of age.<sup>1433</sup>

In May 1752, a chase occurred between two Algerian pirates ships and the galleys of the Order. The basic knowledge of this battle comes from two directions, the *Libri Conciliorum* of the Order (Minutes of the council meetings) and a diary of a Sicilian sailor. Here one has the opportunity to read the personal experience of a diary of that chase and battle, while the official records only deal with what happened afterwards.

Joseph Anton's name, as a *caravanist*, could not be found on any of the existing crew lists available at A.O.M. For the campaign in May 1752, crew lists exist for the galleys *St Vincenzo* and *St Antonio*.<sup>1434</sup> Unfortunately, the list in which he would have been mentioned, is no longer existent. A GKK document, an unnumbered map, claims he was on board one of the galleys, participated heroically and got wounded during battle.

There is an instruction in the *Libri Conciliorum* of 21<sup>st</sup> April 1752, in Italian, addressed to Bailiff Francesco Parisio, Captain-General of the fleet of galleys. He was instructed to leave as soon as possible with a squadron of four galleys to Capo Passero, Sicily, as reports had been received of *xebecs* of Algeria,<sup>1435</sup> crossing the borders of the *Barbaria* and making the waters unsafe. They were to return to the *General Porto* of Malta when their task would have been completed.<sup>1436</sup> Of this expedition, a witness account exists, made by one of the sailors on board the galleys. It is a diary of a Sicilian sailor Michele Aprile, who one day had set foot on Malta. He changed his name into Francesco Messina and married a local girl, Teresa. After their marriage, he found a job on the Order's galleys. His

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<sup>1431</sup> Boxler, 2005, 744.

<sup>1432</sup> GKK REP. XIV/6: 85.1.

<sup>1433</sup> *Idem*, 109.

<sup>1434</sup> A.O.M. 1814 f. 183-195.

<sup>1435</sup> A *xebec* is a small and very fast vessel, used in the Mediterranean. They had oars and lateen sails. They could carry canons. In use by merchants and corsairs.

<sup>1436</sup> A.O.M. 270 f. 193-4.



account, in Italian, describes a chase between galleys of the Order and two *xebecs* of Algerian pirates.<sup>1437</sup> In April 1752, the Hospitaller galleys *St Vincenzo*, *St Antonio* and two other galleys set sail. Auxiliary ships were also part of the fleet, such as supply vessels and four *Ciacchi* and four *Feluche*. They were on their way to Lampedusa and on 12<sup>th</sup> May they had a stroke of luck, as they found themselves in the midst of an enormous shoal of fish. Having caught as much as they could, having salted and stored the catch on board all the ships of the squadron, they set sail to Cape Bon, arriving three days later, on the 15<sup>th</sup>. The lookout, *la guardia*, shouted a warning. He reported that, on a half-day's sailing, there were two Algerian *xebecs* approaching. These *xebecs* turned out to have fourteen cannons each, and as soon the Hospitallers were in range, the *xebecs* opened fire with their cannons and muskets. It was their idea to draw the fight closer to the port and fort of Calipia (Calipea) to protect the *xebecs* and attack the Hospitaller fleet, which was closing in. Hospitaller fire was returned, one salvo after the other, and the *xebecs* did not stand a chance against the galleys of the Order, which were on a ramming course. After grappling and securing the vessels, notwithstanding the hostile fire coming from land and sea, the Hospitaller force boarded the two ships. Some of the Algerian crew jumped overboard and swam to safety but drowned in the attempt. After a short but decisive chase and battle, the *xebecs*, with a rich looted cargo on board, were taken to Valletta, where they were moored near the *Lazzaretto*, the isolation hospital. After docking, all the armaments were dismantled and the slaves placed in quarantine.

An additional report in the *Libri Conciliorum*, of 20<sup>th</sup> May 1752, adds in the margin: *Arrivo delle Galere con due Sciabecchi Algerini pressì*. The account states that Bailiff Parisio managed to catch *due Sciabecchi Corsari algerini* near Calipia, five days after these left *Tripoli di Barbaria*, with on board 180 slaves and many valuable goods.<sup>1438</sup>

The Königsegg family must have been informed about the outcome of this battle. In the GKK archive, a large coloured map was unearthed which depicts the battle. In the caption the name of Joseph Anton von Königsegg is mentioned. The map is hitherto not published, and the caption of the map reads:

*Sieghaftes See Gefecht*

*Zwischen vier Maltesischen Galeeren, und zwey Türck-  
ischen Raub=Schiffen So sich unter anführung Sr. Excelenz des  
Hohen Johanniter-Ordens Ritter, general und Comendant chevelier V(erehrter)  
Paris, walscher Zungen den 15ten May 1752 nahe bey dem in Afrika gelegenen  
feindlichen See-port Calipia vor Mittag Zwischen 8. und 10. uhr ereignet, der  
Angriff geschahe von seiten der ordens galeeren. Worbey Sr: Hochwürden und  
gnaden der Hochgeborene Reichs graff und Chevalier IOSEPH von  
KÖNIGSEGG, Röm(isch) Kays(erlicher) Rittmaister, Zeit wehrend  
seiner Caravanne, auf der general galeere gegen die starck*

<sup>1437</sup> Lib. MS 466 f, 102-105.

<sup>1438</sup> A.O.M. 270 f. 193-4.

*aus dem port und deren Raub-Schiffen Feuernde Feind an der Spitze gefochten, und seine angestammte Tapferkeit gezeigt hat. Wie dan an dessen seiten Einige blessiert und erschossen worden. Der Com(m)endant beeder Raub-Schiffen hat sich so desperat gewehrt, das er mit 13. blessuren, nebst anderen gegen 150. gefangenen nacher Malta eingebracht worden, allwo er nach 15. Tagen als christ gestorben ist.*

#### Victorious Naval Battle

Between four Maltese galleys and two Turkish corsairs under the command of His Excellency of the Order of St John, general and commander, the venerable chevalier Parisio of the French langue near by the African [Libyan] hostile port of Calipia between 8 and 10 o'clock AM it happened, when the attack by the Order's galleys took place. Whereby His Venerable and Gracious Highborn Count of the Empire and Chevalier Joseph von Königsegg, cavalry captain of the Holy Roman Empire, during his caravan, on the general galley against those enemies who fired strongly from the port artillery and their pirate vessels, fought at the forefront of the melee and has shown his innate prowess. Some were wounded and shot on his side. The commander of both corsair ships had defended himself so desperately that he, wounded himself thirteen times, was brought to Malta together with another 150 prisoners, where he died after 15 days, as a Christian.

This chase and battle were deemed important, such that in the Grand Masters' Palace in Valletta there is a lunette (a half-round painting) commemorating this battle.



Image 34: Sea-battle near Calipia, 1752, at Grand Masters' Palace, Valletta. Photo: Author



Image 35: Map of sea-battle near Calipia in 1752. Map in GKK. (c. 90 x 140 cm). Courtesy of S.E. the Count of Königsegg-Aulendorf and assistance of Horst Boxler. Photo: Author



In June 1752 Carl Seyfried received a letter about the caravans', dispensation, because his son was being sent to Hungary as *Großrittmeister* (Cavalry captain). Joseph Anton left Malta and acted as a cavalry captain in various Habsburg regiments at Hungary, where he died on New Year's Eve of 1754 at Szeged, just short of his 26<sup>th</sup> birthday. He had caught an illness while on the march to the region of Banat. A dispatch was sent of 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1755 to deliver the news to Carl Seyfried, which arrived on 17<sup>th</sup> January 1755.

In the documents of the Piarists,<sup>1439</sup> there is mention that Carl Seyfried I (1695-1765), had paid money for a Holy Mass for the remembrance and the well-being of the soul of Joseph Anton. There is a receipt, sent by the Piarists brothers in Szeged, Hungary, of *florenos Rhenensij ducento*, 200 florins, for the masses said for the reprisal of the soul of Joseph, count of Königsegg at the parish church of St Demitrios, on the anniversary of his death, signed 13<sup>th</sup> September 1755.<sup>1440</sup> The *Status Domus* of 1756 of the Piarists brothers has the entry: *Pro Comite Josepho Königsegg de Aulendorf hic loci Anno 1754 ultissima Xbris defuncto ab Excellimo Penitore ejus Anno 1755 Mense 8bri: 200 [Florins]*.<sup>1441</sup> In 1756, the *Status Domus* of the Piarists brothers has the entry: *Pro uno sacro perpetuo cantata a Comite Carolo Königszegg*, another 200 [Florins],<sup>1442</sup> and similarly, the entry into the 1759 ledger has the same amount of 200 [Florins].<sup>1443</sup>

Unfortunately, the church in which he was buried, Saint Demetrios, was severely damaged after the river Maros sprang its banks in 1879 and destroyed 95% of the city of Szeged. Like many of the other buildings, the church was demolished and most of the important artefacts were redistributed over other churches, including sepulchral slabs and monuments. The church no longer exists.<sup>1444</sup>

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<sup>1439</sup> *Ordo Clericorum Regularum Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*.

<sup>1440</sup> GKK Rep. XXVII / 7: 18

<sup>1441</sup> PMKL-2-13-a-szeged-lib-04-Status\_domus 1758-2.

<sup>1442</sup> *Idem*, -2-13-a-szeged-lib-04-Status\_domus 1756-5.

<sup>1443</sup> *Idem*, -1-01-a-APHV-Div3-Fac20-Status\_domus\_1759-4.

<sup>1444</sup> Königsegg and Boxler, 2016, 1093f. It was built in the eleventh century in a Romanesque style and modified in the fourteenth century. It was converted to a mosque during Turkish rule, like almost all Christian churches, and the tower served as a minaret. It was renovated in the eighteenth century in baroque style. After the flood it was not maintained and increasingly rotted. Demolition followed in 1925, only one tower remained. Since 1913, the neo-Romanesque brick basilica Our Lady of Hungary, with its unusual dimensions, was built as a votive church on its actual ground.



Image 36: Joseph Anton on horseback. At former palais of Königssegg, at present the local council at Aulendorff.  
Photo: Author



### 9.8 Conclusion

The reading of this document, GKK REP. XIV/6, among others, provides detailed information regarding the actual procedures of admission to the Order. It also shows the protocol of courtesy in addressing each other and, where allowed, to deviate from it. It places the relatively small family of von Königsegg, which brought forth some very important and powerful members, within the larger picture of the Holy Roman Empire and the Great Palatinate, with the standing of a *Pfalzgraf*.<sup>1445</sup> Another reason appears why the von Königseggs went to great length to get their sons into the Hospitaller Order. Not only to raise their status but also to keep their self-image afloat during the turmoil caused by the Reformation and consequently the wars that followed.

Studying the von Königsegg archives and histories also gives some insight into the financial responsibilities and the effects of overspending for the sake of status. Franz Anton Ignaz must have exposed the family name in the best of ways while Joseph Anton was cut short of reaching his full potential in this context. Unfortunately for the von Königseggs branches, after all those efforts and expenses, neither of the two sons made it to the floor of St John's.

Great contrasts are presented here too. Although the memory of Franz Anton Ignaz von Königsegg-Rothenfels had been for the larger part erased when a spark ignited a blaze, consuming the family archives, he still lives on, as he is mentioned in other archives, such as those in Malta. Franz Anton Ignaz, in his high offices, showed not less ethos than Joseph Anton, but certainly suffered less pathos, as he lived to a ripe old age.

In the case of Joseph Anton von Königsegg-Aulendorf, the ethos and pathos of the Order are of extreme value. He gave himself for the Hospitaller ideal of engaging with the enemy, personally and physically, and paid the price for it with his life. The memory of Joseph Anton, who died in his boots, lives on in a much more visible manner, made (near) immortal through paintings, a map and a well-kept archive. The pathos also concerned his father Carl Seyfried, as the hope for a long-lasting career for his son and for his family honour were snatched away by an untimely death.

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<sup>1445</sup> The *Pfalz* is a region and formerly the 'house' of the Emperor, when he was travelling. The Great Palatinate is the special honour of a former Palatinate-Count with all the rights it entailed.

## Chapter 10 Conclusions

### 10. 1 Hospitallerisation of the self-image

In this book I was on a quest to discover the essence of the *corpus*, and *a priori*, I claimed that the *corpus* would yield the answers. It did, although showing a great bias for its own achievements and the status of the members who served the Order. The *corpus*, as a sounding board of the Order's shifting or remaining features of self-image, is a useful tool in establishing that self-image over time. As an image sensor, it goes over and beyond the period 1530-1798, recording long-term characteristics in each sepulchre. As a collective, the *corpus*, in conjunction with the other artistic expressions at St John's, present the self-image as a corporate, monumentalised image. Judging the *corpus* as a scientific historical tool is less truthful, and although the events did happen, any investigation must be calibrated against reliable historical research. The enquiry into the shifting self-image can be, at least, partly answered by comparison of what where the basics of the Order's foundation, what was acquired, what changed and what was discarded along the way, such as this book endeavours. A balance can be struck through the contribution of modern historians, who have contributed greatly to the knowledge of the military Orders and to their image. To come to a more focussed study on Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image, and to discover their shifts in relevance and nuance over time, an interdisciplinary approach was engaged in. Other academic disciplines such as epigraphy, palaeography and history of art were needed to come to a basic understanding of the other aspects of the *corpus* pertaining to religion, culture, religion and social features of the members of the Order and the Order itself.

To discover the deeper meaning of image and self-image of St John's *corpus*, other theories also apply, for instance those dealing with *memoria* by, *inter alia*, Van Bueren, Nora and Oexle. Other theories and concepts are represented by Keppie's posterity consciousness theory, which links Classical thinking on epigraphy to the same processes at St John's.<sup>1446</sup> Then there are some notions on body natural and body politic,<sup>1447</sup> identity theory,<sup>1448</sup> and the organisational image management theory.<sup>1449</sup> Both the observations of Weever and White's theory of monumentalisation apply to St John's and the *corpus*,<sup>1450</sup> of which the St John's church and the *corpus* became an embodiment after the Order re-invented itself as a result of the Great Siege of 1565. It created monuments of memory and self-conscious *memoria* to enhance and cement its image and self-esteem. This interdisciplinary approach was necessary to answer Burke's question of 'who wants whom to remember what and why?'<sup>1451</sup>

<sup>1446</sup> Keppie, 2001, 80.

<sup>1447</sup> Knöll, 2003, 14-61.

<sup>1448</sup> Hinkle and Brown, 1990, 133.

<sup>1449</sup> Massey, 2003, 1-29.

<sup>1450</sup> Respectively Weever, 1631 and White, 2013.

<sup>1451</sup> Burke, 1997, 56.



It has been argued, throughout this work, that the Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image formation, especially by means of the *corpus*, within its greater environment of St John's, was a continuous process. Its objective, through the memorial floor at St John's, was to preserve a glorious past, to provide meaning and to hasten souls out of Purgatory. The Order always tried to be in control of its own narrative and to counteract the narratives of those they could not control. As a result, the Order justified that past in a religious and political manner, making it not only relevant to the present and future, but it is also a legitimisation for continuity of the Hospitaller course of action taken.

Returning to the beginning of this book, René de Vertot, the eighteenth-century Hospitaller Knight and historiographer, argues that the Hospitaller Order's *raison d'être* and self-image, were based on motives of charity and driven by a passion to defend the Holy Land, and to fight the infidels.' This one sentence contains three self-images, ranging from permanent and unchanging (charity), temporal and relinquished (defence of the Holy Land) and permanent but changed (formerly fight against the infidel, at present leading by example).<sup>1452</sup>

St John's and the *corpus* commemorate special events and their best people, in order that they may not be forgotten, and it maintains the relevance of the Hospitaller Order. By a continuous process of selecting the most remarkable knights, their deeds or deaths, the collective memory of the Order was kept alive and presented to the world. I propose that this whole self-image construction process by the Order may be called *Hospitallerisation of the self-image*, to serve its memory and *memoria*. Hospitaller memory is, of course, a deliberate construct, sanitised, redacted, curated and controlled, to add to the body politic of the corporate identity of the Order.

### **10.2 Conceptual approach of shifting and remaining images**

In this work, the shifts in Hospitaller image has been offered in a conceptual manner. Shifts are probably best understood in this context as 'adding to the package' rather than deducting from it. Unchanged remains the core of the Hospitaller motivation, *DEI GLORIA*, working for the Glory of God rather than for one's own chivalric glory. An independent outreach also ranked high in the survival strategy of the Order, leading to independence and Sovereignty, up to present day.

Radical changes in the corporeal circumstances of the Order did not provide justification to change St John the Baptist as an exemplar for chivalric conduct, *e.g.* when the Order changed from an army to a navy, it did not opportunistically change its patron-saint to St Erasmus,<sup>1453</sup> to the Virgin Mary as *Stella Maris*, or to St Brendan the Navigator. There was apparently no need to change name, brand or image radically, no matter the circumstances.

The Hospitallers, likely to have suffered from some form of identity crisis after 1291, could not or would not desist and continued calling themselves Hospitallers. I would like

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<sup>1452</sup> De Vertot, 1728, vol. I, Bk I.

<sup>1453</sup> The fortification on the tip of Valletta is called St Elmo, a.k.a St Erasmus, patron saint of seafarers and mariners.

to suggest that the Hospitallers, in view of the *corpus* of inscribed texts at St John's, regarded themselves as heirs to the adagio of Bernard of Clairvaux, to be 'a living ideal of Christian chivalry,' which can be extended with 'at land and at sea,' to serve the Religion, the Church and Christianity. Losing the Siege of Rhodes in 1523 created a crisis, which took several decades to overcome. From an independent *Ordensstaat* to a homeless existence, ending up as feudal vassal of the Spanish king, notwithstanding their sovereign status. Public sentiment probably held them a mirror in which they were told was the image of *hubris*, linked to their rich lifestyle in Rhodes, assuming that that was the cause of their deserved downfall. Surviving setbacks had become second nature, while internal cohesion and the strength of memory allowed to Order to re-invent itself after the big crises of losing their home: Jerusalem (1187), Acre (1291), Rhodes (1523), Malta (1798) and to re-invigorate their image after a great success of the Siege of Rhodes 1480, Great Siege of Malta 1565, and the Battle of Lepanto 1571. Or, as Frà Giovanni Battista Ansidei, a nobleman of Perugia, is described in the *corpus*: *CONTRA VIM REFLANTEM REMIS PATIENTIÆ*, weighing against the headwind with the oars of endurance.<sup>1454</sup>

Inserting discipline and cohesion within a small community is, of course, easier done than when a small company grows very large. Increased growth also meant more difficulties in maintaining discipline. Although internal cohesion and identity kept the Order from disintegrating, there were numerous incidents with defaulting members. The *corpus* may, in this situation, also be regarded as a counter-measure in morality, as the impositions made by the Roman Inquisition presented a loss of image to the Order and were seen as a failure on the side of the Grand Master to keep his house in order. In the Order, the rules of acceptance of new members was based on noble birth and not on character or competence, as we have seen from the admittance of knights in minority. This nobility requirement may have also led to less competent members or even unruly ones. The latter were a regular occurrence, leaving traces on the face of Hospitaller semblance, visible like the pox in the mirror of image. The *corpus* makes mention of the need of discipline. No. 116 reports that 'Gerolamo Antonio was the Master of the noble recruits of the Sacred Religion,' who 'skilfully taught them good manners and model discipline by his example.'

The tilting towards Anglicanism and Protestantism were costly changes for the Order. Henry VIII and Marten Luther shifted the goalposts, to which the orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic Order in Malta had no answer. Landed properties were lost and especially in the Germanic realm, wherever one of the more than 300 city-states or bishoprics turned Protestant, the Knights Hospitaller turned with them, splitting the Order between the Protestant and Roman Catholic nobility, and in England with the Anglicans.

What not remained was the relevance of the Order outside the Order. What over many centuries had been regarded as the highest good, in the end made it anachronistic, and therefore vulnerable. As a state form, the *Ordensstaat*, with its unchanging attitude of sovereignty, did not survive a rapidly changing Europe, with its shift in perspectives on statehood, religion, science and trade agreements with nations regarded by the Order as

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<sup>1454</sup> *Idem*, no. 17.

enemies of Europe. Nobility itself, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, was also under attack during the various stages of the French revolution and the European wars of religion, other uprisings and wars, as the case study of von Königsegg demonstrates. and the power of nobility was curbed but the institution itself never died out.

The Hospitaller Order has made, over the centuries, a significant contribution to the studies of *memoria* and self-image. Engaging in expensive art and the creation of the *corpus* in St John's delivered an unforgettable image and self-image to the Order, still reaching into today's world. The Order's history offers an insight into the motivation to produce artistically refined sepulchres, burial ceremonies and art related to the salvation of the soul, adhering to the Roman Catholic outlook and artistical canon.

Cultural matters are also answered in the *corpus* in various ways, as it in itself is an outcome of Hospitaller culture. Culture is implicitly present throughout the Convent in Malta, everything 'Hospitaller' is imbued with it. Part of this culture, the *memoria* and memory parts, are very explicitly present. The Hospitaller *memoria*, the polychrome intarsia slabs and sepulchral monuments initially came from southern Italy and Sicily. Maturing in St John's, a long-term trend in Malta set of. The Cathedrals in Mdina and in Victoria (Gozo) have similarly executed floors, albeit for different groups of people. Many churches in the Maltese archipelago have, or had, numerous polychrome intarsia sepulchral slabs, ordered by Maltese prelates, upper class and merchants. A lively trade in *cartone* (models made out of carton) must have existed, as in many places one can notice designs coming from the *corpus*.

In view of the Order's religious aspect, also very explicitly present, the *corpus* shows not a hair out of place, and adheres and promotes the Order's rather orthodox views. One comes to an understanding that this view is necessary to maintain the cohesion and identity. Emanuel Buttigieg suggests that, adapting the work of Adnan A. Husain, the term *religious culture* applies more to the Order than *religion*, because the Hospitaller faith consist of many observable facts related to how the Hospitallers experienced their existence and how they carried out their mission statement.<sup>1455</sup> There is this quadruple isolation issue of being a closed Order on a remote island, increasingly out-of-sync with political and religious developments on continental Europe. Moreover, within the island of Malta, most Hospitallers one would live in semi-detachment of the world in a *collochio*, as they had done in Rhodes. On the other hand, the isolation was relative. In Malta, after the Great Siege when Valletta was built, the idea of a *collachio*, was shelved. The *collachio*, once thought to be a successful measure to enforce strict religious and social norms, as had been the case in the Holy Land, did no longer fit in the less strict observance of the post-siege hero-cult. Also, says George Cassar, island-hopping throughout the Mediterranean with the Hospitaller galleys exposed many a knight and sailor to new impressions and experiences, from contacts with the other sex to contacts with other religions. Taking vows is one thing, living accordingly becomes another matter.<sup>1456</sup> As was observed in chapter 5.15, temptations and licentious behavior in the end gave the

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<sup>1455</sup> Buttigieg, 2016, chapter 4.

<sup>1456</sup> Cassar, 2016, chapter 7.



Inquisition a workload of misbehaving knights and nobles. Obviously, having all these contacts from port-to-port, will influence an individual's outlook. Nonetheless, in the *corpus* there is no mentioning of influences, acculturation and absorption of new ideas, the inscribed texts remain conservative and orthodox, and the gravity of their purpose in life is unmistakable. On marble, the Hospitaller identity and culture is rock-solid and unmovable, while on a galley it was seaworthy and portable on land. Wherever the Hospitallers went, they were not shy to take their culture with them, their commitment defined, their clothing and insignia always recognisable. From the *corpus*, a sample (no. 357): 'Frà Martino Garzes, celebrated for successfully governing the Sacred Republic of the Jerusalemite Hospital at home and abroad, while he pursued the art of peace and war.'

St John's is not only the Order's Conventual church, it is much more than that. It was an expression of Counter-Reformation triumph over the enemies of their faith, and that included Protestantism too. There was also triumph over death, and the *corpus* elaborates on this topic. The cult of St John the Baptist was certainly an important one for them, although the Hospitallers were never accused of being in neglect of the Scriptures. Nonetheless, their life at sea and their life-threatening experiences in encounters with their enemies, gave an extra dimension to their religious and secular outlook, present in the *corpus*. Also, their noble birth may give the impression of arrogance and *hubris*. Humility was a great good, based on, among others, the interpretation of Bible verses, such as Job 1:21 'I was born with nothing, and I will die with nothing. The Lord gave, and now he has taken away. May his name be praised!', or I Timothy 6:7: 'For we brought nothing into the world, and we can take nothing out of it.' It seems that the Hospitallers somewhat disagreed with the above, and also with the Latin dictum *Mors aequat omnes*, Death renders everybody equal. They were born into nobility and wealth, and left much wealth to the Order, while after their death, they prayed in Heaven for the souls of their brethren on Earth or in Purgatory. What can be interpreted is that, instead of pride and *hubris*, the Hospitallers were well aware of their realities. They were born with many things and took equally many things out of it, based on their understanding of the cycle of Purgatory at St John's. Their money survived, as did their virtues, albeit inscribed, and their power to influence the course of action for the souls of others. Charity continued from Heaven, as it were.

The ardent nature of the inscribed texts regarding military prowess implies great cruelty too, however, justified by religion. Frà Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg (no. 115) showed that being warlike and having Christian valour could very well be combined. Under his leadership the Maltese troops poured out great bloodshed over their enemies. He is then killed in action, a sacrifice acceptable for gaining victory. The inscribed text further continues to say that his martyr's death made an end to a life of conquering. The same goes for Bernardino Barba (no. 53), who was recorded as being stained often with the blood of his enemies, the Turk and the Moor. For the modern mind, however, it is might be difficult to accept that a person who is not afraid to spill blood can be kind-hearted, have a pleasant character, be pious and care for the poor and the sick. The *corpus* is replete with such dual messages and it is evident that the Knights Hospitaller could very easily make the distinction. It is in the Order's dual motto of caring

for the poor and the sick while at the same time defending the faith against its enemies that brings about this awkward polarity. Again, the *corpus* gives an answer (no. 161): Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière, Knight of the Sacred Jerusalemite Hospitality...who 'in his military heart cherished piety, gentleness, charity towards the poor, his humility entirely suitable to a Christian gentleman, and even virtue in such a way that you might say that the principles of peace and war rivalled within him.' In the *corpus*, this leads to a rare fusion, presenting a culture of social aspects, religious devotion, military prowess, awareness of the value of property, career-mindedness, politics and righteousness.

Politics are mentioned in the *corpus*, mainly in the sense of representing the Order abroad, or being a representative of a European ruler. Political commentary is reserved for one inscribed text only, the one of Grand master De Valette (for discussion, see chapter 5.8 and for the text, no. 359). The most important of the social features of the *corpus* are discussed within the section of the virtues, chapters 7.6 to 7.8. The Hospitallers were renowned for their charitable work, and these are mentioned in nearly each and every text. As a sample (no. 339): Frà Jean de Vintimille d'Ollières...'shone forth on his Brothers for 58 years with his chastity, charity, Christian love and the other virtues of a Religious, which he upheld most solemnly.'

### 10.3 Rounding up

The story of hospitaller self-image started well before there was ever an idea of a Hospitaller Order, an amalgamation of European medieval concepts coming together in Jerusalem. The hospice and its pilgrims had been under continuous stress within the city of Jerusalem and the later Order in a perpetual state of siege in the Holy Land, Cyprus and as an island *Ordensstaat* in Rhodes and Malta. At times, the Hospitallers barely escaped annihilation, whether it was from Saladin, King Philip le Beau, Süleyman the Magnificent or Napoleon Bonaparte. At present day, the Hospitaller Order has made a conceptual full circle, but not in scale: from a small local hospice in Jerusalem, through a phase of militarisation and de-militarisation, to the present phase of internationalising its hospitaller mission.<sup>1457</sup> The Order re-invented its organisational image and is at present still the oldest worldwide charitable institution, now with diplomatic relations with 107 countries. It enjoys a permanent observer status at the United Nations and many of its specialised agencies and international organisations.<sup>1458</sup> Its iconic logo is an enduring one, at first, borrowed from the Amalfitan compass-rose, the eight-pointed cross has been with the Order since Blessed Gerard placed it on their robes. Throughout the Order's existence, it was an image and symbol of the unchanging part of both its hospitality and (former) military mission.

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<sup>1457</sup> Sire, 2016.

<sup>1458</sup> See: <https://www.orderofmalta.int>. The eight-pointed cross, not to be confused with the Crusader emblem, is the flag of the Grand Master, or better known as the cultural flag of the Order. The state flag of the Order, a white cross on a red field, is less known and is imaginably more connected to the Order's military past. Both flags are in current use by the Order.



Image 37: Standard of the Hospitaller Order and of the Grand Master (eight-pointed cross).  
Drawing: Joseph Muscat.

Throughout this book, numerous instances have been discussed regarding the shifts and drifts of the Order's self-image, whereby its hospitality image was fine-tuned or drastically altered in some sense in view of its continuous development, crises and re-starts. Hospitality remained the common thread throughout its existence. In great contrast, the other image, that of a military organisation, was much more volatile and demanded disproportionately more effort to remain relevant in the eyes of the public.

Although it is true that the military branch has ceased to be, the insignia, uniforms, nobiliary features and pageantry aspects, *e.g.* of processions, are still a living memory of the military heritage, as is its system of merits and medals. The black robe with a white eight-pointed cross, introduced by Blessed Gerard, is currently still used by the Knights of Justice and a variation on that theme in the church robes of the other members.



Image 38: Blessing of the sepulchral slab of Melchior de Robles, hero of the Great Siege, during the annual commemoration mass of the Great Siege on 7<sup>th</sup> September at St John's. Photo: Martin Micallef



Image 39: Modern procession of the Hospitaller Knights and Dames in Malta. Detail of a painting at headquarters of the Maltese Association of the Order of Malta, Valletta. Artist: Eduardo la Francesca. Photo: Author

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A.O.M. 69<sup>r</sup>

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A.O.M. 925, f. 1<sup>r</sup>

A.O.M. 1770 ff. 12-20

A.O.M. 1778 f. 59<sup>r</sup>

A.O.M. 1778, f. 3<sup>r</sup>

A.O.M. 1814 f. 183-195

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A.O.M. 1949, 23<sup>r</sup>

A.O.M. 1952

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A.O.M. 2198, ff. 378<sup>r</sup>

A.O.M. 2226, f. 167<sup>r</sup>

A.O.M. 4714

A.O.M. 4722

FXKA Nr. 142

FXKA Nr. 146

GKK Rep. 1713

GKK REP. XIV/6

GKK REP. XIV/6:2.2

GKK REP. XIV/6:2.4

GKK REP. XIV/6:4.1

GKK REP. XIV/6:6

GKK REP. XIV/6:7.1

GKK REP. XIV/6:8.1

GKK REP. XIV/6:9.1

GKK REP. XIV/6:11

GKK REP. XIV/6:48.1

GKK REP. XIV/6:60

GKK REP. XIV/6:61

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GKK REP. XIV/6:78



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**Part III****Appendices I to V**



## PART III

### Appendix I

#### The *corpus*

The *corpus* of inscribed text and translation into English at St John's Co-Cathedral, Valletta, Malta, is based on *Memento Mori*, as published in Munro, 2005. In this present work, the transcriptions and translations have been revised and the *corpus* is rendered in a chronological manner, based on the date of death/ placing the memorial, providing a better overview of the historical context. The editing in this work follows the 2005 edition, but without critical signs or *apparatus criticus*. Indices and plans of the floor of St John's are presented here for easy reference.

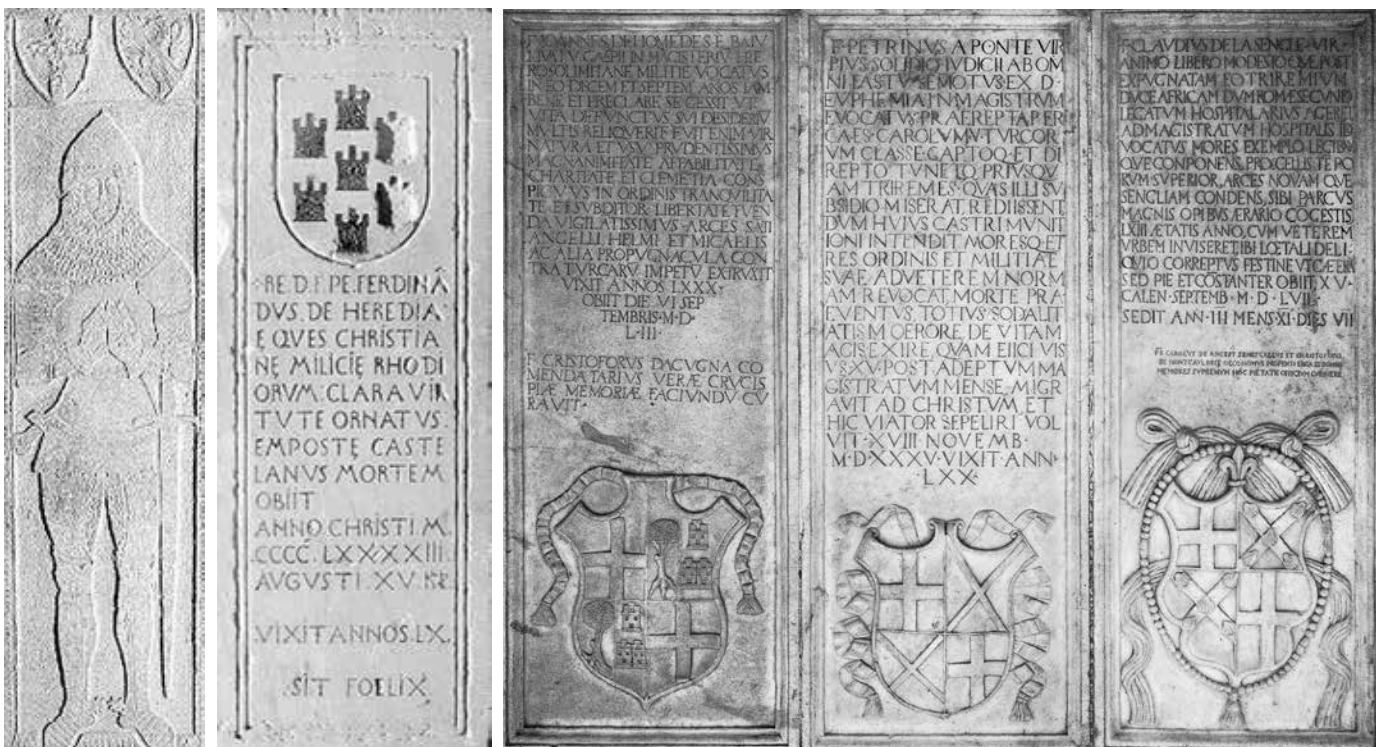


Image 1: The medieval style at Rhodes (left) is stylistically not very far removed from samples from St John's (right).

Source Rhodes: Wikipedia. Source Malta: Maurizio Urso.

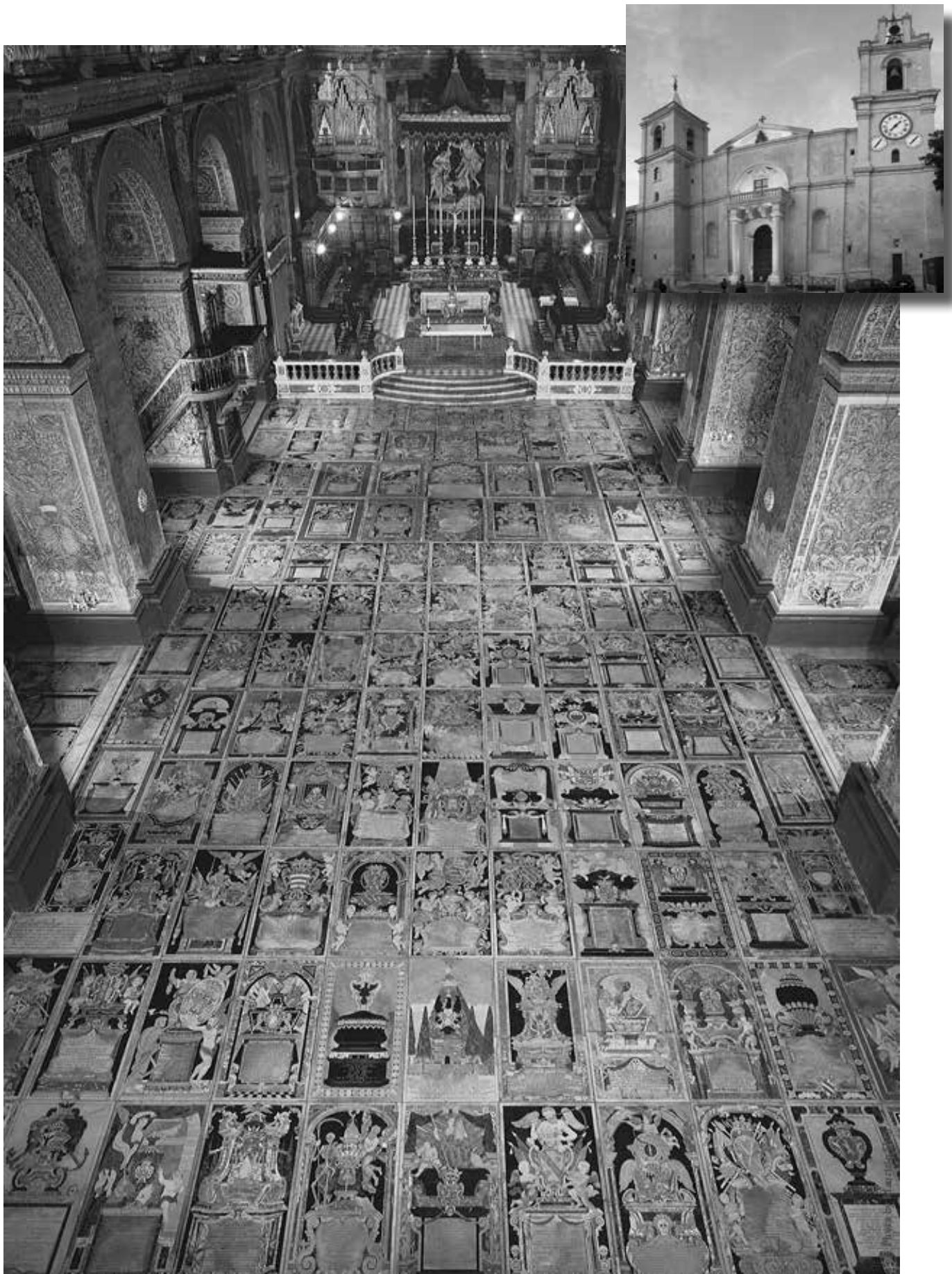


Image 2: Floor plan of St John's, Inset: Facade of St John's. Source: Maurizio Urso. Inset: Author



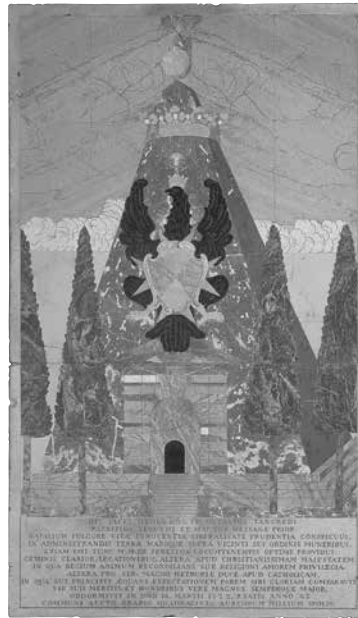


Image 3: Photo impression of the *corpus*. Source: Maurizio Urso



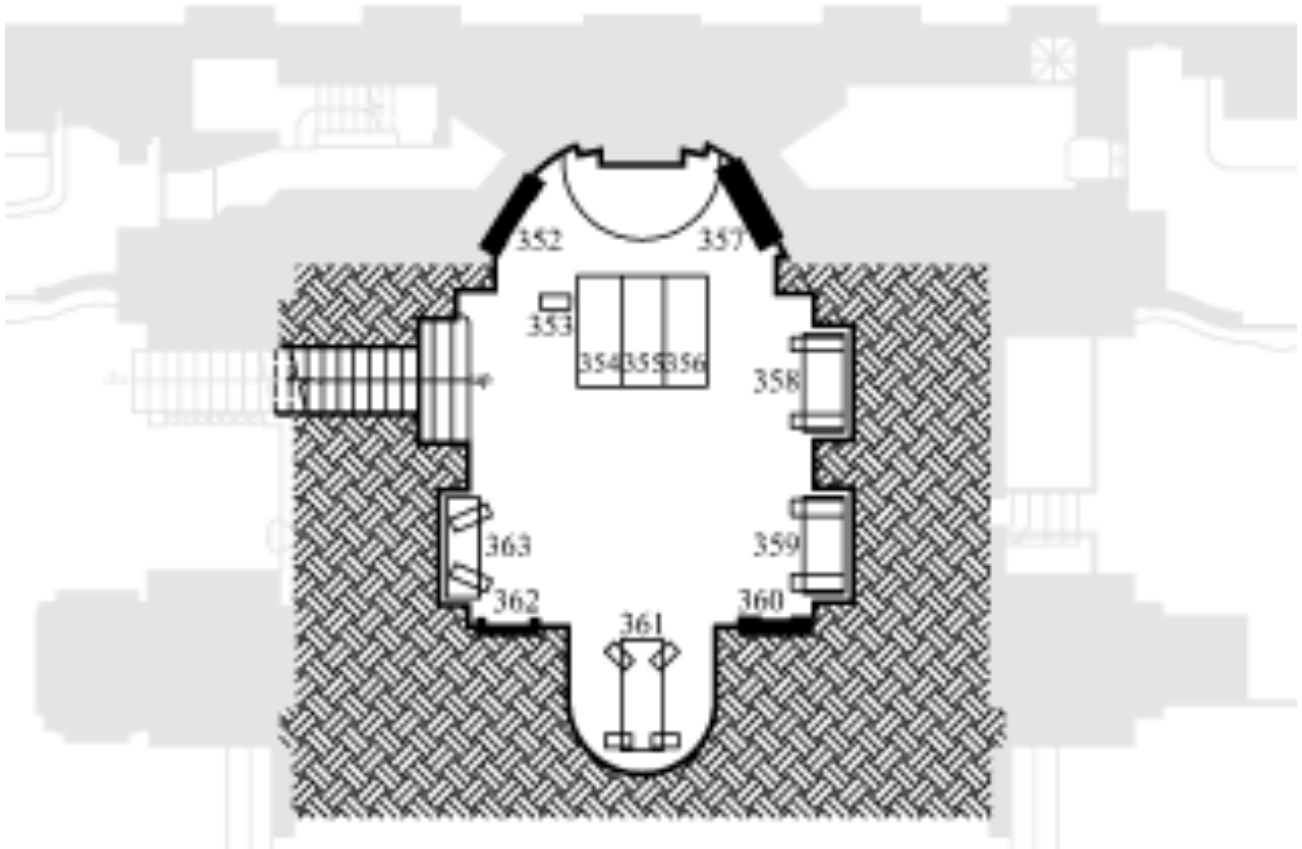


Image 5: Floor plan of the Crypt of the Grand Masters at St John's, with sepulchral slabs and monuments according floor plan numbering. Source: Munro, 2005.

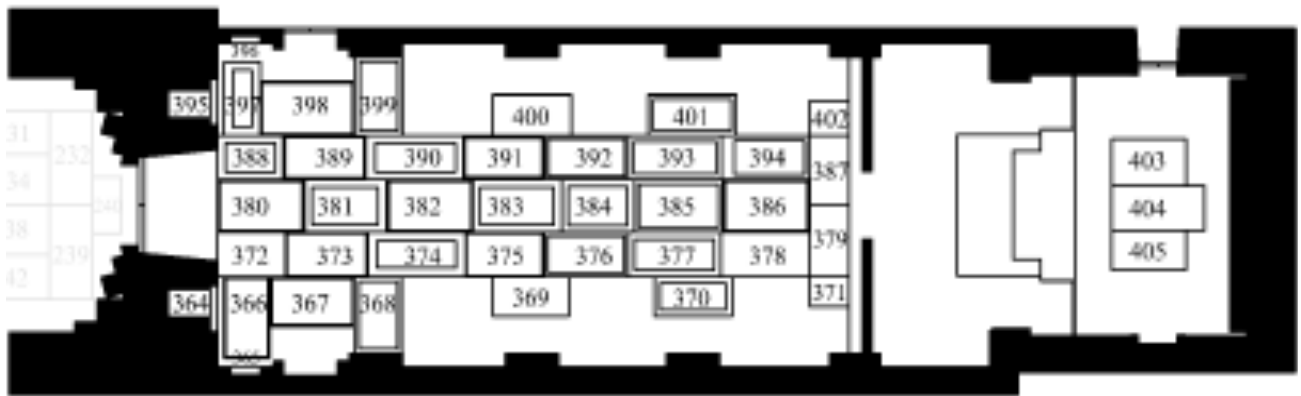


Image 6: Floor plan of the Oratory at St John's, with sepulchral slabs and monuments according floor plan numbering.  
Source: Munro, 2005.

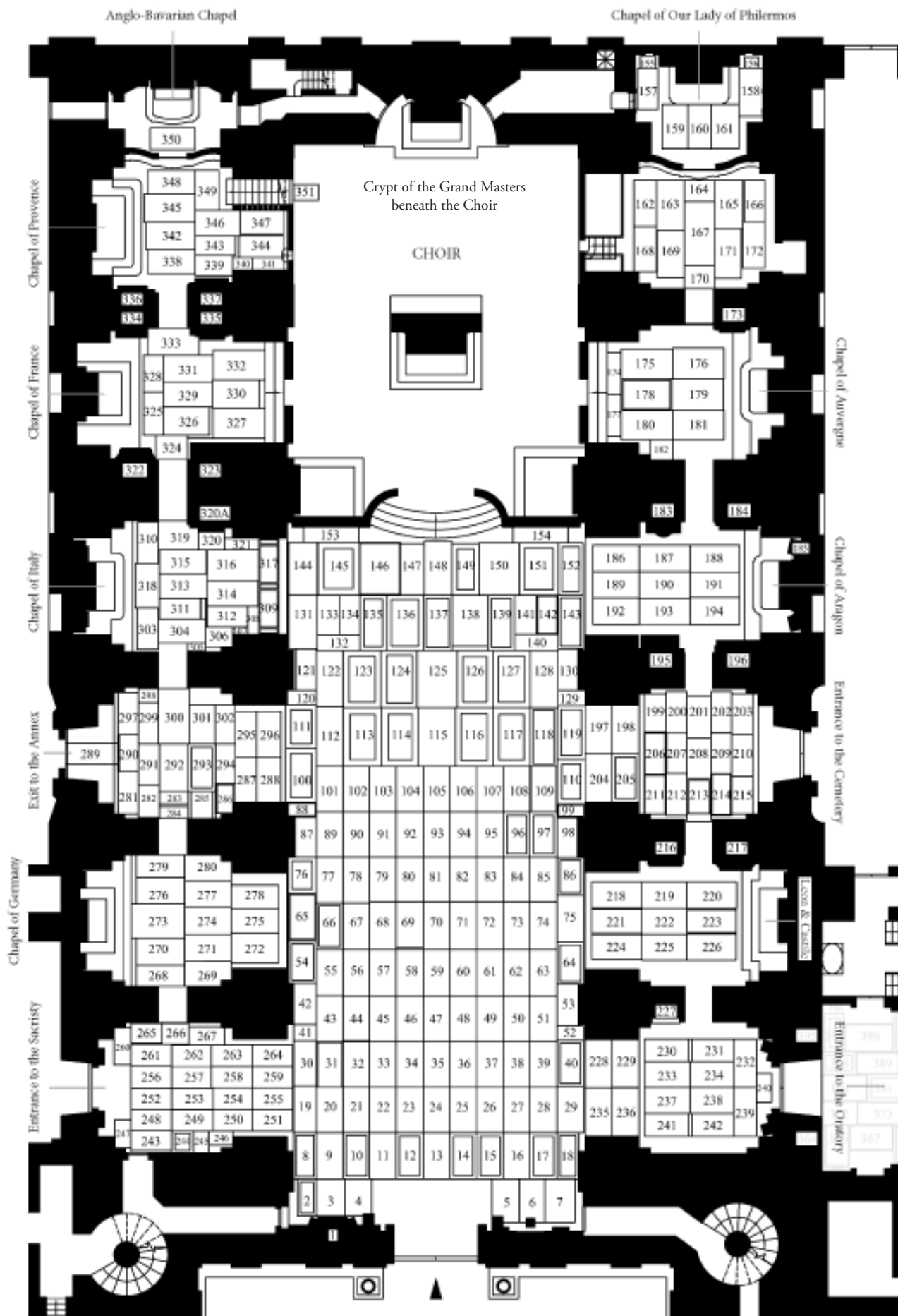


Image 7: Floor plan of nave at St John's, with sepulchral slabs and monuments according floor plan numbering. Source: Munro, 2005.



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Giovanni Francesco <b>Aijroli</b>	364	120	Giovanni Battista <b>Brancaccio</b>	125	121
Stefano <b>Ajroldi</b>	244	302	Balduin <b>Brulart de Genlis</b>	330	145
Pierre d' <b>Albertas de Saint-Mayme</b>	028	226	Gaétan <b>Bruno</b>	263	301
Antonio <b>Alifia</b>	301	82	Lucas <b>Bueno</b>	137	92
Manuel de <b>Almeida y Vasconcellos</b>	124	188	<b>C</b>		
José <b>Almeyda</b>	254	254	Ramon <b>Caamano</b>	379	289
Melchior <b>Alpheran de Bussan</b>	024	200	Nicolas de <b>Cabre Roquevaire</b>	349	288
Giovanni Battista <b>Amalfitani</b>	229	289	Giovanni <b>Caccialupi</b>	052	40
Baldassare d' <b>Amico</b>	097	127	Anselme de <b>Cais</b>	289	165
Giuseppe d' <b>Andrea</b>	090	263	Cappone <b>Capponi</b>	306	94
Giovanni Battista <b>Ansidei</b>	017	107	Francesco <b>Carafa</b>	150	107
Corrado <b>Arezzo</b>	008	287	Giovanni Gerolamo <b>Carafa</b>	318	33
Bartolomeo <b>Arezzo e Valle</b>	309	300	Carlo <b>Carafa</b>	047	176
Ignatius <b>Argote y Guzman</b>	368	297	Francesco <b>Carafa</b>	146	47
Eustache Médéric <b>Audoard</b>	252	255	Gregorio <b>Carafa</b>	320	129
Francesco Saverio <b>Azzoni</b>	139	219	Gregorio <b>Carafa</b>	320a	129
<b>B</b>			Francisco <b>Carvalho Pinto</b>	040	304
Ludovico <b>Bacci</b>	135	230	Celestino <b>Casha</b>	256	265
Gerolamo Antonio <b>Bagnano</b>	116	188	Gregorio <b>Casha</b>	256	265
Cristoforo <b>Balbani</b>	103	189	François Antoine de <b>Castel St Pierre</b>	102	162
Flaminio <b>Balbiano</b>	157	93	George de <b>Castellane d'Aluis</b>	167	60
Flaminio <b>Balbiano</b>	227	93	Rosalbo <b>Cavalcanti</b>	140	243
José <b>Ballestero y la Torre</b>	075	250	Marcello <b>Cavaniglia</b>	009	266
Emmanuel <b>Ballestros</b>	399	292	Giacomo <b>Cavaretta</b>	104	153
Massimiliano <b>Balsan</b>	089	167	Nicolao <b>Cavarretta</b>	162	53
Ottaviano <b>Bandinelli</b>	310	95	Dioniso <b>Ceba</b>	405	77
Barthélemy de <b>Bar</b>	197	275	Giovanni Lanfranco <b>Ceba</b>	403	32
Francesco Bernardino <b>Barba</b>	053	37	Joachim de <b>Challemaison</b>	007	91
Dominique Agricole de <b>Baroncelli de Javon</b>	004a	250	Jacques François de <b>Chambray</b>	084	237
Paul de <b>Baroncellis de Javon</b>	287	156	Pierre <b>Chapelle de Jumilhac</b>	239	183
Sancho <b>Basurto</b>	387	299	Henri de <b>Chastelet Moyencourt</b>	331	70
Jean de la <b>Baume de Foursat</b>	181	100	Annet de <b>Chattes Gessan</b>	173	74
Gilbert del <b>Bene</b>	298	96	Jean François <b>Chevestre de Cintray</b>	108	186
Tommaso del <b>Bene</b>	027	212	Nicolas de <b>Chevestre de Cintray</b>	326	149
Alessandro <b>Benzi</b>	312	53	Giuseppe <b>Chinzio</b>	402	283
Augusto Maurizio <b>Benzo de Santena</b>	100	135	Domenico Antonio <b>Chyurlia</b>	117	262
Henri August de <b>Béon de Luxembourg</b>	151	142	Claude de <b>Clinchamps de Bellegarde</b>	211	116
Joseph de <b>Béon du Casaus</b>	015	224	Pierre Jean de <b>Coeur</b>	230	231
Guillaume François <b>Bernart d'Avernes</b>	143	236	Ferrante <b>Coiro</b>	311	32
Gabriel Charles <b>Bernart d'Avernes</b>	143	236	Christophe <b>Constans</b>	249	252
Eustache <b>Bernart d'Avernes</b>	143	236	Fernando <b>Contreras y Arellano</b>	219	168
Eustache <b>Bernart d'Avernes</b>	143	236	José <b>Contreras y Villaroel</b>	386	206
Paolo de <b>Bertis Portughes</b>	247	306	Jacques de <b>Cordon d'Evieu</b>	381	113
Hermann von <b>Beveren</b>	277	202	Antonio <b>Correa de Sousa</b>	126	137
Mario <b>Bichi</b>	205	169	Miguel <b>Cortes</b>	189	95
Alex de <b>Binet de Montifroy</b>	250	258	Jean <b>Costart de Hottot</b>	199	124
Jean Joseph Simon de <b>Blacas d'Aups</b>	087	267	Nicola <b>Cotoner</b>	183	112
Antoine de <b>Blacas d'Aups</b>	340	277	Raphael <b>Cotoner</b>	196	83
Horace de <b>Blacas d'Aups</b>	343	90	Miguel Juan <b>Cotoner</b>	141	45
			François de <b>Cremaulx</b>	175	55

Charles de <b>Cremaulx</b>	180	99	Signorino <b>Gattinara</b>	304	57
Lucio <b>Crescimani</b>	238	254	Carlo <b>Gattola</b>	077	118
Hubert Louis de <b>Culant</b>	236	293	Traiano <b>Geronda</b>	046	181
Nicolas de <b>Cullan Saint-Ouen</b>	291	94	François <b>Giache de Calan</b>	324	294
<b>D</b>			Andrea de <b>Giovanni</b>	395	214
Giovanni <b>Deodati</b>	165	102	Andrea de <b>Giovanni</b>	396	147
Raimondo <b>Despuig</b>	185	213	Giovanni de <b>Giovanni</b>	396	147
Charles Ignace <b>Dessalles</b>	204	290	Charles de <b>Glandeves Cuges</b>	081	159
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Carlo Francesco <b>Doria</b>	034	193	Gaspare <b>Gori Mancini</b>	022	193
Zacharia <b>Doria</b>	385	64	Bernardo <b>Gort</b>	119	143
Romualdo <b>Doz</b>	153	280	pontifical brief <b>Gregory XIII</b>	351	307
Miguel <b>Doz</b>	285	274	Félix de <b>Grimaldi</b>	013	199
José de <b>Duenas y Vereterra</b>	208	259	Angelo <b>Grognet</b>	260	303
François <b>Dupui Trigona</b>	041	46	Mazzeo <b>Grugno</b>	288	157
Jean-Baptiste de <b>Durand Sartoux</b>	065	247	Charles de <b>Guast</b>	257	286
Melchior <b>Dureta</b>	188	66	Francisco <b>Guedes de Magelhaes</b>	393	283
<b>E</b>			Jean Louis de <b>Guerin de Tencin</b>	201	253
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Henri d' <b>Estampes Vallancay</b>	327	106	<b>H</b>		
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<b>F</b>			Franz Xaver von <b>Hassenstein</b>	275	125
Romeo <b>Fardella</b>	045	194	Thomas de <b>Hozes</b>	224	76
Carlo <b>Farrugia</b>	258	272	<b>I</b>		
Joseph de <b>Fasson de Sainte-Jay</b>	177	252	Antonio de <b>Ildaris</b>	020	227
Jean Hector de <b>Fay de la Tour Maubourg</b>	115	119	Giovanni Antonio de <b>Ildaris</b>	020	227
Just de <b>Fay Gerlande</b>	156	54	Lorenzo de <b>Ildaris</b>	020	227
Charles de <b>Fay Gerlande</b>	163	90	Salvatore <b>Imbroli</b>	149	64
Justin <b>Fay Gerlande</b>	169	58	<b>J</b>		
Paul de <b>Félines de la Reneaudie</b>	062	171	Alois George <b>Jumeau de Perriers</b>	265	282
Jospeh de <b>Félix de la Reynarde</b>	048	185	<b>K</b>		
Francesco Maria <b>Ferretti</b>	039	208	Ferdinand <b>Korff gen. Schmisingh</b>	278	128
Gaspar de <b>Figuera</b>	036	195	<b>L</b>		
Louis de <b>Fleurigny</b>	094	172	Felice de <b>Lando</b>	057	190
Hugo de <b>Fleurigny de Vauvilliers</b>	203	132	Giovanni <b>Lanfranco Ceba</b>	403	287
François de <b>Foresta Collongue</b>	350	123	Joseph de <b>Langon</b>	059	164
Joseph de <b>Foresta Collongue</b>	350	123	Jean-Paul de <b>Lascaris Castellar</b>	337	71
Thomas de <b>Fougasse la Bastie</b>	072	197	Henri de <b>Latis Entraigues</b>	348	69
Gilbert de <b>Fougères Ducluzeau</b>	060	173	Joseph <b>Lauron</b>	284	304
Jaques de <b>Fouille d'Escrainville</b>	105	154	Stefano <b>Libreri</b>	376	306
Fabrizio <b>Franzone</b>	056	261	Carlo <b>Linguilia</b>	373	109
Gabriel de <b>Freslon</b>	243	291	Stefano Maria <b>Lomellini</b>	365	146
Jean de <b>Fresnoy</b>	332	160	Cesar <b>Lopez</b>	293	86
Nicolao Maria <b>Frisari</b>	242	214	Alphonse <b>Loppin</b>	054	232
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Vincent Sauveur de <b>Gaillard</b>	016	222	Annibale Maria <b>Losa</b>	231	217
Juan <b>Galdiano</b>	190	113	Hugo de <b>Loubenx Verdale</b>	363	24
Heinrich Ludger von <b>Galen</b>	272	177	Alexander de <b>Loubert Martainville</b>	394	228
Marcel de <b>Gallèan</b>	063	105	Jacques de <b>Loyac de La Bachellerie</b>	076	253
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Octave de <b>Gallèan</b>	012	228	<b>M</b>		
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Didaco Mario <b>Gargallo</b>	006	270	Francesco <b>Maffei</b>	370	49
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Juan de <b>Garzes y Pueyo</b>	171	215			



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Giuseppe de <b>Majo</b>	<b>064</b>	224	João <b>Pereira Coutinho</b>	<b>392</b>	166
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Juan <b>Manoel de Vilhena</b>	<b>071</b>	194	Ramon <b>Perellos y Roccafull</b>	<b>195</b>	182
Antonio <b>Manoel de Vilhena</b>	<b>217</b>	203	Emmanuel <b>Pereyra</b>	<b>098</b>	294
René Robert de <b>Marbeuf</b>	<b>152</b>	220	José <b>Pereyra Pinto</b>	<b>038</b>	230
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Henri de <b>Martins Champoléon</b>	<b>101</b>	249	Emmanuel <b>Pinto da Fonseca</b>	<b>216</b>	269
Giovanni Filippo <b>Marucelli</b>	<b>074</b>	266	Martino Álvaro <b>Pinto</b>	<b>132</b>	240
Antonio <b>Mastrillo</b>	<b>302</b>	36	Ettore <b>Pinto de Miranda</b>	<b>225</b>	163
Luigi <b>Mazzingo</b>	<b>131</b>	46	Martino <b>Plata</b>	<b>154</b>	295
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Raymonde Aubine <b>Menville</b>	<b>032</b>	300	Louis François de <b>Pontac Beautiran Burdig</b>	<b>121</b>	133
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Arnaldo <b>Moix</b>	<b>193</b>	136	Mattia <b>Preti</b>	<b>264</b>	141
Luis de <b>Moncada</b>	<b>194</b>	51	Giovanni <b>Provana</b>	<b>253</b>	260
Gaspar de <b>Monreal</b>	<b>369</b>	35	Boniface de <b>Puget Chiestuel</b>	<b>166</b>	30
Claude de <b>Montagnac de Larfeulière</b>	<b>178</b>	77	Antoine de <b>Puget Saint-Marc</b>	<b>338</b>	85
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François de <b>Mores Ventavon</b>	<b>122</b>	144	Balthassar de <b>Raimond d'Eaux</b>	<b>251</b>	235
Bertrand de <b>Moreton Chabrilan</b>	<b>347</b>	115	Scipione de <b>Raimond d'Eaux</b>	<b>255</b>	245
Bertrand de <b>Moretton Chabrilan</b>	<b>033</b>	210	Martin de <b>Redin</b>	<b>184</b>	73
Pierre <b>Mosquet</b>	<b>155</b>	22	Giuseppe <b>Reitano</b>	<b>261</b>	274
Joseph <b>Mottet</b>	<b>241</b>	221	Franz Christoph Sebastian von <b>Remchingen</b>	<b>019</b>	277
Lauren <b>Mugnos de Figuerea</b>	<b>220</b>	48	Antoine de <b>Rety de Vitre</b>	<b>296</b>	126
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Philipp Wilhelm von <b>Nesselrode</b>	<b>280</b>	234	Jean Stéphane de <b>Ricard</b>	<b>198</b>	172
Girolamo di <b>Nobili</b>	<b>390</b>	296	Giovanni Francesco de <b>Ricasoli</b>	<b>136</b>	84
Louis le <b>Nourry Dumesny Pontauray</b>	<b>391</b>	114	Martino de los <b>Rios</b>	<b>232</b>	282
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			Nicola Orsina di <b>Rivalta</b>	<b>313</b>	45
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Miguel <b>Oliverio</b>	<b>209</b>	28	Joseph Marc-Antoine de <b>Robins Barbantane</b>	<b>018</b>	246
Juan d' <b>Omedes</b>	<b>354</b>	18	Charles Augustin de <b>Robins Barbantane</b>	<b>029</b>	211
Charles Félix d' <b>Oraison</b>	<b>058</b>	170	Paul Antoine de <b>Robins Barbantane</b>	<b>096</b>	223
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			Enrico de <b>Rocafull</b>	<b>383</b>	87
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Pietro <b>Rosselmini</b>	086	281
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Charles Pierre de <b>Saint Pol</b>	212	276
Claude de <b>Saint Simon</b>	328	276
Jacques de <b>Saint-Maur-Lordoue</b>	290	133
François Joachim du <b>Saix de Chervé</b>	003	261
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Guillaume de la <b>Salle</b>	083	211
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Isnardo de <b>San Martino</b>	051	204
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Leopold Ignatz von <b>Sauer Ankerstein</b>	279	201
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Johann Siegmund von <b>Schaesberg</b>	271	179
Johann Baptist von <b>Schauenburg</b>	114	273
Franz Anton von <b>Schönau</b>	268	219
Kaspar Fidel von <b>Schönau</b>	397	271
Antonio <b>Scudero</b>	067	264
Jaques <b>Seignoret</b>	023	209
Claude de la <b>Sengle</b>	356	19
Arnaldo <b>Seralta</b>	187	138
Charles <b>Sevin de Bandeville</b>	082	180
Christophe de <b>Seytres Caumons</b>	342	59
François de <b>Seytres Caumons</b>	145	130
Francesco <b>Silvestri</b>	283	291
Claude de <b>Simiane la Coste</b>	282	209
Roberto <b>Solaro</b>	069	205
Ottavio <b>Solaro</b>	319	75
Ramon <b>Soler</b>	404	111
Ramon de <b>Souza da Sylva</b>	228	286
Emanuel Antonio de <b>Souza e Almeijda</b>	380	229
Francisco de <b>Souza e Menezes</b>	123	239
Gregorio <b>Spinola</b>	111	114
Domenico Maria <b>Spinola</b>	128	150
Giovanni Battista <b>Spinola</b>	128	150
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Jean Battiste de <b>Thaon de Revel</b>	214	288
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Franz Sigismund von <b>Thun</b>	273	161
Paolo <b>Togores y Valenzuela</b>	112	235
Bartolomeo <b>Tommasi di Cortona</b>	127	260
Miguel <b>Torrellas y Sentmanat</b>	106	110
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Joseph Charles de <b>Tressemanes Chastueil</b>	004	257
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Ferdinando <b>Vargas y Castro</b>	366	278
Bernardo de <b>Vecchiettis</b>	378	67
Luis Francisco <b>Velarde y Cespedes</b>	026	212
Didaco <b>Velez de Guevara</b>	031	198
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Charles <b>Veran</b>	066	184
Jean-François <b>Veran</b>	066	184
Jean-Jacques de <b>Verdelin</b>	159	98
Pierre de <b>Veure</b>	398	86
René le <b>Vexel du Tertre</b>	333	88
Pierre <b>Viany</b>	070	151
Annibale <b>Vicomercati</b>	079	203
Charles de <b>Vignes Parizot</b>	010	196
Francisco de <b>Vilallonga y Caportella</b>	237	229
Thomas de <b>Villages</b>	109	127
Césaire de <b>Villaneuve Thourenc</b>	095	174
Juan de <b>Villaroel</b>	226	66
Jean de <b>Villeneuve Villevieille</b>	206	122
Honoré de <b>Villeneuve Villevieille</b>	344	65
Philip de <b>Villiers L'Isle Adam</b>	358	16
Guillaume de <b>Vincens Savoillan</b>	345	56
Silvio <b>Vincentini</b>	266	292
Jean de <b>Vintimille d'Ollières</b>	339	27
François de <b>Vion Thesancourt</b>	329	63
Jacques de <b>Virieu Pupetieres</b>	200	26
Laurens de <b>Virieu Pupetieres</b>	207	27
Fabrizio Maria <b>Visconti</b>	014	208

## W

Joachim de <b>Wignacourt</b>	334	31
Adrien de <b>Wignacourt</b>	335	139
Alof de <b>Wignacourt</b>	360	39
Franz Sebastian von <b>Wratisslau</b>	270	117

## X

Garsia <b>Xarava Castro</b>	011	295
Juan <b>Ximenez de Vedoja</b>	129	81

## Z

Giuseppe Nicola <b>Zamitt</b>	182	305
Giovanni <b>Zarzana</b>	235	287
Marc'Antonio <b>Zondadari</b>	001	187
Francisco <b>Zurita</b>	281	284
Ferdinando <b>Zurita Haro y Augnon</b>	259	233

### 358 - Philip de Villiers l'Isle Adam

FRATER PHILIPPVS DE VILLIERS L'ISLE ADAM, SACRI ORDI-  
NIS HOSPITALITATIS MAGISTER, CVM, POST MAXIMOS QVOS TER-  
RA MARIQVE SVSTINVIT LABORES  
MELITÆ VITA DEFVNCTVS ISSET  
5 AC IN ARCE SANCTI ANGELI SEPVLTVS.  
FRATER IOANNES L'EVEsqVE CASSERA MA-  
GISTER, SVORVM PREDECESSORVM DIGNITATI ATQVE MEMORIÆ CONSVLE-  
NS, TAM HVIVS QVAM ALIORVM IN EADEM ARCE AVT ALIBI IN  
HAC VRBE MAGISTRORVM SEPVLTATA CORPORA, CVM CONSENSV  
10 PROCERVVM VENERANDI CONCILII INDE TRANSFERRI AD IN HOC TEMPLO  
A SE SVISQVE SVMPTIBVS FELICITER EDIFICATO, RVRSVM CONDI  
ATQVE PONI DILIGENTER CVRAVIT ANNVM SALVTIS,  
ANNO DOMINI 1577,  
DIE VLTIMA  
15 SEPTEMBRIS.

Frà Philip de Villiers l'Isle Adam, Master of the Sacred Order of the Hospital, when, after he bore the greatest toils on land and at sea, had departed from life in Malta and was buried at the citadel of Saint Angelo. Frà Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière, Master, reflecting on the dignity and also on the memory of his predecessors, carefully arranged for his body and those of other Grand Masters already buried in the same citadel or elsewhere in that city, with general consent of the Venerable Council of the Notables, to be transferred from there to this crypt, which he had successfully created at his own expense, to be buried again as well as a memorial to be placed during the Year of Salvation, the Year of the Lord 1577, on the last day of September.\*

\*d. 21<sup>st</sup> Aug 1534

### 355 - Pietro del Ponte

FRATER PETRINVS A PONTE, VIR  
PIVS SOLIDIQVE IVDICII, AB OM-  
NI FASTV SEMOTVS, EX D'  
EVPHEMIA IN MAGISTRVM  
5 EVOCATVS,  
PRAEREPTA PER  
CAESAREM CAROLVM VT TVRCOR-  
VM CLASSE CAPTOQVE ET DI-  
REPTO TVNETO, PRIVSQV-  
10 AM TRIREMES, QVAS ILLI SV-  
BSIDIO MISERAT, REDIISENT,  
DVM HVIVS CASTRI MVNIT-  
IONI INTENDIT, MORESQVE ET  
RES ORDINIS ET MILITIAE  
15 SVÆ AD VETEREM NORM-  
AM REVOCAT, MORTE PRA-  
EVENTVS, TOTIVS SODALIT-  
ATIS MOERORE, DE VITA M-  
AGIS EXIRE QVAM EIICI VIS-  
20 VS, XV POST ADEPTVM MA-  
GISTRATVM MENSES MIGR-  
AVIT AD CHRISTVM ET  
HIC VIATOR SEPELIRI VOL-  
VIT XVIII NOVEMBRIS,  
25 MDXXXV. VIXIT ANNOS  
LXX.

Frà Pietro del Ponte, a man pious and of solid judgement, remote from all scornful contempt, was called from Sant'Eufemia into the Magistracy. Before the galleys, which he had sent to the aid of Emperor Charles who had forestalled the Turkish fleet, and captured and laid waste Tunis, had returned, he crossed over to Christ, to the grief of the whole fraternity. It seemed that he departed rather than was thrust out from life, fifteen months after gaining the post of Master. Death had prevented his intention of fortifying the bulwark, and reviving the morals and the condition of both the Order and his Militia to the old standard. And passer-by, he wished to buried here on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1535. He lived for 70 years.

### 354 - Juan de d'Omedes

FRATER IOANNES DE HOMEDES, E BAIV-  
LIVATV GASPII, IN MAGISTERIVM HIE-  
ROSOLIMITANÆ MILITIE VOCATVS,  
IN EO DECEM ET SEPTEM ANNOS TAM  
5 BENE ET PRECLARE SE GESSIT VT  
VITA DEPVNCTVS, SVI DESIDERIVM  
MVLTI RELIQUERIT. FVIT ENIM VIR  
NATVRA ET VSV PRVDENTISSIMVS,  
MAGNANIMITATE, AFFABILITATE,  
10 CHARITATE ET CLEMENTIA CONS-  
PICVVS, IN ORDINIS TRANQVILITA-  
TE ET SVBDITORVM LIBERTATE FVEN-  
DA VIGILANTISSIMVS. ARCES SANCTI  
ANGELLI, HELMI ET MICÆLIS  
15 AC ALIA PROPVGNACVLA CON-  
TRA TVRCARVM IMPETVM EXTRVXIT.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXXX.  
OBIIT DIE VI SEP-  
TEMBRIS MD  
20 LIII.

FRATER CRISTOPHORVS DACVGNA, CO-  
MENDATARIVS VERÆ CRVCIS,  
PLÆ MEMORIÆ FACIVNDVM CV-  
25 RAVIT.

Frà Juan de d'Omedes, was called from the Bailiwick of Caspe into the Magistracy of the Jerusalemite Militia in which he conducted himself so well and splendidly for seventeen years so that, when he died, he left behind regret for his absence to many, for he was a most prudent man by nature and experience, illustrious for his magnanimity, affability, charity and clemency, most vigilant in upholding the tranquillity of the Order and the freedom of his subordinates. He raised the fortifications of Saint Angelo, Saint Elmo, Saint Michael and other bulwarks against an attack from the Turks. He lived for 80 years. He died on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of September 1553.

Frà Christoforo Dacugna, Commendator of Vera Cruz, arranged this slab to his affectionate memory.

### 356 - Claude de la Sengle

FRATER CLAVDIVS DE LA SENGLÉ, VIR  
ANIMO LIBERO MODESTOQVE, POST  
EXPVGNATAM EO TRIREMIVM  
DVCE AFRICAM, DVM ROMÆ SECVNDO  
5 LEGATVM HOSPITALARIVS AGERET,  
AD MAGISTRATVM HOSPITALIS ITIDEM  
VOCATVS, MORES EXEMPLO LEGIBVS-  
QVE CONPONENS, PROCELLIS TEMPO-  
RVM SVPERIOR, ARCES NOVAMQVE  
10 SENGLIAM CONDENS, SIBI PARCVS,  
MAGNIS OPIBVS ÆRARIO CONGESTIS,  
LXIII ÆTATIS ANNO, CVM VETEREM  
VRBEM INVISERET, IBI LOETALI DELI-  
QVIO CORREPTVS FESTINE VT CÆTERA,  
15 SED PIE ET CONSTANTER OBIIT XV  
CALENDAS SEPTEMBRIS MDLVII.  
SEDT ANNOS III, MENSES XI, DIES VII.

FRATER CAROLVS DE ANGEST, SENESCALLVS, ET CHRISTOFORVS  
20 DE MONTCAVLDRIT, OECONOMVS, PROPENSI ERGA SE DOMINI  
MEMORES, SVPREMVM HOC PIETATIS OFFICIVM CVRAVERE.

Frà Claude de la Sengle, a man with an independent and disciplined mind, was leading the attack on Africa as the Captain-General of the galleys, and after, in the following period, he successfully performed as the Hospitaller envoy in Rome and in like manner he was called to the Magistracy of the Hospital. He rose above the commotion of his times, restoring the moral values by good practice and laws, and founded strongholds and the new town of Senglea. Although frugal to himself, he had gathered great wealth for the Treasury. At the age of 63 years, when visiting the old city [Mdina], he was seized by a lethal stroke, he died, as swiftly as his other actions, however piously and tranquilly, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1557. He held the Seat for three years, eleven months and seven days.

Frà Charles de Angest, First Steward, and Christophore de Montcauldrit, Steward, mindful of their Master's propensity towards them, provided for a last farewell this duty of piety.



## 179 - Melchoir de Robles

DOMINI MELCHIORIS DE ROBLES, ORDINIS GLADI FERI EQVITIS,  
MONVMENTVM,  
CASTELLANI ORTV, STIRPE INSIGNIS, GESTIS PRECLARISSIMI,  
SVB IMPERIO PHILIPPI SECVNDI REGIS MILITARIS TRIBVNI  
5 QVI, IN TRVCISSIMA MELITE OBSIDIONE  
PER INNVMERAS TRACIVM TVRMAS IRRVENS,  
MCENIA IAM PRORSVS QVASSATA CVM LEGIONE SVBSIDIARIA ADIVIT,  
DIVI IACOBI FIDI ALVMNI,  
EQVIDEM TETRE OTHOMANE MILITIE DIRI FLAGELLI,  
10 CVIVS SIGNI RVBORE FAVSTI CHRISTICOLIS COMETE,  
CRVX PALLENS ENITVIT, NITENS LVNA PALLVIT,  
SANCTI MICHAELIS ARCIS PREFECTI PRESIDIO  
VTQVE IPSE CÆLITVM HOSTIVM FVGATORIS,  
QVI, TANDEM MACTANDI PRIMVS IN CONFLICTV OCCVBVIT,  
15 VERVM PRO GVTTA SANGVINIS CENTVM VITAS REDEMIT, MILLE NECES COMPARAVIT,  
HEV, OCCVBVIT! OCCVBVIT NE VTI QVAM REVIXIT, VIVIT  
SPIRITVS AD SVPEROS LAVREA, FAMA IN HIEROSOLYMITANO, SVB VEXILI SANCTI PIGNORE DIVTVRNO IMMORTALIS.  
EMINENTISSIMVS ET REVERENDISSIMVS DOMINVS MAGNVS MAGISTER, FRATER DON RAPHAEL COTONER,  
EXIMIVS VIRTVTIS, CVLTOR OFFICIORVM,  
20 REMVNerator LARGISSIMVS POST 20 FERE LVSTRVM TANTI ET BENEMERENTI HEROIS CINERES DECORAVIT.

This is the slab of Don Melchior de Robles, fierce Knight of the Order of [St James of] the Sword,\* a Castilian by birth, eminent by lineage, most illustrious by deeds, a military commander under the supreme power of King Philip II who, in the grimmest siege of Malta, while forcing his way through countless troops of Turks, came with a subsidiary legion straight on to the aid of the already utterly shattered bulwarks. A faithful disciple of Saint James, indeed a fearful scourge of the hideous Ottoman militia, whose fortunate military standard, by its redness, was like a comet to the worshippers of Christ, the pale Cross shone forth, the shining Crescent faded, the Commander of the garrison of the Saint Michael Bastions, he himself as the pursuer of the enemy from Heaven who in this duty was the first casualty, slaughtered in the battle, yes indeed, for a drop of blood, saved the lives of a hundred, brought about the death of a thousand, alas, he died! but in fact, he lived again as soon as he died, his soul lives on triumphantly in Heaven, his reputation among the Jerusalemite, immortalised under the long lasting pledge of the standard of the Cross. The Most Eminent and Most Reverend Grand Master Frà Don Raphael Cotoner, the excellence of virtue, promoter of offices, most profuse benefactor, after nearly the 20<sup>th</sup> lustrum of his death,\* honoured the remains of such a great and meritorious a hero.

\* a.k.a. the Order of Santiago

\*\*d. 11<sup>th</sup> Aug 1565

### 359 - Jean Parisot de Valette

#### DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

IN MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ VIRI ILLVSTRISSIMI FRATRIS IOANNIS DE VALLETTA, FRANCI, QVI, POST MVLTÀ VARIAQVE CVM APVD TRIPOLIM IN  
AFRICA TOTAMQVE NVMDIAM TVM VERO PER VNIVERSAM GRÆCIAM TERRA MARIQVE STRENVE AC PROSPERE GESTA,  
SVMNO TOTIVS ORDINIS CONSENSV MAGISTER AC PRÆFECTVS ELECTVS, IAMPRIDE DE SE CONSEPTAM  
5 OPINIONEM SIC ADAVXIT, VT ANNO DOMINI MDLXV CVNCTANTIBVS CHRISTIANIS PRINCIPIBVS MELITAM SOLIMANI  
OBSIDIONE LIBERAVERIT; VETEREM VRBEM CASTRAQVE SERVAVERIT, TVRCAS VNIVERSA INSVLA FVGAVERIT,  
VTRVMQVE MARE PIRATIS REPVRGAVERIT ET NEAPOLIM VALLETAM TVTISSIMAM ADVERSVS NOSTRÆ FIDEI INIMICOS,  
PROPVGNACVLVM ATQVE ÆTERNVM VALLETÆ FRANCIQVE NOMINIS MONIMENTVM SVMNA CELERITATE  
ATQVE MIRABILI ARTIFICIO CONSTERVXERIT. OBIIT XXI AVGVSTI ANNO DOMINI MDLXVIII, EO IPSO DIE QVO  
10 VNDECIN ANTEA ANNOS MAGISTERIVM ORDINIS INIERAT, HOSTIBVS TERRORI ET SVIS  
CHARVS, VNDE NON IMMERITO ΔΗΜΟΠΡΩΒΟΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΘΟΡΟΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΣ  
AB OMNIBVS NVNCVPATVS EST. VIXIT ANNOS LXXIII, MENSES VI, DIES XVII.  
FRATER LVDOVICVS DE MAILLOC SACQVENVILLEVS, EIVSDEM ORDINIS  
EQVES, CRVCIBRIÆ AC SANCTI MALVITII DOMINVS, SVPRADICTII INVICTISSIMI PRINCIPIS  
15 CECONOMVS PRIMVS, BENEFICII AB EO ACCEPIT NON IMMÉMOR IN EIVS  
OPERAM, HVNC TVMVLVM PROPRIIS SVMPTIBVS EXTRVENDVM CVRAVIT ANNO DOMINI MDLXXX.

#### DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO SACROSANCTO.

ILLE ASIÆ, LBÏEQVE PAVOR TVTELAQVE QVONDAM,  
EVROPÆ, EDOMITIS SACRA PER ARMA GETIS.  
20 PRIMVS IN HAC ALMA QVAM CONDIDIT VRBE SEPVLTVS  
VALLETTA ÆTERNO DIGNVS HONORE IACET.

TANTAM TANTI VIRI MEMORIAM TANTVMQVE HYEROSOLYMITANO MILITI VIRTVTIS STIMVLVM PRIVS HVMI IACENTEM  
FRATER LVDOVICVS DE MAILLOC SACQENVILLE ET FRATER IOANNES DE SOVBIRAN ARIFAT IN EMINENTIOREM HANC LVCEM EREXERE  
ANNO DOMINI MDXCI.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

In eternal memory of a most illustrious man, Frà Jean de Valette, a Frenchman, who, after he strenuously and successfully had fulfilled numerous and various duties on land and at sea, not only at Tripoli in Africa and all Numidia but also verily throughout all Greece, was elected by general consent of the whole Order as Master and Prefect. Long ago he had opened the narrow-minded opinions about himself in another way when in the Year of the Lord 1565 he freed Malta from the siege of Süleyman. Notwithstanding the Christian Princes delaying action, he saved the old city and fortress, chased the Turks from the whole island and swept clean each side of this sea of pirates, and constructed the new city of Valletta, extremely safe against the enemies of our Faith, a bulwark and eternal monument of De Valette and French reputation, with utmost speed and wonderful skill. He died on the 21st of August, in the Year of the Lord 1568, on the very day on which he, eleven years earlier, had entered into the Magistracy of the Order. He was a terror to the enemy, dear to his own, so that not without reason he was called the guardian-of-the-people and the curse-of-the-enemy by everyone. He lived for 73 years, 6 months and 17 days. Frà Louis de Mailloc Saquenville, a Knight of the aforesaid Order, Lord of Crucibria and San Malvito, Steward of the afore-mentioned most invincible Prince, not heedless of the benefices he received from him for his service, arranged to erect this tomb at his own expense in the Year of the Lord 1580.

#### To God, Supreme, Almighty, Sacrosanct

He was the dread of Asia and Libya and once the guardian of Europe, after he had subdued the Turks by means of his Sacred Arms, the first to be buried in this propitious city which he founded. Here lies De Valette, worthy by eternal honour.

Frà Louis de Mailloc Sacqenville and Frà Jean de Soubiran Arifat, in the Year of the Lord 1591, raised into more prominent splendour so great a memory of so great a man, so great a stimulus of virtue for the Jerusalemite soldier, previously lying underground.

### 353 - Poem by Oliver Starkey

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO SACROSANCTO.  
ILLE ASLÆ, LVBLÆQVE PAVOR TVTELAQVE QVONDAM,  
EVROPÆ, EDOMITIS SACRA PER ARMA GETIS,  
PRIMVS IN HAC ALMA QVAM CONDIDIT VRBE SEPVLT  
5 VALLETTÆ ETERNO DIGNVS HONORE IACET.  
FRATER OLIVERIVS STARCHEIVS, PROTVRCOPVLERIVS,  
CARMEN INSCRIPSIT.

To God, Supreme, Almighty, Sacrosanct.

He was the dread of Asia and Libya and once the guardian of Europe, after he had subdued the Turks by means of his Sacred Arms, the first one to lie buried in the grave, here in this propitious city of Valletta which he founded, worthy of eternal honour. Frà Oliver Starkey, Pro-Turcopolier, wrote this poem.

### 352 - Pietro del Monte

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI PETRO DE MONTE, IVLII III PONTIFICIS MAXIMI EX GERMANO FILIO, IN RHODIO  
EXCIDIO STRENVE SERVATO, RVRSVS IN SENGLEÆ PENINSVLÆ ANNO  
MDLXV A TVRCIS OBSESSÆ DEFENSIONE, ADMIRATO PRÆCLARISSIMO AC  
5 GVBERNATORI CAPVÆ PRIORI PRIMOQVE IN VALLETTANA CIVITATE INCOLE,  
HIEROSOLIMITANÆ MILITLÆ IN SVMO MAGISTRATV MAGNO VALLETTÆ  
DIGNO SVCCessori MAIORAQVE LONGE MERITO QVAM ADEPTO QVI, SVI  
MAGISTRATVS ANNO TERTIO, MENSE QVARTO, DIE SEXTO, OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO  
DIE XXVI IANVARIi MDLXXII.  
10 FRATER RAYMVNDVS FORTVNIVS, NEGROPONTIS BAIVLVS, PRIVS IN VRBE HAC AB EO  
MAGISTRALIS  
GRATLÆ PRÆCEPTORIA DONATVS MERITO, NON IMEMOR, BENEFACTORI SVO POSVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Pietro del Monte, son of the brother of Pope Julius III, tirelessly keeping his post when Rhodes was in ruins, again in the defence of the peninsula of Senglea when it was besieged by the Turks in the year 1565. A very illustrious Admiral and Statesman, Prior of Capua and the first inhabitant of the city of Valletta, a worthy successor to the great De Valette in the highest Magistracy of the Jerusalemite Militia, and certainly deserving greater rewards than he received. He died in the Lord in the third year, fourth month and sixth day of his Magistracy, on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of January 1572. Frà Raymondo Fortuyn, Bailiff of Negroponte, not forgetful, placed this slab for his benefactor whom earlier granted him a Receptory of Magistral Grace for his merits in this city.

### 155 - Pierre Mosquet

FRATRI IOANNI PETRO MOSQVET NICIENSI.  
VIRGINEI CVSTOS SYNCERA MENTE SACELLI  
INTEGERET, TEMPLI SVBPRIOR HVIVS ERAT.  
ASSIDVE ANTE ARAS SOLITVS PROCVMBERE SVPPLEX  
5 ATQVE DEVM PRECIBVS SOLLICITARE PIIS,  
CVI FVERAT SEMPER DIVINI MAXIMA CVLTVS  
CVRA, SVB HOC TVMVLO MORTVVS ECCE IACET.  
ANGELICO DONEC CORPVS CLAMORE RESVRGES  
CVM ANIMA VIDEAT IVDICIS ORA DEL.  
10 OBIIT DIE XXII DECEMBRIS MDLXXXVIII.

For Frà Pierre Mosquet of Nice. He was Sub-Prior of this church, so that as the custodian of relics he could continue to sincerely look after the Chapel of the Virgin. He was accustomed to prostrate himself as a suppliant in front of this altar and also to win over God with his devoted prayers, to whose divine service he always had paid the greatest attention. Behold, he lies dead beneath this tomb, until You will raise his body again at the angelic cry, when his soul will awaken in the hour of God, his Judge. He died 22<sup>nd</sup> day of December 1579.

### 361 - Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI IOANNI LEVESQVE DE LA CASSIERE,  
HIEROSOLYMITANÆ HOSPITALITATIS MAGNO MAGISTRO, VIRO  
RELIGIOSISSIMO, OPTIMO, BENEFICENTISSIMO  
5 CVI AD FASTIGIVM PRINCIPATVS  
EGREGIA MVLTÀ ADVERSVS FI-  
DEI HOSTES EDITA FACINORA ADI-  
TV STRAVERE, QVORVM GLORIAM,  
POSTQVAM PRINCEPS EST RENVNC-  
10 IATVS, ADMIRABILIS IN REGENDO,  
PRVDENTLÆ, INSTITLÆ ET INTEGRITATIS  
LAVDE CVMVLAVIT,  
HVMILLIMAM CIVITATEM VALLETTAM  
MAIORI TEMPLO CONVENTVALI EX-  
15 TRVCTO DONATOQVE XENODO-  
CHIO, PRÆTORIO, ET MAGNIFI-  
CENTISSIMIS ÆDIBVS, PRO SVA ET SVC-  
CESSORVM CONMODITATE FA-  
BRICATIS, CONDECORAVIT,  
20 DEMVM, OB CIVILES SEDITIONES  
SEDANDAS ROMAM A GREGORIO XIII,  
SE FLAGITANTE, ACCITVS, SVM-  
MOQVE HONORE HABITVS ET IN-  
NOCENS DECLARATVS IBIDEM,  
25 INCREDIBILI BONORVM OMNIVM  
MOERORE DECESSIT XII KALENDAS  
IANVARI MDLXXXII,  
CADAVER ROMA TRANSVEC-  
TVM HOC IN MONVMENTO QVOD  
30 VIVENS SIBI CÆTERISQVE COM-  
STRVXERAT CONDITVM EST,  
PROCVRANTE VENERANDO MAGNO  
CONSERVATORE FRATRE RAYMVNDO  
FORTVNIO, QVI IN MVNERE  
35 RECEPTORIS, ET POSTEA CONSER-  
VATORIS CONVENTVALIS EIDEM  
MAGNO MAGISTRO INSERVIERAT.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

To Frà Jean l'Evesque de la Cassière, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Hospital, a man most pious, most excellent, most beneficent who had undertaken excellently numerous actions against the enemy of the faith, the glory of which paved his way to the top of Princehood, after his election as Prince gained admiration for his rule by praise for his prudence, justice and integrity. He embellished the most humble city of Valletta when he erected the Conventual Church, bestowed a hospital, a palace, and constructed most magnificent buildings for his own benefit and that of his successors. Finally, on account of a public outcry which had to be brought to order, he was called to Rome by Gregory XIII on his own request, where he was treated with the highest honour, and was declared innocent by the aforesaid Pope. A short while later he died in Rome, to the incredible sorrow of all noble men on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1581. His remains, brought over from Rome, were buried in this vault, which he during his life had constructed for himself and others, by the procuring Venerable Grand Conservator Frà Raymondo Fortuyn who, in his duty of Receptor and later of Conventual Conservator, had served this Grand Master.

### 363 - Hugo de Loubenx Verdale

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO FRATRI HVGONI DE LOVBENX VER-  
DALÆ, CARDINALI AMPLISSIMO, HIEROSOLIMI-  
TANÆQVE MILITLÆ CVI ANNOS XIII,  
5 MENSES III, DIES VERO XXI, HONORIFICE  
PRÆFVIT, DIGNISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO, PRINCIPI  
INVICTISSIMO, PRVDENTISSIMO, BARBARIS  
HOSTIBVS TREMEBVNDO, CATHOLICÆ RELIGI-  
ONIS STVDIOSISSIMO, IN ADVERIS FORTI,  
10 IN PROSPERIS CIRCVMSPECTO, MODE-  
RATO, PROVIDO, LXIII ÆTATIS SVÆ  
ANNO VITA FVNCTO, VNIVERSA RELIGIO  
MOERENS HOC SVPREMVVM PIETATIS OFFICIVM  
VLTRO LIBENSQVE REDDIDIT. OBIIT  
15 IIII NONAS MAII ANNO DOMINI MDXCV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the Most Illustrious Don Frà Hugo de Loubenx Verdale, most distinguished Cardinal, and who was for 13 years, 3 months and 21 days honourably in charge of the Jerusalemite Militia. A most worthy Grand Master, a most unconquerable, most prudent Prince, awe-inspiring to the barbarian enemy, most devoted to the Catholic Religion, steadfast in adversity, prudent in prosperity, moderate, provident, ceased from life in his 66<sup>th</sup> year. He died on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, in the Year of the Lord 1595. The whole Religion, while in mourning, rendered this last duty of respect voluntarily and willingly.

### 164 - François de Panisse

DOMINO FRATRI FRANCISCO DE PANIZZES, GALLO EQUITI  
HIEROSOLYMITANO, VIRO  
AMPLISSIMO QUI, PLURIMIS IN RELIGIONEM BENEFICIIS  
COLLATIS,  
5 LEGATIONIBUS CONFECTIS, PRÆCLARIS IN BELLO REBUS GESTIS  
ET DIVI JOANNIS HOSPITIO ÆRE SUO, BONIS, AUCTO, SUPREMIS  
FUNCTUS OFFICIIS, MAJORES ADEPTUS DIGNITATES, SANCTI  
EGIDII  
PRIORATUM CONSECVTUS, CASTITATE, PIETATE ET PROBITATE  
10 MORUM INSIGNIS, DIEM SUUM OBIIT ANNOS ÆTATIS LXXXV,  
CALENDIS CIOIVC DIE MENSIS JULII. FRATER RAPHAEL  
PACCIUS, FLORENTINUS  
EQUES, FRATRI CONSOBRINO INTEGERRIMO, AC VELUTI PATRI  
OPTIME DE SE MERENTI, MÆSTISSIME POSUIT.

For Don Frà François de Panisse, a Frenchman, Knight of Jerusalem, an absolutely honourable man who, after he had gathered numerous benefits for his Religion, accomplished missions, executed distinguished deeds in war and endowed the Hospital of Saint John at his own expense and with estates, fulfilled the highest offices, obtained major dignities, acquired the Priory of St Gilles. Distinguished for his chastity, piety and honesty of character, he died at the age of 85, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of July 1595. Frà Rafaele Paccio, a Florentine Knight, placed in deep mourning this slab for a most untainted Brother, his cousin, and just as if for a most meritorious father.

## 202 - Bernardo Scaglia

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC BERNARDINVS MATVRA MORTE QVIESCIT,  
SCAGLLÆ QVI GENTIS FAX FVIT ET PATRIAE,  
QVIQVE VNO GEMINAM NACTVS EST FVNERE VITAM  
5 FAMA ETENIM TERRAS, SPIRITVS ASTRA COLVIT.  
VITA, FAMA SOLO IVVENIS NAM CESARE DIGNVS  
CREDITVS ORATOR. QVID POTVIT SENIOR?  
FIT CAPVÆ PRIOR, HINC PELAGIDIS CRIMINA VINCIT  
HAC HOSTEM PRVDENS DVM REGIT ARTE RATES,  
10 SPIRITVS ÆTEREIS SPATIATVR SEDIBVS ÆDEM  
QVANDO NON TERRIS STRVXIT, AT EMPIREO.  
OBIIT ANNO ÆTATIS SVÆ 78, IDIBVS JANVARIII MDC.  
FRATER LAVRENTIUS MIGLIAV PRO BENEFICIIS  
RECEPTIS SEPVLCRVM HOC FIERI FECIT.  
15 MONΩ H APETH AMOIPΩ TΩ TAΦΩ.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here rests in peace Bernardo, after his death at a ripe old age, who was the flame of the Scaglia family and his fatherland, and who acquired a two-fold life with one funeral, since he adorned the earth, life, stars with his reputation. With the life and reputation, as only youth possesses, he was deemed worthy as the bedesman of the Emperor. What was he capable of, as an adult? He became Prior of Capua, hence he conquered the hazards of the open sea with prudence gaining supremacy over the enemy with his art of combat, while he spread out his foundations along the ethereal abodes of the immaterial, since he built his temple not on Earth, but in Heaven. He died at the age of 78 years, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1600. Frà Laurent Migliau, in return for the benefits received, arranged for this sepulchre to be made.

His virtue survives this empty tomb

## 357 - Martino Garzes

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI MARTINO GARZES,  
SACRA HOSPITALITATIS IERSOLIMITANÆ REPVBICA DOMI  
FORISQVE  
5 PACIS ET BELLI ARTIBVS APTIS SEXENNIO  
FELICITER GESTA INCLYTO, VII IDVS  
FEBRVARIII CIOIOCI, ÆTATIS LXXV,  
VITA FVNCTO,  
FRATER VINCENTIVS FARDELLA.  
10 DONEC IN CINERES.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Martino Garzes, celebrated for successfully governing the Sacred Republic of the Jerusalemite Hospital at home and abroad, while he pursued the art of peace and war during this period of six years. He departed from life on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1601, at the age of 75. Frà Vincenzo Fardella.

While in ashes



## 192 - Martino de Novar

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI DOMINO MARTINO DE NOVAR, MAGNO NAVARRÆ PRIORI,  
VILLAFRANCÆ ET SANCTI IOANNIS DE CALCHETAS  
5 COMMENDATARIO  
AC SUPREMO HUIUS INSULÆ MILITARUM MAGISTRO,  
VIRO GENERIS AC MORUM NOBILITATE PRÆCLARO  
OB EGREGIA FACINORA  
CUM GLORIA HIJEROSOLIMITANI NOMINIS TERRA MARIQUE  
10 EDITA,  
ET BELlicos LABORES  
POTISSIMUM IN ILGILGINENSI EXPUGNATIONE EXANTLATOS,  
ATQUE OB POLITICA MUNERA  
SUMMA PRUDENTIA PERACTA,  
15 EMINENTISSIMUS MAGNUS MAGISTER FRATER DOMINUS  
RAIMUNDUS PERELLOS  
TANTI VIRI MEMORIÆ DEBITUM DEESSET ELOGIUM,  
PERENNE MONUMENTUM POSUIT  
SUÆ DILECTIONIS ARGUMENTUM.  
OBIIT ANNO 1602, 18 AUGUSTI, ÆTATIS SUÆ 66.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà. Don Martino de Novar, Grand Prior of Navarra, Commendator of Villafranca and San Juan de Calchetas and the Supreme Commander of the military of this island, a man famous for the nobility of his ancestry and character. On account of his superb achievements which he extended jointly with the glory of the Jerusalemite name on sea and shore, and of his toils of war, endured especially in the assault on Jijeli, as well as of his political services, discharged with the utmost prudence, the Most Eminent Grand Master, Don Ramon Perellos, should an appropriate eulogy be required for the memory of such a great man, placed this everlasting slab as a proof of his affection. He died in the year 1602, 18<sup>th</sup> of August, at the age of 66.

## 200 - Jacques de Virieu Pupetieres

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI IACOBO DE VIRIEV PVPETIERES, ORDINIS HOSPITALITATIS  
HIEROSOLYMITANI VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ ALVERNÆ MILITI, PACIS QUIDEM ET  
CHARITATIS CVLTORI AC FIDEI CATHOLICÆ STRENVE PROPVGNATORI  
5 QVI, BIS IN ROMANA CIVITATE APVD GREGORIVM XIII ET CLEMENTEM VIII  
ORDINIS ORATORIS, RECEPTORIS, CONSERVATORIS ET CASTELLANI  
LAVDABILITER PERFUNCTIS MVNERIBVS, AD MARESCALLATUS  
AC LVGDVNI BAIVLIVATVS DIGNITATES  
PROPRIIS EXIGENTIBVS MERITIS GRADATIM  
10 EVECTVS, IN DOMINO TANDEM OBDORMIVIT  
ANNO SALVTIS MDCII, KALENDIS NOVEMBRI BV S,  
ÆTATIS SVÆ LXVI.  
FRATER LAVRENTIVS DE VIRIEV PVPETIERES  
PATRVO DILECTISSIMO  
15 POSVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Jacques de Virieu Pupetieres, a soldier of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne of the Hospital Order of Jerusalem, guardian of peace and charity, and also a tireless defender of the Catholic Faith who, after he had fulfilled praiseworthy the duties of Receptor, Conservator and Castellan, and was twice the Order's ambassador in the city of Rome at the courts of Gregory XIII and Clement VIII, gradually rose, driven by his own merits, to the dignities of the Marshalcy and Bailiwick of Lyons. While in this function, he fell asleep in the Lord in the Year of Salvation 1602, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, at the age of 66. Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres, placed this slab for his most beloved paternal uncle.

### 207 - Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MEMORIÆQUE ORANDI PRO  
DEFUNCTO FRATRE LAU-  
RENTIO DE VIRIEU PUPPE-  
TIERES, MAGISTERII SENES-  
5 CALLO, OMNI VIRTUTE PRÆD-  
ITO, BENEVOLENTIA CONJUNCTO  
IS FRATER ALOPHIUS DE VIGNACOURT,  
HOSPITALITATIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MAGISTER,  
10 PAUPERUMQUE JESU CHRISTI  
CUSTOS, POSUIT  
ANNO DOMINI 1608, KALENDIS NOVEMBRIS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the memory of, and to prompts of obligatory prayer for the deceased Frà Laurens de Virieu Pupetieres, Steward of the Magistracy, gifted with every virtue, bonded by benevolence to his fellows. Frà Alof de Wignacourt, Master of the Jerusalemite Hospital, Guardian of the poor of Jesus Christ, placed this slab in the Year of the Lord 1608, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November.

### 339 - Jean de Vintimille d'Ollières

DEO QVI MAXIMVS.  
FRATER IOANNES DE VINTIMILLE, EX COMITI-  
BVS MASSILLÆ AVLIOVRES, BAIVLIVVS  
MANVASCÆ, COMMENDATARIVS REN-  
NEVILLÆ ET MONTSAVNES, CASTITATE,  
5 CARITATE, PIETATE CÆTERISQVE VIRI RE-  
LIGIOSI VIRTVTIBVS QVAS SANCTIS-  
SIME COLVIT, PER ANNOS LVIII FRAT-  
RIBVS PRÆLVXIT. OBSIDIONIS TEMPO-  
RE, ACCEPTO PRO SVA MELITA TVENDA  
10 GLORIOSO VVLNERE, FORTITVDINEM RE-  
LIQVASQVE VIRI GLORIA MILITARI INSIGNIS  
DOTES EXPLICVIT, AC TANDEM GENER-  
OSISSIMI EQVITIS BONIQVE RELIGIOSI  
PRÆMIA ACCEPTVRVS, IN COELVM  
15 EVOLAVIT ANNO SALVTIS MDCX ÆT-  
ATIS LXXIII, DIE I MENSIS FEBRVARIJ.

To God, who is Almighty.

Frà Jean de Vintimille d'Ollières, from the Counts of Marseille, Bailiff of Manosque, Commendator of Renneville and Montsaunès, shone forth on his Brothers for 58 years with his chastity, charity, Christian love and the other virtues of a Religious, which he upheld most solemnly. In the time of the siege he received a glorious wound for defending his Malta, and displayed the valour and other gifts of a man distinguished with military glory. Finally, in order to receive the rewards of a most generous Knight and a good Religious, he took wing into Heaven in the Year of Salvation 1610, at the age of 73, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of February.

## 209 - Miguel Oliverio

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
FRATRI MICHÆLI OLIVERIO, VTRIVSQVE IVRIS DOCTORI, MELITÆ  
ORTO, EX GRADV FRATRVM CAPELANORUM  
ORDINIS SANCTI IOANNIS HIEROSOLYMITANI VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ  
5 ALEMANIÆ, TEMPORE SVI OBITVS,  
PRIMO, TVM ANTIANITATE, TVM ETIAM  
DIGNITATE PRÆCEPTORIS SEV COMMENDATORIS  
PRÆCEPTORLÆ WORMATII, PROTHONOTARIO  
APOSTOLICO CÆSARI SEV IMPERIALI  
10 CAPELLANO AC VICEPRIORI HVJVS  
MAJORIS ECCLESIE CONVENTVALIS ORDINIS  
PRÆDICTI, PLERISQVE ALIJS MVNERIBVS  
ET LEGATIONIBVS APVD SANCTAM SEDEM ET CÆSAREM  
MAGNO MAGISTRO FVNCTO, MARIETTA OLIVERIA,  
15 BENEVOLA ET PIA MATER, TANTO  
DE FILIO BENEMERITA, JVSTIS CVM  
LACRIMIS AD PERPETVAM MEMORIAM POSVIT.  
OBIIT ANNO MDCXIII, IV IDVS FEBRVARII, ÆTATIS VERO SVÆ  
ANNORUM DVORUM SVPRA SEXAGINTA.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

For Frà Miguel Oliverio, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, born in Malta, at the time of his death belonging to the ranks of the Brothers Chaplain of the Jerusalemite Order of Saint John for the Venerable Tongue of Germany, but at first, he had fulfilled his duties not only by his seniority, but also with the rank of Receptor or Commendator of the Worms' Receptory, Apostolic Protonotary to the Emperor or as Imperial Chaplain and Vice-Prior of this Conventual Church of the above-mentioned Order, and numerous other duties and envoys at the court of the Holy See and the Emperor on behalf of his Grand Master. Marietta Oliverio, benevolent and pious mother, meritorious of so great a son, placed this slab, with justifiable tears, to his eternal memory. He died in 1613, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February, two years older than 60.

## 222 - Gundinsalvo de Porras

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI GVNDISALVO DE PORRAS, SPECTATE SEMPER  
VIRTVTIS CELEBERRIMO VIRO QVI, POST PRÆCLARA  
SECRETIS MAGISTRALIS, CONSERVATORIS CONVENTVALIS ET LEGATIONVM APVD ROMÆ  
5 PONTIFICEM REGEMQVE HISPANIARVM SVMMA PRVDENTIA SPLEN-  
DOREQVE PERFVNCTA MVNERA, AD LORENSEM BAIVLI-  
VATVM PER SVOS GRADVS ASSVMPTVS, DIERVM MERITO-  
RVMQVE PLENVS ANNO DOMINI MDCXIII IN PACE QVIE-  
SCENS, AMPLA SPOLIA, NE DE QVINTA QVIDEM SIBI CON-  
10 CESSA PORTIONE INTEGRE DISPONENS, RELIGIONI  
RELIQVIT, COMMVNIS ÆRARIJ PROCVRATORES  
OPTIME MERITO  
POSVERE.

TO ONOMA MH TAΦOS  
15 MH AE KOΣMOΣ.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Gundinsalvo de Porras, a most celebrated man of sorely tried virtue who, after he punctiliously had performed, with the highest prudence and brilliance, the honourable duties of Magistral Secretary, Conventual Conservator and embassies at the Courts of the Pope in Rome and the King of Spain, obtained the Bailiwick of Lora through his own careful approach. As he went to rest in peace in the Year of the Lord 1613, full of days and merits, he bequeathed to the Religion an abundant inheritance, not even entirely disposing of the fifth part granted to himself.

The Procurators of the Common Treasury placed this slab for this most meritorious man.

His reputation, not his grave or epithet, will be for ever

## 166 - Boniface de Puget Chiasstuel

5 FRATER BONIFACIVS DE PVGET CHIASTVEL, SACRÆ  
HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITLÆ BAIVLIVVS QVI,  
AB ANNO MDLXI STVDII PIETATISQVE IN SV-  
VM ORDINEM ERGO EQVESTRI SVSCEPTO  
HABITV, PERPETVO IN CONVENTV RESEDIT.  
10 IN EXPEDITIONIBVS AD PIGNONEM AC EPI-  
DAVRVM MYOPARONISQVE MAGNI CAPTVRÆ  
INTERFVIT, MELITENSIVM IN OBSIDIONE  
MVNITIONIBVS MACHINISQVE BELLICIS PRÆ-  
FVIT, IN TVRCAS NAVALI PRÆLIO VICTOS  
15 MILITAVIT, PRÆTORLÆ TRIREMIS CAPITA-  
NEATVM TORMENTORVMQVE PRÆFECTVRAM  
OBTINVIT, POPVLOS MELITENSES REXIT.  
CASTELLANLÆ PRÆSEDIT, ALIISQVE MILITLÆ  
MVNERIBVS TERRA MARIQVE PERFVNCTVS  
ET MAGNI COMMENDATarii DIGNITATEM  
SVO IVRE TANDEM ADEPTVS, HVNC NE  
POSTERIS CREDERET SIBI MORITVRO  
TVMVLVM PRÆPARAVIT ANNO DOMINI  
MDCXIII, SVÆ VERO ÆTATIS LXX.

Frà Boniface de Puget Chiasstuel, Bailiff of the Holy Jerusalemite Militia who, in the year 1561, in consequence of his eagerness and sense of duty towards his Order had put on the habit of a Knight and resided since then permanently in the Convent. He took part in expeditions near Pignone and Epidauros and in the capture of a large, fast galley. In the Siege of Malta he was in charge of the fortifications and war engines, in a naval battle he fought against the Turks, leaving them defeated. He obtained the Captaincy of the Flagship and the Commandership of the artillery and led the Maltese people. He presided over the Castellania and, performing other duties of the Militia on land and sea, in his last office, he gained the rank of Grand Commander by right. Should he rely on posterity, he prepared this tomb for himself on his deathbed in the Year of the Lord 1614, at the age of 70.

### 334 - Joachin de Wignacourt

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IOACHINVS DE WIGNACOVRT,  
PATRITIA APVD GALLOS ORIGINE CLARVS, ALOPHII  
MINORIS FRATRIS PRINCIPATV CLARIOR PROPRIA VIRTUTE,  
5 DVPLICO FRANCORVM REGVM ORDINE EQVESTRI CLARISSIMVS  
DVM, CVM EODEM AMANTISSIMO SVI FRATRE,  
HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS  
MODERATORE, QVEM HVC EX GALLIIS PROPECTVS INVISERAT,  
QVIESCERE ALIQVANDIV COGITAT, A DEO SVBLATVS. ÆTERNA  
10 IN PACE QVIEVIT III IDVS AVGVSTI  
ANNO DOMINI MDCXV, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXXIV.

EIVS OSSA CINERESQVE BREVIS CLAVDIT VRNA,  
CVIVS NOMEN ET GLORIAM NVLLA CLAVDET ÆTAS.  
MONVMENTVM  
15 FRATER ALOPHIVS DE WIGNACOVRT, MAGNVS MAGISTER,  
FRATRI OPTIMO ET DILECTISSIMO MÆRENS POSVIT.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Joachin de Wignacourt, famous for his patrician birth among the French, more famous by his very own virtue than by the Sovereignty of his younger brother Alof, most famous for his membership of the two Equestrian Orders of French Kings, had visited here, after he travelled from France, the aforesaid, most loving brother, the Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Order, he reflected for a considerable time on his death, enjoying his rest, when he was raised by the Lord. He rested in eternal peace, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August in the Year of the Lord 1615, at the age of 84.

A small slab confines his bones and ashes, whose name and glory no time will confine. Frà Alof de Wignacourt, Grand Master, placed this monument in mourning for his most noble and beloved brother.



### 311 - Ferrante Coiro

FRATRI FERDINANDO COIRO,  
MEDIOLANENSI, GENERIS  
SPLENDORE ET MAGNAE CRVCIS  
PRÆROGATIVA CLARISSIMA,  
5 PRIORI MESSANÆ AC  
COMMENDATARIO  
MELICOCCENSI, QVI  
NOMEN SVI ORDINIS IN  
ACERRIMA MELITAE  
10 OBSIDIONE AC MAXIMO  
NAVALI CONFLICTV, QVA-  
QVA ORA QVA CONSILIO  
ILLVSTRAVIT. MAGNISQVE  
LABORIBVS FELICISSIME  
15 EXANTLATIS, COMMVNI  
MORTALIVM NECESSITATI  
CONCESSIT IIII NONAS FEBRVARI  
ANNO DOMINI MDCXVI, SVO LXIIX.  
FRATER DOMINVS PETRVS GONCALES  
20 DE MENDOCA,  
BAGLIVS DE LORA, AMICI,  
CAPITIS DESIDERIVM  
ÆGERRIME FERENS, PVBLICVM  
AMICITIAE SIGNVM POSVIT.

For Frà Ferrante Coiro of Milan, Grand Cross, by magnificence of birth and by most distinct privilege, Prior of Messina and Commendator of Melicucca, who illuminated the name of his Order in the most bitter siege of Malta and the greatest naval battle, with both whatsoever, the edge of his sword and his determination. Going successfully through great toils, he relinquished to the common inevitability of mortals on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February, in the Year of the Lord 1616, at the age of 68. Frà Don Pedro Goncales de Mendoca, Bailiff of Lora, most sadly suffering regret of his friend's absence, placed this as a public proof of his friendship.

### 403 - Giovanni Lanfranco Ceba

FRATRI IOANNI LANFRANCO  
CEBA, GENVENSIS, DE HIEROSOLYMITANA  
MILITIA NON MALE MERITO.  
ANTONIVS ET ANSALDVS  
5 EX IJSDEM ORTI PARENTIBVS.  
OBIJT ANNO MDCXVII.

To Frà Giovanni Lanfranco Ceba of Genoa, not undeserving in relation to the Jerusalemite Militia. Antonio and Ansaldo, born to the same parents. He died in the year 1617.

### 318 - Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa

FRATRI IOANNI HIERONYMO CARAFÆ NEAPOLITANO,  
GENERIS SPLENDORE CONSPICVO,  
VIRTUTE, PIETATE, INTEGRITATI  
EXIMIO QVI, IN OBSIDIONE MILITEA  
5 CVM STRENVE PVGNASSET PRO  
MVRIS, POST MVLTÀ INVICTI  
ANIMI TERRA MARIQVE FORTITER  
EDITA SIGNA, FELICITER OBITA  
MVNERA AD BAROLENSEM PRIORATVM,  
10 PRIMVS POST SERENISSIMVM MANTVÆ  
DVCEM ASSVMPTVS, IPSO, QVEM  
SIBI PRÆDIXERAT, OBITVS DIE,  
REQVIEVIT IN DOMINO  
ANNO SALVTIS MDCXVII, XIII  
15 KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS,  
  
IDEM, VIRTUTE NOBILITATI  
HEROS, RELIGIONE, PIETATE  
SVMMVS, SVVM HVNC DEIPARÆ  
VIRGINIS, CLARVM MIRACVLIS,  
20 ICONEM CONDI SACELLO, ET  
PROVT IACET, PICTVRIS EXORNA-  
RI TESTAMENTO VOLVERAT.  
FRATER NICOLAVS DI LA MARRA,  
PRIOR MESSANÆ, CONCIVIS  
21 CONFRATRIS AMICI OPTIMI, CA-  
RISSIMI, DESIDERANTISSIMI, MENTEM,  
LEGATI EXECVTOR, IMPLEVIT.  
MONVMENTVM POSVIT.

Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Carafa, a Neapolitan, famous for the splendour of his birth, his extraordinary virtue, piety, integrity who, after strenuously fighting for the city walls in the siege of Malta, and putting forth bravely many signs of his unsurpassable mind by land and sea, successfully performed his duties at the Priory of Barletta, he was the foremost one to be received in this function after the Most Serene Duke of Mantua to whom he had preached the Gospel on the very day of his demise. He rested in the Lord in the Year of Salvation 1617, on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of October.

The aforesaid, a hero by his virtue, nobility, most eminent by his reverence, observance, had wished by his last will that the icon of the Virgin, the Mother of God, his very own property, famous for miracles, was to be kept in this chapel, where it still can be found, to be adorned with reliefs. Frà Nicolao di la Marra, Prior of Messina, fellow-citizen of his confrere, his most beloved, dearly missed best friend, fulfilled as the Executor of his last will, the deceased's intention and placed this slab.

## 191 - Bernardo de Ezpeletay Xavier

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI DOMINO BERNARDO DE EZPELETAY XAVIER NAVARRÆ,  
PRIORI MAGISTRALI COMENDATARIO, CLASSIS OLIM  
HIEROSOLYMITANÆ  
5 GENERALI PRÆFECTO, AD PHILIPPVM II LEGATIONE ALIIS-  
QVE MVNERIBVS RITE PERFVNCTO, VIRO INTEGERRIMO,  
PIISSIMO, RELIGIOSISSIMO ET CHRISTI PAVPERIBVS SVI  
TEMPORIS,  
FACILE PRIMO QVI NON TANTVM A CLARISSIMO SVO  
10 GENERE NOBILITATI, AB AMPLISSIMOQVE HOC ORDINE  
HONORIS ACCEPERAT, QVANTVM ET GENVS ET  
ORDINEM SVARVM VIRTVTVM SPLENDORE  
ILLVSTRAVIT, OBIIT XVII KALENDAS DECEMBRIS ANNO  
SALVTIS MDCXVII, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXIX,  
15 FRATER DOMINVS GINESIVS RVYZ  
BENEFACTORI OPTIME  
DE SE MERITO  
MCESTISSIME  
ÆQVE AC DEVOTISSIME POSVIT  
20 ANNO DOMINI  
MDCXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Don Bernardo de Ezpeletay Xavier of Navarra, Magistral Prior, Commendator, once Captain-General of the Jerusalemite fleet, punctiliously performing an embassy to Philip II and other duties with due religious observance, a most irreproachable man, most pious, most dutiful even to the poor of Christ in his time, easily the first one who had not received so much nobility from his most famous family and honour from this most distinguished Order as much as he embellished both his family and his Order with the splendour of their virtues. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November in the Year of Salvation 1618, at the age of 69.

Frà Don Gines Ruyz in deep mourning as much as in deep devotion, placed this slab in the Year of the Lord 1618 for his most meritorious benefactor.

### 369 - Gaspar de Monreal

FRATRI DOMINI GASPARI DE MONREAL,  
CASTELLANÆ EMPOSTÆ, ALVM-  
BREM, LARMVNICA Y ABELENDO PRÆ-  
CEPTORI, SPLENDIDISSIMO, VARIIS HO-  
5 NORVM GRADIBVS MVNERVMQVE  
PERFVNCTO, TRIREMIS MAGISTRA-  
LIS REDDITVVM RECEPTORI EQVITATVSQVE  
PRÆFECTO, ECCLESIE PROCVRA-  
TORI QVI DEMVM VT PIVS VIXIT,  
10 SIC PIVS PIE DIEM CLAUSIT EX-  
TREMVM ANNO DOMINI 1619,  
ÆTATIS 63.

FRATER DOMINVS BALTHASAR MARTINEZ,  
DE MARSILIA, ALAMBREM ET  
15 ANNOVENSIS PRÆCEPTOR, AMICVS  
AMICO VÆTERI AMICE  
MOERENS POSVIT.

For Frà Don Gaspar de Monreal, Castellan of Amposta, Receptor of Alumbra, Larmunica and Abelendo, a most excellent man, who occupied various positions and posts of honour, such as Receptor of the returns of the Magistral galley, Master Equerry and Procurator of the Church, At length, having lived piously ,thus devoutly concluded his last day as a pious man in the Year of the Lord 1619, at the age of 63.

Frà Don Baltasar Martinez, Receptor of Marsilia, Alhambra and Anobres, a friend, amicably placed this slab in mourning for a old friend.

### 302 - Antonio Mastrillo

ANTONIO MASTRILLO, EQUITI HIEROSOLYMITANO,  
MORUM COMITATE ET SANGUINIS NOBILITATE  
CONSPICUO QUI, PER TRIGINTA QUINQUE RESIDENTIÆ  
INTEGROS ANNOS SACRO SANCTI JOANNIS ORDINI INSERVIVIT  
5 EXPEDITIONIBUS BELLICIS AD TRIPOLIM, ARACHEN,  
UTICAM, CERCINAS INSULAS, AD NAVIUM  
PONTICARUM CONFLAGRATIONEM STRENUUM VIRUM SE  
PRÆSTITIT, DEMUM, TRIREMIS PRÆFECTUS ET COHORTIS,  
CUM IN SUSÆ PORTIS EVERTENDIS SUMMA CUM LAUDE  
10 SUAM NAVARET OPERAM ET CONSTANTISSIME  
PROELIARETUR, IGNEO SCLOPO LETHALITER A  
MILITE ARCIS PERCUSSUS, PRO CHRISTO, PRO  
RELIGIONE MELITÆ GLORIOSAM MORTEM OCCUBUIT  
XVI KALENDAS SEPTEMBRIS ANNO DOMINI MDCXIX,  
15 SAXUM HOC EXIMLÆ VIRTUTIS MONUMENTUM DOMINUS  
GARZIAS MASTRILLUS AMANTISSIMUS FRATER POSUIT.  
  
FAMILIARUM INSIGNA EPITAPHIUMQUE VETUSTATE  
CONSUMPTA, IN HOC MONUMENTO COLLOCATA, FRATER  
DOMINUS  
20 ANTONIUS MASTRILLO, EJUSDEM SANGUINIS EJUSDEM ORDINIS  
EQUES, NE TEMPORIS INIURIA TAM PRÆSTANTEM VIRUM  
MEMORIA OBLITERARET, IN ANTIQUAM ELEGANTIOREMQUE  
FORMAM RESTITUIT ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXXI.

For Antonio Mastrillo, a Jerusalemite Knight, illustrious for the pleasantness of his character and the nobility of his blood-lineage who, during 35 uninterrupted years of residence served the interest of the Sacred Order of Saint John with military expeditions to Tripoli, Ariana, Utique, Juzur Qarqannah, showed himself tireless during the inferno on the ships' decks. Finally, Captain of a galley and a cohort, with the highest praise, he came to assist when the city gates of Sousse were crushed, and as he was relentlessly fighting, he was shot lethally through and through by a scorching harquebus from a soldier of the defence. He died in Malta, a glorious death for Christ, for the Religion, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August, in the Year of the Lord 1619. Don Garzia Mastrillo, his most loving brother, placed this stone as a monument of his extraordinary virtue.

Frà Don Antonio Mastrillo, a Knight of the same blood-lineage, of the same Order, restored in the Year of the Lord 1741 the coats of arms of the families and the inscribed eulogy, rendered on this slab but worn away by age, to a more tasteful state than before, lest the ravages of time obliterate such an outstanding man from memory.

### 53 - Bernardino Barba

BERNARDINE REFERS QVÆ EX HOSTE TROPHÆA, MELITAM  
OBSIDET VT CLASSIS TVRCICA, BARBAPOTENS,  
QVÆ MORIENS MAVRVS, VICTVS, QVÆ SÆPE TRIREMIS,  
TE DVCE, TVRCA DEDIT, SANGVINE TINCTA SVO,  
5 FACTA TVI PATRVI VENVSII IMITATA PRIORIS  
MESSANÆQVE PRIOR, QVÆ MEMORANDA CERIS  
STEMMATA MARMOREVM DECORANT HOC ISTA SEPVLCRVM  
POSSIT VT EXEMPLO DISCERE QVISQVE TVO.

OBIIT VI DIE SEPTEMBRIS MDCXXI.  
10 FRATER JOSEPH VALENTE, NOVARRA, BUCCINI  
ET IMOLÆ PRECEPTOR, CONCIVI ET AMICO  
OPTIME DE SE MERITO FACIENDUM  
CURAVIT.

Bernardino, you are unfolding what trophies you won from the enemy when the Turkish fleet, barbarously outnumbered besieged Malta, what trophies the dying Moor [yielded when] defeated, what trophies the Turk, his galley often stained with his own blood, surrendered [to you] when you were Admiral. And after you emulated the achievements of your uncle, the Prior of Venosa, you became Prior of Messina. What coats-of-arms embellish this marble sepulchre, reminiscing of wax seals, so that each one of us may be able to learn from your example.

He died on the sixth day of September 1621. Frà Guiseppe Valente, Receptor of Novarra, Bucinna and Imola, arranged to set up this slab for his fellow-citizen and friend, most meritorious for himself.

### 99 - Giovanni Otto Bosio

A XPICTOΩ  
FRATER IOANNES OTHO BOSIUS, TICINENSIS BAIULIVUS,  
SIBI MORITURO POSUIT  
DECIMO MENSE FEBRUARI MDCXXII  
5 OREMUS PRO FIDELIBUS DEFUNCTIS.

Alpha Christ Omega  
Frà Giovanni Otto Bosio, Bailiff of Pavia, placed this slab for himself on the brink of death on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1622. Let us pray for the faithful dead.



## 221 - Francisco de Saavedra

FRATRI DOMINO FRANCISCO DE SAAVEDRA, VIRO  
CLARISSIMO, NIGROPONTIN BAIVLIVO, BE-  
NEVENTI ET RVBIALEN PRÆCEPTORI, TRIREMIS  
OLIM DVCI STRENVISSIMO, LEGVM ORDINIS  
5 SVI STVDIOSISSIMO, RECTI AMANTISSIMO, IN RE-  
LIGIOSOS VIROS PROPENSISSIMO, IN PAVPERES  
LIBERALISSIMO QVI ÆTATIS SVÆ ANNO  
LXIII DIEM PISSIME CLAV-  
SIT PRIDIE NONAS MARTIAS  
10 MDCXXII.

FRATER DOMINVS GYNESIVS RVYZ,  
OMNI TEMPORE DILIGENS,  
AMICO PERCARISSIMO, ÆRE SVO  
MOERENS POSVIT.

For Frà Don Francisco de Saavedra, a very famous man, Bailiff of Negroponte, Receptor of Benevento and Rubiales, once a most energetic Commander of a galley, most knowledgeable about the laws of his Order, most fond of what is morally right, most favourably disposed towards the Religious, most generous towards the poor, who died most piously in his 64<sup>th</sup> year on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1622.

Frà Don Gines Ruyz, caring for ever and a day, placed this slab at his own expense for his dearest friend.

## 400 - Marion de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet

FRATER MARIANVS DE TRESMANES  
CHASTVEL BRVNET, MILES HIEROSOLI-  
MITANVS VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ PROVINCIAE ET  
COMMENDATARIAE DE RENEVILLE, PRIORATVS THOLO-  
5 SÆ COMMENDATOR QVI PER QVADRAGINTA SEX  
VEL CIRCITER ANNOS RELIGIONJ SVÆ HVMI-  
LITER INSERVIVIT, ET MVLTIS IN EA ET  
APVD CHRISTIANISSIMAM MAESTATEM  
TAM IN BELLO CONTRA HÆRETICOS QVAM  
10 IN PACE MVNERIBVS PERFVNCTVS, TAN-  
DEM REQVIEVIT IN DOMINO.  
OBIJT OCTAVO IDVS IVNIJ ANNO SALV-  
TIS CENTESIMO VIGESIMO SECVNDO  
SVPRA SESQVI MILLESIMVM.

Frà Marion de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, Jerusalemite soldier of the Venerable Tongue of Provence and Commendator of the Commandery of Renneville, Priory of Toulouse who served humbly for about 46 years the interests of his Religion performing both numerous duties within the Religion and also at the court of the Most Christian King, as much as in the war against the heretics as in peace, finally, rested in the Lord. He died on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June in the one hundredth and twenty-second beyond the one and a half thousandth Year of Salvation.

## 360 - Alof de Wignacourt

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATREM ALOPHIVM DE WIGNACOVRT FRANCIA NOBILEM GENVIT. TVENDA FIDEI  
STVDIVM SACRA HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITÆ DEVOVIT. ILLIBATA CASTITAS, PIETAS IN

DEVM PERPETVA, NVLLIS IN SACRIS DEFATIGATA RELIGIO, MAGNANIMITAS

5 INIVRIARVM CONDONATRIX, INNOCENS DOLIQUE IGNARA PROBITAS, RELIQVVSQVE

VIRTVTVM SENATVS, MAGNVM HOSPITALITATIS SANCTI IOANNIS HIEROSOLYMITANI MAGISTRVM MELITÆQVE PRINCIPEM DIXERVNT.

ILLIVS PRVDENTIA, CONSERVATA VEXILLI IN REGIA CLASSE PRÆROGATIVA, SANCTI SEPVLCHRI

PRÆFECTVRA SIBI POSTERISQVE ADIVNCTA, IN MEMORIA TOTIVS ORDINIS POSVERE SEMPITERNA,

ILLIVS ARMIS SEMPER VICTRICIBVS GEMINA LEPANTO ET PATRASSO CASTELLA VNO IMPETV

10 EXPVGNATA DIREPTA MEHEMETA, DEPOPVLATÆ TORNESII ARCES, CAPTA SINE NVMERO

BARBARORVM NAVIGIA, REPVLSÆ CLASSIVM INCVRSIONES TOTI ORIENTI SVASERE FORMIDANDVM,

ILLIVS MVNIFICENTIA, CINCTA TVRRIBVS MELITA, VALLETA MVNITA PROPVGNACVLIS, SITIENTES TERRA

MARIQVE POPVLI PERENNIBVS AQVÆ FONTIBVS LARGE POTATI TOTI OCCIDENTI REDDIDERE CARISSIMVM,

INVISERE BENEVOLI REGES, INFIDELES COLVERE IN LEGATIS HONORE, INSOLITO OMNES CHRISTI-

15 ANI PRINCIPES, IMPERATORE FERDINANDVS, SVFFRAGANTIBVS MERITIS, SVCCLAMANTE

ORBE CHRISTIANO VNIVERSO, TITVLO SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS AVGENDVM DECREVIT.

SED HEV, REGVM DELICIAS, EQVITVM SPLENDORVM, TERRORVM BARBARORVM, VIRTVTVM

DOMICILIVM, AQVÆ DEMVM GVTTVLA DE MEDIO SVSTVLIT, IISDEM AQVÆ LATICIBVS,

QVOS PER MELITAM LARGE EFFVDIT, VICE LACRYMARVM PERENNITER LVGENDVM

20 FALLERIS, AT POST ANNOS LX SVB HVMILI CRVCIS IVGO RELIGIOSISSIME TRAN-

SACTOS, POST TRES SVpra VIGINTI IN CRVCIS HONORIBVS TERRA MA-

RIQVE PROPAGANDIS, IN SVPREMO MAGISTRATV LABORIOSISSIME CON-

SVMPTOS, IPSO DIE SANCTÆ CRVCIS EXALTATIONI SACRO, AD ÆTERNOS

EIVSDEM CRVCIS HONORES ET PREMIA A MVNIFICENTISSIMO CRVCIS STVDI-

25 OSORVM REMVNERATORE EVOCATVS EST ANNO SALAVTIS MDCXXII, ÆTATIS 75.

VIVET IN MEMORIA POSTERORVM, IN REGVM ANNALIBVS, IN AMPLIFI-

CATA SVCCESORVM DIGNITATE, IN EXORNATA PRÆCLARIS

ÆDIFICIIS VALLETA, IN PROPAGATO VBIQVE TERARVM SACRÆ

CRVCIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ NOMINE ET HONORE.

### 360 - Alof de Wignacourt

To God, Supreme and Almighty

France brought forth a nobleman, Frà Alof de Wignacourt. He devoted his zeal to his Faith's defence and to the Sacred Jerusalemite Militia. His unimpaired chastity, undying observance towards God, his reverence, not the least fatigued by his sacrifices, the greatness of his mind a pardoner of wrong doings, his modesty guiltless and unaware of deceit, and the remaining chorus of his virtues affirmed him Grand Master of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem and Prince of Malta. His prudence preserved his privilege of his Standard on the Royal fleet, bestowed the Magistracy of the Holy Sepulchre upon himself and his successors, and collateral circumstances to posterity placed him in everlasting memory of the whole Order. The single assault with his always victorious troops on the two forts respectively at Lepanto and Patras, then Hammamet torn asunder, the stronghold of Tunis depopulated, the capture of countless barbarians' vessels, the repulsion, again and again, of the inroads of the barbarian fleets, convinced the whole of the Orient that he was formidable. His munificence surrounded all Malta with towers, fortified Valletta with bulwarks by land and sea, quenched the thirsty population from perennial springs, rendered him most dear to the whole West. Benevolent kings visited him, even the Infidels regarded him with honour in their posts of ambassador, which is contrary to custom for all Christian Princes. The Emperor Ferdinand, supporting him with suffrages for due reward, to which the whole Christian world shouted in favourable response, declared that he ought to be promoted to the title of Most Serene Prince. But oh! you are deceived in that the favourite of kings, the splendour of the Knights, the terror of the barbarians, the abode of virtues, raised only a tiny drop of water from the public, one would have thought that instead of tears he was going to be forever lamented by the same springs of water which he had widely distributed throughout Malta. Moreover, after 60 years under the humble yoke of the Cross were most piously brought to an end, and more than 23 years were conscientiously spent in the Highest Magistracy, in propagating the esteem of the Cross on land and at sea, he was called forth, on the same day of the sacred exaltation of the Holy Cross, to the eternal honours and the rewards of the same Cross by the Most Munificent Remunerator of the Cross's zeal in the Year of Salvation 1622, at the age of 75. He will live in the memory of the coming generations, in the annals of kings, in the exalted dignity of his successors, in Valletta embellished with famous buildings, in the extended name and honour of the Holy Jerusalemite Cross, anywhere in the world.

## 52 - Giovanni Caccialupi

A XPICTOC Ω  
CONDUNTUR HIC LOCULO  
FRATRIS IOANNIS CACCIALUPI BONONIENSIS,  
COMMENDATARIJ FOROLIVIENSIS,  
OSSA,  
IN NOVISSIMO DIE VIVIFICANDA.  
DESIJT IS ESSE NOBISCUM  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCXXIII.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

Here in this small grave are buried the bones of Frà Giovanni Caccialupi of Bologna, Commendator of Udine, to be recalled to life on The Last Day. He ceased to be with us in the Year of Our Redemption 1623.

### 88 - Pietro Varavalle de Gaeta

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
FRATRI PETRO VARAVALLE DE GAETA, BISINIANENSI MILITI,  
INTEGERRIMO, VITAE AUSTERITATE CONSPICUO,  
VIRO DE SE NON IN POSTREMIS MERITO  
5      DIVI IOANNIS DECOLLATI CONFRATRES MONUMENTUM  
                         POSUERE  
                         ANNO MDCXXIII.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega  
For Frà Pietro Varavalle de Gaeta, a soldier of Bisignano, most irreproachable, famous for the austerity of his life; the confrères of Saint John the Beheaded placed this slab in the year 1623 for this man, meritorious above all.

### 362 - Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER LVDOVICVS MENDES DE VASCONCELOS,  
QVI PER SINGVLOS PACIS BELLIQUE GRADVS  
AD SVMMVM MAGISTERII CVLMEN,  
5                      VIRTUTE DVCE CONSCENDERAT,  
                         EN SEPTIMO VIX PRINCIPATVS MENSE  
                         FATO BONIS INFAVSTO  
                         PRÆRIPITVR.  
CVNCTIS OPTATVS, NVLLI NON LACRYMATVS,  
10                      HIC CONDITVR  
                         NONIS MARTII MDCXXIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Frà Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos, who ascended through every rank of peace and war up to the highest peak of the Magistracy with his virtue as his guardian, behold! was carried off prematurely from his noble men by an unlucky fate, barely in the seventh month of his Princehood. He is buried here, appreciated by everyone, no one could hold back his tears, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1623.

### 315 - Ippolito Malaspina

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIPPOLYTO MALASPINÆ MARCHIONI,  
IOANNIS ANDREÆ DORLÆ PATRVELIS  
VICARIO, MARITIMÆ MILITLÆ  
5 PRÆFECTO, PONTIFICLÆ CLASSIS DVCTORI,  
PRIORI NEAPOLITANO,  
PARMENI, PLACENTLÆ, LAVDICENSIS, FANENSIS  
COMMENDATORI,  
PIETATE AC BENEFICENTIA  
10 IN HIEROSOLIMITANVM ORDINEM INSIGNI,  
ANNO DOMINI CI-I-XXIV, ETATIS SVÆ LXXX,  
DEMORTVO,  
ALEXANDER ET ANTONIVS COSTA,  
SANCTI IOANNIS EQVITES, EX SORORE  
15 NEPOTES, BENEMERENTI POSVERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Marques Ippolito Malaspina, Lieutenant of his cousin Giovanni Andrea Doria, Captain of the maritime militia, Captain-General of the Pontifical fleet, Neapolitan Prior, Commendator of Parma, Piancenza, Lodi, Fano, distinguished for his observance and beneficence towards the Jerusalemite Order, died in the Year of the Lord 1624, at the age of 80. Alessandro and Antonio Costa, Knights of Saint John, nephews on his sister's side, placed this slab for their meritorious uncle.

### 148 - Pedro Urrea Camarasa

FRATRI DOMINO PETRO VRREA CAMARASA, ECCLESIAE PRIORI  
AC  
DE ALPARTIR PRÆSVLI, INTEGERRIMO, DIVINI  
CVLTVS STVDIOSISSIMO ÆQVE AMANTISSIMO, IN PAVPERES  
PROPENSISSIMO QVI, CVM ECCLESIAM HANC SVMMA  
5 PRVDENTIA, VIGILANTIA, PIETATE PER XXIII ANNOS  
ADMINISTRASSET, SEMEL MAGISTERII VICCES  
ITIDEM ELECTIONIS OCTOVIRATVM PRÆCLARE  
GESSISSET, BONIS OMNIBVS PRÆDILECTVS, PISSIME  
QVIEVIT IN DOMINO XV KALENDAS AVGVSTI MDCXXIII.  
10  
FRATER DOMINVS GENESIVS  
RVYZ, SODALIS PERPETVVS  
AMICVSQVE OMNI TEMPO-  
RE VERVS, MONVMENTVM  
15 MÆSTISSIME POSVIT.

For Frà Don Pedro Urrea Camarasa, Prior of the Church and Bishop of Alpartir, most irreproachable, most devoted and equally most affectionate to the Divine Office, most disposed to the poor, who, when administrating this church with the utmost prudence, vigilance and observance for 23 years, had, in like manner, once distinguishably deputed for the Magistracy as a member of the electoral committee of eight. Very dear to all good men, he died most devoutly in the Lord on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 1624.

Frà Don Genesio Ruyz, his lasting companion and true friend at all times, placed this slab in the deepest mourning.

### 300 - Francesco and Fabio Mingnanelli

FRANCISCVS MINGNANELLVS,  
PATRITIVS ROMANVS, EQVES HIEROSOLYMITANVS  
QVI, MELITENSIS TRIREMIS PRÆFECTVS,  
CONSVLTANTEM CLASSIS IMPERATOREM,  
5 FRANCISCVM CREMEVLIVM,  
AN, FESSIS LONGO CVRSV REMIGIBVS  
ET IMMINENTE TVRBIDA NOCTA,  
DVAS TVNETANIS REGIS PRÆDATORIAS NAVES,  
MAGNITVDINE ET APPARATVS BELlici  
10 SPECIE FORMIDANDAS, ADORIRETVR,  
SVA IAM SPONTE AD PVGNAM INCENSVM INFLAMMAVIT,  
ARDENTIVS ET IN HOSTES FORTITER INVICTVM SEQVVTVS,  
INVIDENDO VERÆ GLORIÆ CVPIDIS INTERITV,  
VICTORIA IAM CERTVS,  
15 INTER DIMICANDVM OCCVBVIT,  
MONVMENTVM HIC HABVIT  
ANNO SALVTIS MDCXXVIII, AETATIS SVÆ XXX,  
VBI FABIVS FRATER, EXINCTVS  
IN EIVSDEM MELITLÆ TYROCINIO,  
20 FVERAT ANTE COMPOSITVS.

PIA HIERONIMI PATRIS  
ABSENTIS CVRA,  
MVLTI VTERQVE CVM LACHRIMIS  
FVNERATVS.

Francesco Mingnanelli, Roman nobleman, Jerusalemite Knight who, as a Captain of a Maltese galley, was already smouldering for battle on his own accord, when the Captain-General of the fleet, François de Cremaulx, was questioning whether, although the rowers were worn out from the long journey, and with a stormy night ahead, he should attack two pirate ships of the Tunisian King, dreadful for their size and reputation of their cannon. He followed him, unchallenged, very fiery and bravely, against the enemy, longing for true glory through a violent death at their avaricious hands, already certain of victory, he was cut down in battle. He occupies this slab here since the Year of Salvation 1628, at the age of 30, where his brother Fabio, who died during his apprenticeship of the aforesaid Militia, had been buried before.

Both were buried with many tears by the pious care of their absent father Gerolamo.



### 321 - Leone Strozzi

GAVDET IN CÆLIS, MILES BONVS ATQVE FIDELIS.

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

MEMORIÆ FRATRIS LEONIS STROZZII FLORENTINI,  
PRAEFECTI TRIREMIS SANCTI ANTONII,

5 INCLYTI FORTISSIMIQUE VIRI  
QVI IN NAVALI CERTAMINE CVM PRAEDONIBVS HIPZARIT  
ANNO MDCXXVIII PROPE SYRACVSARVM ORAM  
CONFECTVS VVLNERIBVS ANIMAM EXHALAVIT.  
SODALI DESIDERATISSIMO EQVITES LEGIONIS ITALIAE.

He rejoices in Heaven, a good soldier and most faithful too

Christ

To the memory of Frà Leone Strozzi, a Florentine, Captain of the galley '*San Antonio*', a man, celebrated and most courageous, who, in the naval encounter with the pirates of Hipzarit, in the year 1628, off the Syracusan shore, succumbed to his wounds and breathed out his spirit.  
The Knights of the Italian Legion placed this slab for their dearly missed fellow.

### 305 - Pompeo Rospigliosi

FRATRIS POMPEI ROSPIGLIOSI  
LÆTA SANCTAQVE MEMORIA.  
QVI BENE VIXIT ET BENE CONSVMAVIT.  
MDCXXX.

The happy and sacred memory of Frà Pompeo Rospigliosi, who lived well and died well. 1630.

### 313 - Nicola Orsina di Rivalta

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
DIVI IOANNI BAPTISTÆ.  
PARTENOPES QVONDAM PRIOR HIC RIVALTA QUIESCIT.  
NON LEVIS VRSINAE SPLENDOREM ET AVRA DOMVS  
5 MILITIAM QUA CLARVS ERAT FLORENTIBVS ANNIS,  
TAM COLVIT SENIOR NOBILE PACIS OPVS,  
DEBITA DVMQVE PARAT GRAVIBVS SOLATIA CVRIS,  
NON MODICAS LÆSO NEMINE IVNXIT OPES,  
QVAS SACROQVE PIETAS POPVLO POST FATA RELINQVENS,  
10 EXEMPLO INGRATOS ARGVIT VSQVE SVO.

ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΓΕΡΑΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΩΝ.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
to St John the Baptist.

Here rests a Rivalta, once the Prior of Naples. It was not the considerable splendour of the Orsina's and the riches of their house but the Militia, for which he was famous in his blossoming years, when he grew older, he furthered all the same the noble work of peace while he provided, with serious concern, duty bound consolation, he brought together a not insignificant wealth, to the injury of none, which dutiful conduct he handed over to the blessed people after his death, and he continuously reproached the ungrateful by his example.

For it is the last honour of those who died

### 141 - Miguel Juan Cotoner

NOSTRORVM DOMINORVM DECORVS FRATER  
MICHAEL IOANNES COTONER MAIORICENSIS,  
ANNO 1630, DIE 20 APRILIS, ÆTATIS ANNOS 20,  
5 MARTIS SIGNA IN BARBARO PRO FIDE SECVTVS,  
MORTIS ILLICO CONCESSIT IMPERIO,  
MARTIS Y MORTIS  
DISCRIMINI TENVISSIMAM VITÆ LINEAM EXPERTVS.  
CINERES COMMEMORABILIVM FRATRVM ORDINIS VRNA  
10 SERVAT.  
QVID NI DECEBAT  
DVORVM MAGNORVM MAGISTRORVM ORDINIS FRATREM  
CENOTAPHIVM?  
  
EMINENTISSIMVS MAGNVS MAGISTER HOSPITALITATIS  
15 HIEROSOLYMITANÆ  
DOMINVS DON FRATER NICOLA COTONER,  
COTONERÆ CONDITOR VRBIS,  
POSVIET 3 IANVARII,  
1673.

The honourable brother of Our Masters, Miguel Juan Cotoner of Majorca, followed, in the year 1630, on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of April, at the age of twenty, the Standards of Mars against the Barbary Coast on behalf of his Faith, and instantly succumbed to Death's command. During his very short lifetime he had experienced the difference between martial and mortal. A grave represents here the Commendable Brothers of the Order after death. Why should this cenotaph then not grace a brother of two Grand Masters?

The Most Eminent Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Hospital, Lord Frà Don Nicola Cotoner, founder of the city of Cottonera, placed this slab on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January 1673.

## 41 - François Dupui Trigona

A XPICTOΞ Ω  
FRATRI FRANCISCO DUPUI TRIGONAN, MILITI HIEROSOLIMITANO  
EX PRIORATU TOLOSANO ET PETRACORIENSI PROVINCIA,  
SERENISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO ANTONIO DE PAULA BIREMIS HEMIOPARONIS  
5 PRÆTORI, NAVALIS CURATORI, MILITENSIVM TRIREMIUM INSPECTORI,  
PRÆFECTURÆ GAUDISIJ ANNUM UNUM ET DIES SEX ADMINISTRATÆ,  
FRATER FRANCISCUS DELLA GROTTA DELLA MINARDIA,  
PROVINCIE ET PRIORATUS EIUSDEM MILES, COMMILITONI  
ET AMICO CARISSIMO MOERENS, POSUIT. OBIIT XVII NOVEMBRIS MDCXXX.

Alpha Christ Omega

For Frà François Dupui Trigona, a Jerusalemite soldier from the Priory of Toulouse and the province of the Perigord, Captain of a smaller galley with two rows of oars, Naval Proveditor, Inspector of the Maltese galleys, administering the Gozitan Prefecture for one year and six days under the Most Serene Grand Master Antoine de Paule. Frà Francesco della Grotta della Minardia, soldier of the same province and Priory, placed this slab while mourning, for his comrade-in-arms and most beloved friend, who died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1630.

## 131 - Luigi Mazzingo

ALOYSIO MAZZINGO FLORENTINO, BAIVLIVO SANCTI STEPHANI,  
VIRO FORTISSIMO AC PRVDENTISSIMO QVI, NAVALI PRÆLIO CON-  
TRA TVRCAS AD NAVPACTVM IN HOSTIVM TRIREMEM CUM  
TRANSCENDISSET IBI NON INDECORIS ACCEPTIS VVLNERI-  
5 BVVS, ACCERRIME DIMICAVIT, MVLTI PRINCIPIBVS IN BELLO  
SVAM OPERAM PROBAVIT, VRBI VALLETTÆ MVNENDÆ  
PRÆFVIT, PRO ORDINE SVO LEGATIONE MAGNIS DE REBVS  
AD PAVLVM V FVNCTVS ET PRÆFVNCTVS EST, IN EXPEDI-  
TIONE, QVA CORINTHVVS CAPTA FVIT, ACIEM INSTRVXIT, MAGNI MAGISTRI  
10 ALOYSIJ MENDES DE VASCONCELLOS VICARIVS MVNERE,  
EXIMIA CVM LAVDE SATISFECIT AC SODALITATI SVÆ, VSQVE  
AD EXTREMVM SPIRITVM, FIDELITER INSERVIVIT, IACOBVS ET  
VGOLINVS, PHILIPPI FRATRIS FILIJ PATRVO OPTIME  
MERITO MERENTES POSVERVNT. VIXIT ANNOS LXXXIII, MENSES II, DIES XXVII.  
15 OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCXXXI.

For Luigi Mazzingo, a Florentine, Bailiff of Santo Stefano, a most courageous and prudent man who, in the sea battle against the Turks off Lepanto, had climbed onto the galley of the enemy and although he was thereupon injured with not unseemly wounds, yet he fought on most fiercely. He demonstrated his service in war to many Sovereigns, presided over the defence of the city of Valletta, prepared and carried out an embassy to Paul V on behalf of his Order regarding important matters, devised the strategy in the expedition in which Corinth was captured. He fulfilled, with the highest merit, the duty of Deputy of Grand Master Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, and loyally served the interest of his own fraternity down to his last breath. He lived for 83 years, 2 months and 27 days. He died in the Year of the Lord 1631. Giacomo and Ugolino, sons of his brother Philipppo, placed in mourning this slab for their most meritorious paternal uncle.

### 147 - Nicolao di La Marra

FRATRI NICOLAO LA MARRA, VIRO GENERE,  
VIRTVTE, INTEGRITATE CONSPICVO QVI,  
TOGA NON MINVS QVAM SAGO PRÆCELLENS,  
VARIIS LEGATIONIBVS PRÆCIPVE AD CÆSAREM  
5 ET APVD PONTIFICEM OPTIME FVNCTVS, AD  
MESSANÆ PRIORATVM GRADATIM ASSVMPTVS, CVM  
TRIREMIBVS ORDINIS SVMMA CVM LAVDE  
PRÆFVISSET BISQVE MAGNI MAGISTRI VICES PRÆCLARE  
GESSISET, IN HOC TANDEM MVNERE DIERV  
10 MERITORVMQVE PLENVS, SANCTISSIME OBIIT  
ANNO DOMINI MDCXXXI,  
FRATER STEPHANVS SCATTINVS PATRONO  
TER CARO MONVMENTVM MÆSTISSIME  
POSVIT.

For Frà Nicolao di la Marra, a man illustrious for his lineage, virtue, integrity who, excellent in peace not less than in war, superbly carried out a number of embassies, chiefly to the Emperor and at the court of the Pope. He eventually obtained the Priory of Messina, after he had been, with the highest merit, in charge of the Order's galleys.

### 146 - Francesco Carafa

FRATER DOMINVS FRANCISCVS CARAFA ARAGONIVS, PRIMVS ROC-  
CELLÆ PRIOR, HIC SITVS EST. FATI VELVT CONSCIVS,  
SVI BREVE ÆVVM GESTIS EXTENDIT AC TITVLIS CANNATELLI  
5 COMMENDATARI, IN EXPEDITIONE AD SANCTAM MAVRAM  
TERRESTRIVM COPIARVM DVX, SVMMS HIEROSOLY-  
MITANÆ CLASSIS PRÆFECTVS, AD HVNGHARLÆ  
REGINAM SVI ORDINIS ORATOR, MELITAM PRÆDIIS  
AVXIT, AC NOMINE HINC NEAPOLITANI EQVITATIS IN  
10 CATHALONIA MAGISTER. FAMÆ, FAMILIÆ, ORDINI  
SATIS VIXIT, LICET XXXIII ÆTATIS ANNOS, IM-  
MATVRE PRÆREPTVS, OBIIT XXII AVGVSTI ANNO  
MDCXXXII. EIVS CORPVS E CATHALONIA PRIMVM  
IN CALABRIAM POSTMODVM A FRATRE DOMINO GREGORIO CARAFA,  
15 MAGNO HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS MAGISTRO, NEPOTE, MELITAM TRANSVECTVM,  
EXTREMAM HIC EXPECTAT TVBAM.

Here lies Frà Don Francesco Carafa of Aragon, the foremost Prior of Roccella. Just as if he was aware of his destiny, he extended his short life with exploits and the titles of Commendator of Cannitello, Commander of the ground troops in the expedition to Levkás, the Captain-General of the Jerusalemite fleet, Envoy of his Order to the Queen of Hungary, he enriched Malta with gains, from here he became Marshal of the Neapolitan mounted troops in Catalonia. He lived amply, if only for 33 years, for his reputation, family and Order. Snatched away before his time, he died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August in the year 1632. His body, at first transferred from Catalonia to Calabria, then to Malta by Frà Don Gregorio Carafa, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Order, his nephew, is here awaiting the last call of the trumpet.

## 220 - Lauren Mugnos de Figuerea

A XPICTOZ Ω  
HIC IACET FRATER DOMINUS LAURENTIUS MUGNOS DE FIGUERIA,  
EQUES VENERANDI PRIORATUS CASTELLÆ, COMMENDATARIUS DE  
PACOS ET PENALEN, QUI AD DIGNITATES MAGNI CAN-  
5 CELLARII, BAIULIVUS NUEVEVILLAS ET SANCTI SEPUL-  
CHRI DE TORO MERITIS CLARUS ASCENDIT, NEC  
NON MUNERE RECEPTORIS ET LEGATI ORDINARII  
APUD REGEM CATHOLICUM EGREGIE PERFUNCTUS MULTISQUE  
ALIIS OBSEQUIIS PIE AC STUDIOSE RELIGIONI  
10 PRÆSTITIS, ANNO MDCXXXII, XIX OCTOBRIS,  
FLEBILIS EMIGRAVIT, ET EADEM TRANQUI-  
LITATE QUA VIXIT, EADEM ABIJT IN  
COELUM, SUI DESIDERIO DERELICTO.  
  
FRATER DOMINUS LAURENTIUS MUGNOZ  
15 DE FIGUERIA, EJUS NEPOS,  
LOCUMTENENS MAGNI CANCELLARI  
ET COMMENDATARIUS DE PACOS,  
HUNC LAPIDEM IN GRATI  
ANIMI MONUMENTUM POSUIT,  
20 ANNO 1665,  
30 AUGUSTI.

Alpha Christ Omega

Here lies Frà Don Lauren Mugnos de Figuerea, Knight of the Venerable Priory of Castile, Commendator of Pacios and Perales who, famous for his merits, rose to the dignities of Great Chancellor, Bailiff of Novillas and Santo Sepulcro in Toro, and also excellently performed the duty of Receptor and regular envoy at the court of the Catholic King and discharged, piously and assiduously, many other services for his Religion. He departed, accompanied by our tears, in the year 1632, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October, and with the same tranquillity with which he lived, he went to Heaven, leaving behind regret for his absence.

Frà Don Lauren Mugnoz de Figuerea, his nephew, deputising for the Great Chancellor, and Commendator of Pacios, placed this slab as a monument of his grateful memory in the year 1665, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August.

### 370 - Francesco Maffei

FRANCISCO MAFFEIO ROMANO,  
HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS  
EQVITI QVI, IN NAVALI PVGNA  
ET VICTORIA DE TVRCIS PROPE  
5 LEPTIM FERREA PILA TRAIEC-  
TVS IN CÆLVM MIGRAVIT AD  
TRIVMPHVM. OBYT ANNVM AG-  
ENS XXI, MENSES 2, RELIGIONIS  
VERO XIX.  
10 AVGVSTINVS MAFFEIVS ET  
DIONORA CAVALCANTES, PARENTES,  
FILIO DVLCISSIMO POSVE-  
RVNT ANNO DOMINI MDCXXXIII.

For Francesco Maffei, a Roman, Knight of the Jerusalemite Order who, in a naval battle and victory over the Turks near Leptis Magnae, after he was pierced through by an iron-clad mortar crossed over to Heaven for his triumph. He died at the age of 21 years, 2 months, a true Religious for nineteen. Augustino Maffei and Dionora Cavalcantes, his parents, placed this slab in the Year of the Lord 1634 for their dearest son.



## 223 - Balthasar de Marcina

	A	Ω
	SVB HAC PETRA IN DOMINO QVIE-	
	SCIT FRATER BALTHASAR DE MARCINA,	
5	NON MINVS VIRTUTE QVAM NOBILI-	
	TATE CLARVS, COMMENDATARIVS	
	COMMENDARVM ALFAMBRAE ET	
	VILELLI. IN CASTELLANIAE EMPO-	
	STAE QVI, POSTQVAM QVINQVAGINTA	
10	ANNORVM SPATIO IN BELLO ET	
	PACE MVLTIS IN OBSEQUIJS DEO	
	ET RELIGIONI SVÆ INSERVIVIT,	
	OBIJT DIE XVI OCTOBRIS ANNO	
	MDCXXXIII, ÆTATIS VERO SVÆ LXX.	
15	FRATER MATHIAS PEREZ ARNAL, NEPOS,	
	CARISSIMO AVVNCVLO ET BENEFA-	
	CTORI LVGENS DICAUIT.	

Alpha

Omega

Beneath this stone rests in the Lord Frà Balthasar de Marcina, famous not less for his virtue than for his nobility, Commendator of the Commanderies of Alfambra and Vilella in the Castellany of Amposta who, devoted to God and the Religion over a span of fifty years in many services regarding war and peace, died on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of October in the year 1634, at the age of 70. Frà Mathias Perez Arnal, his nephew, dedicated, while in mourning, this slab to his maternal uncle and benefactor.

## 194 - Luis de Moncada

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET FRATER DOMINVS LVDOVICVS DE MONCADA, ILLVSTRISSIMI MAR-  
CHIONIS ALTONAE FILIVS QVI, RELIGIOSE VITAM DVCENS,  
5       ÆTERNÆ SIBI LOCVM QVIETIS VIRTUTE COMPARAVIT.  
      OBSEQVIA INTER PLVRIMA PER EVM RELIGIONI PRÆ-  
      TITA, APVD MAIESTATES, CÆSAREAM ET CATHOLICAM,  
      SVMMA CVM LAVDE LEGATIONES GESSIT,  
10       ASSVMPTVSQVE DIGNISSIME POST ALIAS DIGNITATES AD  
      CASTELLANIAM EMPOSTÆ, E VITA DISCESSIT PRIDIE  
      KALENDAS DECEMBRIS MDCXXXIV, ÆTATIS VERO LXIX.

FRATER DOMINVS HENRICVS DE ROCA-  
FVLL, COMMENDATOR DE AMBEL ET DE  
15       AZCON, CONSANGVINEO ET A-  
      MICO HOC GRATITVDINIS SI-  
      GNO ACCEPTORVM HAVD IM-  
      MEMOREM BENEFICIORVM  
      SE PRÆBVIT.

20

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Don Luis de Moncada, son of the Illustrious Marques of Altona who, leading a pious life, prepared for himself a place of eternal rest by means of his virtue. Among the many services he personally performed for his Religion were the embassies, concluded with the highest acclaim, to the Imperial and the Catholic Majesty, and following other positions, most worthily took up the Castellany of Amposta. He departed from life on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1634, at the age of 69.

Frà Don Henrico de Rocafull, Commendator of Ambel and Ascó, showed himself not forgetful of benefits received by this sign of gratitude for his relative and friend.

### 336 - Antoine de Paule

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATRI ANTONIO DE PAVLA,  
MAGNO MILITÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MAGISTRO,  
PRINCIPI GRATISSIMO, SPLENDIDISSIMO  
5 QVO, OB EGREGIAS ANIMI DOTES,  
VIVENS IN OMNIBVS SVI AMOREM,  
EXTINCTVS DESIDERIVM EXCITAVIT,  
PACEM MIRIFICE COLVIT ET AFFLVENTIAM  
ORDINI  
10 VIRES, OPES  
ADDIDIT, AVXIT.  
AMPLIORI MVNIRE VALLO VRBEM AGGRESSVS,  
CVM ANNVM AGERET MAGISTERII XIV,  
ÆTATIS SVpra OCTVAGESIMVM,  
15 DIVTVRNO CVM MORBO CONSTANTER CONFLICTATVS,  
SEMPER SE IPSO MAIOR,  
PIISSIME AC RELIGIOSISIME QVIEVIT IN DOMINO  
V IDVS IVNII ANNO SALVTIS MDCXXXVI.

-----  
FRATRES HENRICVS DE MERLES BEVCHAMPS ET DOMINVS MARTINVS DE REDIN,  
20 SACRÆ CATHOLICÆ MILITÆ A CONSILIIS BELLICIS, THOLOSÆ ET NAVARRÆ PRIORES, ET  
IOANNES DE BERNOY DE VILLANOVA, BAIVLIVVS AQVILENSIS, CONSANGVINEVS,  
TESTAMENTARIIS EXECVTORES OPTIMO BENEFACTORI MOERENTES HOC MONVMENTVM FECERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Antoine de Paule, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Militia, a Prince, most dear, most splendid because he, on account of the excellent gifts of his mind, aroused everyone's affection when alive, when dead a regret for his absence. He wonderfully fostered peace and affluence for the Order, whilst adding increased strength, wealth and began to fortify the city with stronger walls. It was in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of his Magistracy, beyond his eightieth, when he was frequently weighed down by a chronic disease, but always outweighing it. He rested most piously and devoutly in the Lord on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June in the Year of Salvation 1636.

Frati Henri de Merles Beauchamps and Don Martin de Redin, Counsellors of War for the Sacred Catholic Militia, Priors of Toulouse and Navarra, and Jean de Bernouy de Villeneuve, Bailiff of Aquila, a blood relative, executors testamentary, placed this slab in mourning for their most noble benefactor.

### 312 - Alessandro Benzi

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
FRATRI ALEXANDRO BENZIO, VENERANDI  
BAIVLIVATVS SANCTÆ TRINITATIS VENVSY  
PRIORI, COMMENDÆQVE DE MVRELLO COMMENDATARIO  
5 BENEMERENTISSIMO QVI, ANNO 1563 RELIGIONI HIEROS-  
OLIMITANÆ ASCRIPTVS, EGREGIE OPERAM SVAM  
NAVAVIT,  
IN OBSIDIONE MELITENSI A TVRCIS IN BELICO CONGR-  
ESSV VVLNERATVS, IN OBSIDIONE CYPRI PRO SEREN-  
10 ISSIMA VENETARVM REPVBICA ATQVE NAVALI CONFLIC-  
TV IN PRIMARIA SERENISSIMI DVCIS PARRMÆ TRIREMI IN-  
TERFVIT, BARTHOLOMEVS GHINIONE GRATITVDINIS  
ERGO POSVIT.  
OBIIT DIE 17 NOVEMBRIS, ÆTATIS VERO SVÆ ANNO 93.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

For Frà Alessandro Benzi, Prior of the Venerable Bailiwick of Santa Trinità at Venosa, and most meritorious Commendator of the Commandery of Morello who, enrolled into the Jerusalemite Religion in the year 1563, and excellently came to its service, in the siege of Malta, he was wounded in an engagement of war with the Turks, in the siege of Cyprus he was present on behalf of the Most Serene Republic of Venice, and in its chief naval conflict he was present on a galley of the Most Serene Duke of Parma. Bartolomeo Ghinione placed this slab out of gratitude. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of November, at the respectable age of 93.

## 162 - Nicolao Cavarretta

FRATER NICOLAVS CAVARRETTA E DRE-  
PANO, EX VETVSTISSISIMA MILITIS GVAL-  
TERY CAVARRETTA FAMA QVI SVB  
COMITE ROGERIO, DVCE, SICILIAM  
5 IN LIBERTATEM ASSERVIT ET AB EO  
BARONIAM SICAMINI BENEMERVIT  
HABITVS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ  
MILITLÆ ANNO 1570 INDVTVS, MA-  
RE NON PARVA NAVIGATIONE PERPEN-  
10 SIT ITEMQVE VARYS IPSIQVE SICILLÆ  
LOCIS RECEPTORIS MVNERE FVN-  
GITVR, COMMENDATARIVS PRIMVM,  
TVM TITVLARIS CAPVÆ PRIOR,  
DEMVM, POST ADMIRATI MVNVS,  
15 VENETIARVM PRIOR ELECTVS,  
PRIORALE PALATIVM REDEMIT.  
TRIREMEM SANCTI NICOLAI ANNO 1634  
RELIGIONI DEDIT ALIASQVE PERPE-  
TVÆ ANNO 1636 CONSTRVENDAS FVN-  
20 DAVIT, AC VLTRA FACTVRVS SI  
MORS NON PERVENIT, QVARE HVNC  
SIBI PARAVIT. OBYT ANNO 1638.

Frà Nicolao Cavarretta from Trapani, engaged in the plight of the Jerusalemite Militia in the year 1570, following the extremely old tradition of the soldier Gualterio Cavarretta, who, under the leadership of Count Roger had helped bringing Sicily to liberty and rightly deserved from him the Barony of Sicamino. He encountered the sea, though not on short voyages and besides, fulfilled the duty of Receptor in various places and in Sicily itself. First he was the Commendator, then the titular Prior of Capua, next, following the office of Admiral, he was elected as the Prior of Venice, and entered the Prioral Palace. He conferred the galley *San Nicola* to the everlasting Religion in the year 1634 and laid the keel for constructing others in the year 1636, and if Death had not arrived, he would have built more, hence, he prepared this slab for himself. He died in 1638.

## 156 - Just de Fay Gerlande

EMINENTISSIMO ET REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO MAGNO MAGISTRO  
DE LASCARIS CASTELLAR  
ANNVENTE,  
5 FRATER IVSTVS DE FAII GERLANDE,  
BAIVLIVVS LVGDVNENSIS, CADAVERI  
PROINDE LOCVM QUIETIS ELEGIT,  
QVEM FRATER CAROLVS DE GERLANDE,  
COMMENDATARIVS DE CHARERE, NEPOS, TVMVLO  
10 DEGENERI VENERANDVM BREVI  
LAPIDE SIGNAT ET OCCVPAT  
DIE XVI MAII MDCXLIII.

With the consent of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord Grand Master De Lascaris Castellar, Frà Just de Fay Gerlande, Bailiff of Lyons, chose therefore this place of rest for his remains, whom Frà Charles de Gerlande, Commendator of Chareire, his nephew, laid out in this grave, and inscribed this humble slab with this brief message for his veneration on this day, the 16<sup>th</sup> day of May 1643.

## 175 - François de Cremaulx

5 HIC IACET FRATER FRANCISCVS DE CREMAVLX, MAR-  
ESCALLVS ORDINIS SIMVL AC TRIREMIVM PRÆFE-  
CTVS. VTI MARESCALLVS IVRIS IVSTITIÆQVE NON  
SOLVM FVIT ACERRIMVS VINDEXT, SED ETIAM INTE-  
GERRIMVS CVSTOS, VTI PRÆFECTVS PIRATICAS NA-  
VES PROPE INSVLAM CRETÆ ET INSVLAM GAVDISY  
MEMORANDO CERTAMINE DEVICIT. IN TOTA MILI-  
TARI RE PRIMIS PAR, SECVNDVS NVLLI, PAR IMPAR TV-  
10 RCIS, MARI TERRÆQVE SEMPER IMMINENS FVIT,  
EOSQVE TOTIES VICIT QVOTIES DIMICAVIT, IN EX-  
EQVENDO CELERITATE, IN PERICVLIS AVDACIA, IN  
PVGNA FIRMITATE ET CONSTANTIA CEDERE NES-  
CIA TANDEM OMNIBVS FERE RELIGIONIS MVNERIBVS  
15 LAVDABILITER PERFVNCTIS, MAGNVS PRIOR ALVERNIE,  
SVI DESIDERIO DERELICTO, DENATVS EST 1644.

FRATER CAROLVS CREMAVLX, COMENDATARIUS DE MASCON  
ET CHANONAT, AVVNCVLO BENEMERITO HOC GRATI  
ANIMI MONVMENTVM POSVIT HOC ANNO 1670.

Here lies Frà François de Cremaulx, Marshal of the Order and at the same time Captain-General of the galleys. As a Marshal he was not only a most ardent defender, but also a most irreproachable guardian of Law and Justice, as a Captain-General he defeated decisively pirate ships near the island of Crete and the island of Gozo in memorable combats. Equal to the best and second to none in all military affairs, equal at or at odds with the Turks, he was always a threat on land and at sea, and he conquered them as often as he attacked them, with speed in pursuit, courage in danger, strength and persistence, not knowing how to yield in battle. In his last office, as Grand Prior of Auvergne, he performed punctiliously and praiseworthy nearly all duties of his Religion, leaving behind regret for his absence when he died in 1644. Frà Charles Cremaulx, Commendator of Maçon and Chanonat, placed this as a monument of grateful memory to his meritorious maternal uncle in this year 1670.



### 345 - Guillaume de Vincens Savoillan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ET FELICI MEMORIÆ  
ILLVSTRIS DOMINI FRATRIS GVILLELMI DE VINCENS SAVOILLAN, SANTÆ  
LVCLÆ PRÆCEPTORI QVI,  
5 POST EGREGIE PRÆSTITA ORDINI SVO HYIEROSOLYMITANO VARIIS  
IN MVNERIBVS OBSEQVIA, OLIM SCILICET MILITARIVM  
INSTRVMENTORVM PRÆFECTVRA AC RECENTIVS  
MAGNÆ COMMENDÆ MINISTERIO GRAVITER FVNCTVS,  
AC EMINENTISSIMI DOMINI MAGNI MAGISTRI DE LASCARIS VICARIATV INSI-  
10 GNITVS, TANDEMQUE PRIORATV SANTI ÆGIDII DOTATVS,  
MELIORA PRO LABORIBVS, PRO FIDE, PRO SVIS DENIQVE  
VIRTVTIBVS PRÆMIA A DEO ACCEPTVRVS, DIEM  
CLAVSIT EXTREMV M XII FEBRVARI MDCXXXIV.  
FRATER IOANNES IACOBUS DE VERDELIN, CAPELLÆ PRÆCEPTOR,  
15 BENE FIDVS CONSANGVINEVS, AMICITLÆ ET  
GRATITVDINIS SVÆ MONVMENTVM HOC POSVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
and to the happy memory of the Illustrious Don Frà Guillaume de Vincens Savoillan, Receptor of Sainte-Luce who, excellently showing his obedience to his Jerusalemite Order in numerous duties, once conscientiously performed the Governorship of the arsenal and more recently the dignity of the Grand Commandery, and after he was distinguished with the Lieutenancy to His Eminency, Grand Master Don De Lascaris, he was finally endowed with the Priory of Saint-Gilles, in the end, looking ahead to receive better rewards from God for his works, faith and virtues, he finished his last day on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1644. Frà Jean-Jacques de Verdelin, Receptor of Lachapelle, a very loyal blood-relative, placed this as a memorial of his friendship and gratitude.

### 304 - Signorino Gattinara

A XPISTOS Ω  
FRATER SIGNORINVS GATTINARA,  
SANCTÆ EVPHEMIÆ PRIOR.  
QVIS FVERIT IPSVM TIBI NOMEN OSTENDIT,  
5 PRVDENTEM ENIM ROMA, SABAVDIA, HISPANIÆ  
PERSENSERE  
CVM ORATOR SVÆ RELIGIONIS NEGOTIA  
PERTRACTAVIT,  
10 FORTEM EXPERTA SVNT PASSAVA, LEPANTVS,  
MAHOMETA, TVRNESIVS  
ET QVA TRIREMIS DVCEM  
ET QVA TOTIVS CLASSIS IMPERATOREM,  
SOLO RELIGIO, CARITAS, PATIENTIA  
HVMILEM REDDIDERE  
15 CVM IPSE IMPERIO NON IPSI IMPERIVM  
DEFVERIT.  
VIXIT ANNOS SVPRA LXXVIII,  
OBIIT PRIDIE IDVS MARTII MDCXXXXIV.

Alpha      Christ      Omega

Fra Signorino Gattinara, Prior of Sant'Eufemia. The name itself shows you what kind of man he was, for Rome, Savoy, Spain experienced him absolutely as discreet when he, as an ambassador, occupied himself with the affairs of his Religion. Passava, Lepanto, Hammamet, Tunis experienced him as courageous both where he was Captain of a galley and where he was Captain-General of the whole fleet. On land, his observance, charity, endurance rendered him as humble when he of his own accord withdrew from power, instead that power withdrew from him. He lived beyond 78 years, he died on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1644.

## 169 - Justin Fay Gerlande

DEO CREATORI ET REDEMPTORI.  
FRATER IVSTVS E PERANTIQUA ET NOBILISSIMA DE FAY GERLANDE  
FAMILIA, AB ANNO MDXXIIC MILES HYEROSOLYMITANVS, CARAVANIS  
PLVRIBVSQVE NAVIGATIONIBVS, VICE-PRÆFECTVRA DO-  
5 MVS EMINENTISSIMI DOMINI MAGNI MAGISTRI LA CASSIERA, LEGATIONE AD HENRICVM  
III, GALLORVM REGEM, PRO VINDICANDIS RELIGIONIS  
TRIREMIBVS CRETÆ APVD VENETOS DETENTIS, LVGDVNI  
PROCVRATORIS, TVM RECEPTORIS SVI ORDINIS MVNE-  
RIBVS FVNCTVS, MELITÆ AB EMINENTISSIMO DOMINO MAGNO MAGISTRO DE WIGNA-  
10 COVRT PRÆFECTVS EXERCITVS EQVESTRIS, PRÆTOR  
TERRESTRIS, HINC MARESCIALLVS, MAGNVS PRIOR ALVERNIE,  
HONORARIVS PATRONVS ÆRARII PVBLICI, TANDEMQUE  
BAIVLIVVS LVGDVNENSIS, BIS IN CAPITVLIS GENERALIBVS  
PATRVN CONSCRIPTORVM ORDINIS VOTIS SVFFRAGIISQVE  
15 OPTATVS, REMPVBLICAM SACRAM OPERA CONCILIOQVE  
TOT ANNIS COLVIT, AVXIT ET ORNAVIT, NEC QVIDQVAM  
SIBI E SOLO IN COELVM ASPORTANDVM PRÆTER SACRA QVO-  
TIDIE PRO ANIMA SVA MVLTOTIES, TVM IN HOC BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS SACRA-  
RIO LITANDA CVRAVIT.  
20 FRATER CAROLVS, EIVSDEM COGNOMINIS, COMMENDATARIVS DE CHAMBEREAV, NAT-  
VRA NEPOS BENEFICIIS GRATIISQVE PLVS QVAM FILIVS DITATVS SENE-  
CTVTIS, ACHATES JVSTA DEBITAQVE ILLVSTRISSIMO HEROI PERSONENS EX  
PARTE, SYNOPSIS VITÆ, PIE LECTOR, IMITANDVM TVISQVE, PRÆCIBVS CO-  
LENDVM MONET ET HORTATVR. OBIIT XXX MARTII ANNI MDCXLIV,  
25 ÆTATIS SVÆ XC°.

To God, Creator and Redeemer.

Frà Justin, from the very ancient and very noble family of Fay Gerlande, a soldier of Jerusalem since the year 1578, after completing his caravans and numerous marine campaigns fulfilled his Order's duties as the Deputy Master of the Household of the Most Eminent Don Grand Master La Cassière, as an envoy to Henri III, King of the French, in order to reclaim the Order's galleys, detained by the Venetians at Crete, then as Procurator, next as the Receptor at Lyons. In Malta, he was selected as the Commander of the mounted troops, General of the army, henceforth Marshal, Grand Prior of Auvergne, Honorary President of the Public Treasury and, his last office, Bailiff of Lyons by the Most Eminent Don Grand Master de Wignacourt, and chosen twice in the Chapters General by votes and favourable decisions of the Members of the Republic Council, for so many years he fostered, exalted and adorned the Sacred Republic with his deeds and counsel. He saw to that nothing whatsoever was carried off from earth for himself, except many times his daily sacrifices for his own soul into Heaven, but also that public worship was practised in this sanctuary of the Most Blessed Virgin. Frà Charles, of the same surname, Commendator of Chambereau, his nephew by extraction, enriched by his benefits and grace more than a son by old age, paying as Achates his part what is right and what is owed to this most illustrious hero. He reminds and urges you, blessed reader, of your duty to emulate his general view towards life and to venerate him in your prayers. He died on the 30<sup>th</sup> of March of the year 1644, at the age of 90.

### 342 - Christophe de Seitres Caumons

SVB HOC CONDITVR TVMVLO FRATER CHRISTOPHORVS  
DE SEITRES CAVMONS, COMMENDÆ SANCTÆ LVCLE  
COMMENDATARIVS, SPECTATE VIRTVTIS AC INTEGRI-  
TATIS VIR QVI, POST EGREGIA QVÆ IN SVAM RELIGIO-  
5 NEM PRÆSTAVIT SERVITIA, AD MANOASCENSEM BAIV-  
LIVATVM SVOS PER GRADVS ASSVMPTVS, OMNIBVS  
PRODESSE SVMMOPERE STVDVIT, AC TANDEM TANTIS  
MERITIS CVMVLATVS, IN PACE QVIEVIT ANNO DOMINI  
MDCXXXIV DIE XV APRILIS, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXV.  
10 HOC GRATI ANIMI MONVMENTVM  
FRATER FRANCISCVS DE SEITRES  
CAVMONS, NEPOS, TRIREMIS  
DVX, INTER LACRYMAS POSVIT.

Below this mound is buried Frà Christophe de Seitres Caumons, Commendator of the Commandery of Sainte-Luce, a man of esteemed virtue and integrity who, after he had performed distinguished services for his Religion, obtained through gradual promotions the Bailiwick of Manosque. He strove very much to be useful to everyone and, finally, augmented with so much merits, rested in peace in the Year of the Lord 1644, on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of April, at the age of 75. Frà François de Seitres Caumons, a nephew, Captain of a galley, placed in tears this monument of grateful memory.

### 299 - Giovan Battista Macedonio

FRATRI IOANNI BAPTISTÆ MACEDONI PARTHENOPEO, MACEDONICI  
HEROIS EMVLATORI INCLITO,  
QVI, INTER HIEROSOLYMITANOS EQVITES COMENDATOR CONSPICVVS,  
5 POSTQVAM INVICTISSIME PREFECTVRAM IN VNA EX TRI-  
REMIBVS GESSIT, LENTO GRAVIQVE AB ASIA PRINCIPE CLASSE  
INPERANTE, IN PRETORIANA DVX EVASIT AB INTEGRO,  
QVAM OB REM ALEXANDRI CONSECTANDO VESTIGIA, PRO-  
PE GVLETTÆ SINVM AD NAVMACHIE TRIVMPHVM, SVSCEPTIS  
10 NAVIBVS INFIDELIBVS FRANCHIS, FIDELITER PRO FIDE IN DIS-  
CRIMINE VITAM ADDVXIT, EXINDE MELITAM REMIGATVS  
BARBARICIS DECORATVS EXVVIYS, DVM VRBEM  
BELLICIS ARCIBVS INCINGEBAT, AD CELESTEM ELA-  
TVS CAPITOLIVM SE EX TERRENO ABIVGIVM  
15 LIGAMINE. HIEROSOLYMITANA RELIGIO  
ÆRE PROPRIO POSVIT  
ANNO DOMINI  
1645.

For Frà Giovanni Battista Macedonio, a Neapolitan, renowned emulator of Macedonian heroes, who, an illustrious Commendator among the Jerusalemite Knights, after he had most invincibly carried out the Captaincy over one of the galleys, while the main fleet was on its return from Asia, slow and heavily armed, he was now the fresh Commander of the Flagship, taking the lead and accordingly followed in the footsteps of Alexander, to the triumph in the sea-fight near the Gulf of Goletta, when the Infidel ships caught up with the French, truly with reliance on his Faith, he offered his life at the decisive moment. After he was rowed back to Malta, decorated with spoils of the barbarians, while he was near the capital city with its military citadel [Valletta], he was raised to the Heavenly Capital [Jerusalem], separating himself from the earthly yoke. The Religion of Jerusalem placed this slab at its own expense, in the Year of the Lord 1645.

## 167- George de Castellane d'Aluis

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER GIORGIVS DE CASTELLANA DALVYS,  
CARAVANIS DECEM ET OCTO ET BIENNIA  
PREFECTVRA VNIVS TRIREMIVM RELIGIONIS  
5 HYEROSOLYIMITANÆ, IN PRIORATIBVS SANCTI EGIDII ET TOLOSÆ  
ÆRARI PVBLCI PROCVRATORIS ET RECEPTORIS  
MVNERIBVS STRENVE FIDELITERQVE PERFVNCTO,  
DEBITVM SEPIVS, RE TERRA MARIQVE SEXA-  
GINTA QVINQVE ANNIS OBSEQVII PROSPERIS,  
10 TRIVNPHVM TEXTAMQVE OLIVAM, LAVRVM. ORDO  
HYEROSOLYMITANVS, DIGNITATIBVS MAGNI COMMENDATORII MAGNIQVE  
PRIORIS THOLOSE PATRVM CONSCRIPTORVM SVFRAGIIS  
COMPENSAVIT.  
FRATER ANIBAL DALVIS, PRONEPOS, COMMENDATARIVS  
15 LVGANI, SVO MECENATI PRIAMOQVE, AD ARAS BEATAE  
VIRGINIS IACERE VOLENTI, MONVMENTVM DONAT.  
OBIT ANNO DOMINI MDCXXXV, XI NOVEMBRIS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà George de Castellane d'Aluis, tirelessly and faithfully carried out eighteen caravans and during a two-year period the Captaincy of one of the galleys of the Jerusalemite Religion, and the duties of Receptor and Procurator of the Public Treasury in the Priories of St Gilles and Toulouse. He was very frequently owed a triumph, plaited olive and laurel for his 65 successful years in the sphere of service on land and at sea. The Order of Jerusalem balanced this debt, by favourable decision of the Members of the Republic Council, with the ranks of Grand Commander and Grand Prior of Toulouse. Frà Anibal d'Aluis, grandnephew, Commendator of Lucerne, dedicates this slab to his uncle, a Maecenas and Priam, who wished to lie buried close to the altar of the Blessed Virgin. He died in the Year of the Lord 1645, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November.

### 168 - Giovanni Gonzaga

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI DOMINO IOANNI GONZAGAE,  
VINCENTII II, MANTVÆ ET MONTISFERTI DVCIS  
FILIO,  
5 AVGVSTISSIMÆ ELEONORE, IMPERATRICIS NEPOTI,  
LVCEDIE, FELONICLÆ ET GERONDE ABBATI COMENDATORI,  
SANCTI BENEDICTI MANTVÆ PRECEPTORI,  
ADOLESCENTI INDOLE SVpra ÆTATEM ERECTA,  
EGREGYS ANIMI DOTIBVS CONSPICVO  
10 QVI, VIX PVBERTATEM EGRESSVS,  
HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITLÆ MANTVÆ NOMEN DEDIT,  
DEIN MELITAM ADVENIENS,  
IN CRETICA EXPEDITIONE ADVERSVS TVRCAS  
MAIORA IN ANIMO VERSANS, MILITLÆ TYROCINIVM INYT,  
15 SED MOX POST REDITVM LENTA LABE CONSVMPTVS.  
TAM GENEROSE STIRPIS PRECLARAM SPEM  
INVIDA LIBITINA  
PRÆCOCI ABSTVLIT FATO,  
OBYT PRIDIE NONAS DECEMBRIS, ANNO MDCXLV, ÆTATIS XIX,  
20 FRATER IOANNES FRANCISCVS RAMESINVS DE LVZZARA,  
EIVSDEM ORDINIS EQVES ET CONTVBERNALIS,  
SERENISSIMORVM CAROLI ET MARLÆ MANTVÆ DVCVM IVSSV,  
PONENDVM CVRAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Don Giovanni Gonzaga, son of Vincenzo II, Duke of Mantua and Monteferrato, grandson of the Empress, the Most August Eleonora, Abbot Commendator of Lucedia, Feronoca and Geronda, Receptor of Saint Benedict at Mantua. He formed, still in his formative years, his innate qualities ahead of his age, notable for his excellent gifts of the mind who, hardly out of puberty, enrolled in the Jerusalemite Militia at Mantua. Hence, arriving in Malta, he started his apprenticeship of the Militia in his Cretan expedition against the Turks, entertaining greater issues in his mind, but soon after his return, worn away by a wasting disease envious *Libitina* stole, by premature destiny, this so very bright hope of a noble family. He died on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, in the year 1645, at the age of nineteen. Frà Giovanni Francesco Ramesino de Luzzara, Knight of the same Order and comrade-in-arms, arranged to place this slab on the request of the Most Serene Carlo and Maria, Duke and Duchess of Mantua.

### 308 - Francesco Piccolomini

OSSA FRATRIS FRANCISCI PICCOLOMINI SENENSIS, MAGNI ITALIÆ  
ADMIRATI,  
QUI MORUM NOBILITATEM GENUS SPLENDIDISSIMO ÆQUAVIT.  
DECESSIT ANNO MDCXLVIII.

The bones of Frà Francesco Piccolomini of Siena, Grand Admiral of Italy, who matched the nobility of his character with his most splendid birth. He died in the year 1648.



### 346 - Pierre de Merles Beauchamp

FRATER PETRVS DE MERLES BEAVCHAMP AVENIENSIS,  
VENIT MELITAM ANNO DOMINI MDXCVI, XVI  
NOVEMBRIS. FVIT COMMENDATARIVS DE PVV  
MVISSON, MAGNVS CASTELLANVS,  
5 ET VNIVS E TRIREMIBVS CVM TESTI-  
MONIO PVBELICÆ AVCTORITATIS PRÆFECTVS,  
EIVS GERMANVS, FRATER HENRICVS DE MERLES  
BEAVCHAMP, COMMENDATARIVS DE PEYRVVS,  
MAGNVS PRIOR TOLOSÆ, CLASSIS  
10 MELITENSIS TRIERARCHVS, HVNC  
ILLI LAPIDEM POSVIT FRATERNÆ  
AMICITLÆ PIEQVE RECORDATIONIS  
MONVMENTVM ANNO DOMINI MDCXLIX.

Frà Pierre de Merles Beauchamp of Avignon came to Malta in the Year of the Lord 1596, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November. He was Commendator of Puimoisson, Grand Castellan and Captain of one of the galleys in confirmation of the Republic's authority. His brother, Frà Henri de Merles Beauchamp, Commendator of Peyruis, Grand Prior of Toulouse and Captain-General of the Maltese fleet, placed this slab for him as a monument of brotherly love and pious recollection in the Year of the Lord 1649.

### 294 - Antonino Pontremoli

HIC EASTVS  
DEPONE CINIS

QVEM GAVLOS NATVM EXCEPIT, MELITA  
TOGA DECORAVIT, SANCTA RELIGIO COMENDÆ DE SPI-  
NAS PRÆFECIT, ECCLESIA ILLVSTRIS FRATRIS DOMINI BALTHASSA-  
5 RIS CAGLIARES, MELITENSIS EPISCOPI, CONSOBRI-  
NI, DECANVM AGNOVIT ET DOMINVS DON LASCARIS  
CASTELLAR AVDITOREM HABVIT. FRATER ANTO-  
NINVS PONTREMOLI HIC PARTE SVI  
MORTALI AD VALLEM IOSAPHAT CONVOLA-  
10 TVRA IACET, ALTERA CÆLO CREDITVR.  
OBIIT ANNO DOMINI 1649, 21 9, ÆTATIS 72.

LEHVM OMNIBVS  
VNVM EST

Splendour of high position, lay down your ashes here.

He whom Gozo received in birth, Malta adorned with the toga, the Sacred Religion put in command of the Commandery of La Espina, the Church of the Illustrious Frà Don Balthassare Cagliares Bishop of Malta, first cousin, acknowledged as Dean and Frà Don Lascaris Castellar employed as his auditor, lies here. Frà Antonino Pontremoli's mortal part is taking off towards the Valley of Josaphat, the other part is trusted to be in Heaven. He died in the Year of the Lord 1649, on 21<sup>st</sup> September, at the age of 72.

Death is for all, without exception

### 329 - François de Vion Thesancourt

FLECTE LVMINA,  
QVISQVIS ES,  
MORTALITATEM AGNOSCE.  
FRATER FRANCISCVS DE VION THESAN-  
5 COVRT, ORDINIS SACRI IOANNIS NATALIVM  
SPLENDORE MILITARI VIRTUTE AD  
MAGNUM CAMPANLÆ PRIORATVM AC-  
CLAMATVS, COMMENDIS DE PICTON  
IN BELGIO ET DE RENEVILLE IN GALLIA  
10 EODEM TEMPORE CVMVLATVS, PRVDEN-  
TER ILLIS DECENNIO ADMINISTRATIS,  
QVEM LONGIORES CVRSVS MARI TERRIS  
DVCEM SEMPER INVICTVM ATHLETAM-  
QVE STRENVVM REDDIDERE POTIVS QVAM  
15 SVBEGERE, EXIGVVS SED INTESTINVS  
MORBVS, VIRILITER CONTEMPTVS, SEPTV-  
AGENARIVM, PLENVM TAMEN VIRIBVS,  
EXANIMAVIT XIX KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS MDCIL.

Bend down with your lighted candles, whoever you are, and acknowledge your mortality. Frà François de Vion Thesancourt of the Order of Saint John, was hailed, by the splendour of his birth and by his military prowess, into the Grand Priory of Champagne, while at the same time he was enriched with the Commanderies of Picton in Belgium and Renneville in France. Although he prudently administered these during ten years as a Captain he made longer passages over sea than over land, forever unconquerable. And thus a steadfast champion, he was delivered rather than put asunder. An intestinal disease, short but intensely vile, exhausted him, a man of seventy, though full of strength, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of October 1649.

### 149 - Salvatore Imbroll

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MELITENSIVM INGENIORVM PHCENIX,  
ILLVSTRISSIMVS AC REVERENDISSIMVS DOMINVS FRATER SALVATOR IMBROLL,  
PRIORALI DIGNITATE INSIGNIS, IACET HIC.  
5 VIRVM, EXIMIIS ANIMI DOTIBVS CVMVLATVM  
OMNIQVE SCIENTIARVM PERITIA VERSATISSIMVM,  
VIATOR, LVGE.  
CÆTERVM, LEGATIONE AD VRBANVM VIII EGREGIE FVNCTA  
ET DESTINATA AD ALIOS CHRISTIANOS PRINCIPES,  
10 TALEM SE PRÆBVIT QVALEM VIDES LAVDATVM,  
POSTREMO, VIGILANTISSIMI PRÆSVLIS PARTIBVS IMPLETIS,  
STVDIORVM ASSIDVITATE POTVIS QVAM SENIO CONFECTVS,  
AD CAPITOLIVM ÆTERNÆ SAPIENTIÆ CONVOLAVIT  
MDCL, DIE XXVI IANVARII, ÆTATIS LX.  
15 FRATRES CAROLVS MICHALLEF, SALVATOR IMBROLL ET PVBLIVS  
THEVMA, NEPOTES, MCERENTES MERENTI POSVERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Don Frà Salvatore Imbroll, the Phoenix of Maltese intellect, eminent with prioral dignity, lies here. Passer-by, lament a man, blessed with excellent gifts of the mind, and extremely knowledgeable in every scientific discipline. For the remainder, after he had carried out exceptionally well an embassy to Urban VIII and to other Christian Sovereigns, showed himself such as you see him praised. Finally, after he had observed the responsibilities of a most careful prelate, consumed by an insatiable desire for studies rather than by old age, he hastened to the Capital of Eternal Wisdom on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of January 1650, at the age of 60. Brothers Carlo Michallef, Salvatore Imbroll and Publio Theuma, nephews, placed in mourning this slab for their meritorious uncle.

### 385 - Zacharia Doria

FRATRI ZACHARIA DORIA,  
EQVITI HIEROSOLYMITANO,  
PATRITIO GENVENSII,  
PERVSI COMENDATORI,  
5 NOBILITATE NON MINVS QVAM PIETATE  
INCLITO,  
QVOD VNI SIBI FVERIT INTER OPES  
STVDISISIME INOPS  
VT TOTI RELIGIONI  
10 SPLENDIDVS, LOCVPLES ESSET.  
PROCVRATORES ÆRARIII  
POSVERVNT  
ANNO MDCLI.

For Frà Zacharia Doria, Jerusalemite Knight, nobleman from Genoa, Commendator of Perugia, illustrious not less for his nobility than for his piety, because he was most devoutly frugal to himself, alone amidst wealth, in order to be sumptuous and generous to the whole Order. The Procurators of the Treasury, placed this slab in the year 1651.

### 344 - Honoré de Villaneuve Villevielle

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET FRATER HONORATVS DE VILLANOVA VILLEVIELLE,  
QVI TAM GENERE QVAM VITÆ PROBITATE CLARVIT,  
ET EIVS VITA CVM MORIBVS LILIATA FLORVIT,  
5 RELIGIONIS COMMODIS STVDVIT, NON SVIS,  
IDEO ÆRARIVM MINVTVM OPVLENTER AVXIT.  
TANDEM, OPTIMI RELIGIOSI PARTIBVS IMPLETIS,  
PLENVS MERITIS, OCCVBVIT.  
SED TOTVS NON OBYT QVI DEVM TIMVIT, NON MORTEM,  
10 QVEM CANDIDISSIMI MORES  
ET BENEFICIA COLLATA RELIGIONI SVPERSTITEM SERVANT.  
OBYT ANNO MDCLII, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXIIII.  
PROCVRATORES COMMVNIS ÆRARY REQVISITI  
A FRATRE IOANNE DE VILLANOVA VILLEVIELLE, EIVS NEPOTE,  
15 HAVD IMMEMORES TANTI RELIGIOSI POSVERE.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Honoré de Villaneuve Villevielle, who was illuminated as much by his birth as by the probity of his life, and his life flourished like a lily along with his morals, strove for the interests of his Religion, not his own. Therefore, he lavishly increased the empty Treasury, in this last office, when he had done his part as a most noble Religious, he died full of merits. But he did not die altogether, he who dreaded God, not Death, since his most innocent character and the benefices he bequeathed to his Religion are preserving his memory. He died in the year 1652, at the age of 74. The Procurators of the Common Treasury, at the request of Frà Jean de Villaneuve Villevielle, his nephew, not heedless of so great a Religious, placed this slab.

## 226 - Juan de Villaroel

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
LAPIDE SVB HOC CONDITVR FRATER DOMINVS  
JOANNES DE VILLAROEL, SANCTI SEPVLCHRI  
DE TORO BAIVLIVVS INCLYTIS QVI, PRÆ-  
5 CLARVS VIRTVTIBVS, POSTQVAM IN LEGA-  
TIONIBVS AC ALIJS MVNERIBVS QVAM  
PLVRIMIS PERFVNCTVS FVIT OBSEQVIIS,  
ET GENERALIS DVX TRIREMIVM PRÆ-  
STANTISSIMVS EXTITIT, PERENNE  
10 EMERITVS DECVS, VITAM CVM MORTE,  
MOMENTANEA CVM ÆTERNIS,  
TERRENAQVE CVM COELESTIBVS  
COMMVTAVIT DIE XXVII  
OCTOBRIS MDCLII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Under this slab is buried Frà Don Juan de Villaroel, renowned Bailiff of Santo Sepulcro at Toro who, very distinguished for his virtues, after he had punctiliously performed his services in embassies and as many other duties as possible, and stood out most excellently as the Captain-General of the galleys, deserved eternal glory when he replaced Life with Death, the momentary with the perpetual, the earthly with the celestial on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of October 1652.

## 188 - Melchior Dureta

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER MELCHIOR DVRETA, MAJORICARVM  
BAIVLIVS, INSIGNIS MERITIS PRÆCLA-  
RVSQVE VIRTVTIBVS, MORTIS HAVD IMME-  
5 MOR DVM VITA FRVERETVR, OSSIBVS  
HIC LAPIDEM IN COELO VERO ANIME  
DIVINO MANSIONEM PRÆPARAVIT  
OVXILIO. OBIIT DIE XVII MENSIS  
APRILIS ANNO MDCLIIII, AT  
10 ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Melchior Dureta, Bailiff of Majorca, distinguished for his merits and famous for his virtues, by no means forgetful of Death while he enjoyed his life, prepared with divine help this slab for his bones here, an abode for his soul in Heaven. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of April in the year 1654, at the age of 73.

### 378 - Bernardo de Vecchiettis

CHRISTO MORTVORVM PRIMOGENITO.  
BERNARDO DE VECCHIETTIS, EQVITI HIEROSOLYMITANO,  
CREMONÆ BAIVLIVO, EXIMIA IN DEVM PIETATE,  
RIGIDA IN SE IPSVM TEMPERANTIA, ROBUSTA  
IN HOSTES FORTITVDINE, INFLEXIBILI IVSTITIA  
5 ET OCVLATA PRVDENTIA IN OMNES CELEBERRIMO  
QVI, EQVESTRI SANCTI IOANNIS CINGVLO PVER BENE  
PRÆCINCTVS, IVGVM DOMINI PORTAVIT, ET NVN-  
QVAM EXCVSSIT, ADOLESCENS IN OSTENDÆ  
MEMORABILI OBSIDIONE MILITLÆ TYROCINIVM  
10 POSVIT, VIR LEGATIONE AD VRBEM VIII PONTIFICEM MAXIMVM  
ET SVI ORDINIS MVNERIBVS PRÆCIPVIS FVNCTVS  
EST, CLASSIS MELITENSIS PRÆFECTVS SPOLYS  
ONVSTVS ET ROSTRATA CORONA  
DONANDVS, VICTOR SÆPE PORTVM  
15 INTRAVIT, VERGENTE ÆTATE MAGNO  
MAGISTRI LASCARIS PER  
SEPTEMNIVM SVBSTINENS VICES  
MANV ET CONSIPIO VALIDVS ARTIBVS  
PACIS ENITVIT. MELITÆ  
20 MORTALITATEM EXPLEVIT VII IDVS  
MAIAS ANNO SALVTIS MDCLIIII, ÆTATIS LXXIII.

To Christ, the first-born of the dead.

For Bernardo de Vecchiettis, Jerusalemite Knight, Bailiff of Cremona, most celebrated according to everyone for his extraordinary observance towards God, stern self-control, valiant courage against the enemy, unshakable probity and striking forethought who, as a boy, rightly girded with the knightly sword-belt of Saint John, bore the burden of the Lord and never shook it off. As an adolescent, he spent his apprenticeship of the Militia exposed in the memorable siege, as a man, he fulfilled an embassy to Pope Urban VIII and particular duties of his Order, as the Captain-General of the Maltese fleet laden with spoils and bestowed with the rostrated crown, he entered the harbour many times as a victor, as his Lieutenant, supporting the aging Grand Master Lascaris for seven years, stood out as a true man for his advice and assistance with his talents for peace. He concluded his mortality in Malta on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May in the Year of Salvation 1654, at the age of 73.



## 160 - Giovanni Francesco Habela

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FORTVNATAM, VIATOR, MELITAM CREDAS QVÆ  
FRATREM IOANNEM FRANCISCVM HABELAM, VIRVM PROTVLIT  
SINGVLAREM. HIC LINGVA, STVDIO, INGENIO  
5 NEMINI SECVNDVS, LINGVA, CVM A SECRETIS  
IN LEGATIONIBVS AD CLEMENTEM VIII, AD  
HISPANVM GALLVMQVE REGES, QVALIS ESSET  
PVBLICÆ OSTENDIT, STVDIO, SCRIBENS PRIMVS  
QVÆ AD MELITAM ILLVSTRANDAM SPECTANT,  
10 INGENIO, AD OMNIA SACRÆ RELIGIONIS OFFICIA,  
IPSE LOCVM TENENS PRIORIS ECCLESİÆ,  
VICE CANCELLARIVS AD TRIGINTA QVINQVE  
ANNOS, EX TRIVMVIRIS VNVS IN MAGNI MAGISTRI LASCARIS  
ELECTIONE. CETERA NON SVSTINET MARMOR,  
15 QVOD AMANTISSIMVS NEPOS IACOBVS  
TESTAFERRATA DE ROBERTIS IN ANATHEMA  
OBLIVIONIS EXPOSUIT. OBIIT DIE III  
MAII, ANNO DOMINI MDCLV, ÆTATIS VERO LXXIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, you may trust Malta to be fortunate, which brought forth Frà Giovanni Francesco Habela, an incomparable man. He was second to none in his eloquence, learning, natural ability, he showed the Republic what sort of man he was with his eloquence when he was Secretary in embassies to Clement VIII, to the Kings of Spain and France, with his learning when he was the first man to write about those things which make Malta shine, with his natural ability concerning all duties of the Sacred Religion, himself deputising for the Prior of the Church, Vice-Chancellor during 35 years, one of the committee of three in the election of Grand Master Lascaris. The marble slab, which his most loving nephew, Giacomo Testaferrata de Robertis, put forth as a curse to oblivion, does not uncover the rest. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of May in the Year of the Lord 1655, though at the age of 73.

### 348 - Henri de Latis Entraigues

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET FRATER HENRICVS DE LATIS  
ENTRAIGVES, MANVASCÆ BAIVLIVVS  
QVI  
5 PLVRIBVS MVNERIBVS CVMVLATVS  
SEMPER EQVESTREM VITAM  
MIRA CVM ÆQVITATE CONIVNXIT  
ET NOBILITATEM AVITAM  
MORIBVS ILLVSTRIOREM FECIT.  
10 OBIIT ANNO CHRISTI MDCLVI, ÆTATIS LXXIIJ.  
TESTAMENTARII EXECVTORES COMMENDATOR FRATER ANTONIVS DE  
PVGET SAINCT MARC ET FRATER LVDOVICVS D'ARTAVD  
BEZAVRE POSVERE.  
QVID IVVAT IN TERRIS MAGNAS EXTOLLERE MOLES?  
15 HÆC SATIS VRNA MIHI EST. HÆC LEGE AMICE, ET ABI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Henri de Latis Entraigues, Bailiff of Manosque who, enhanced with numerous offices, always shared his equestrian life with admirable equity and made his ancestral nobility even more illustrious by his character. He died in the Year of Christ 1656, at the age of 73. The executors testamentary, Commendator Frà Antoine de Puget Saint-Marc and Frà Louis d'Artaud Bezaure placed this slab. What is the use of erecting great monuments on this earth? This grave is enough for me. Read this, my friend, and go on your way.

### 331 - Henri de Chastelet Moyencourt

HIC IACET QVI MISEROS SEMPER EREXIT  
OFFICIIS, PIETATE, CONSILIIS. FRATER HENRICVS  
DE CHASTELET MOYENCOVRT, EQVES SANCTI IOANNIS  
HIEROSOLIMITANI, COMMENDATOR A SANCTA CRUCE  
5 AMBRIENSI, BAIVLIVVS MOREÆ, VNVS TOT NOMINIBVS  
SATIS QVI VNO NOMINE COETERA IMPLEVIT CVM  
GENERALIS TRIREMIVM FVIT, QVAM PRÆFECTVRAM  
INDEFESSVS GERENS, TERRA MARIQVE CONSPICVVS,  
RELIGIONIS SVÆ PROPAGANDÆ STVDIO  
10 INCENSVS, MORVM INTEGRITATE  
AB OMNIBVS COMMENDATVS,  
OBIIT XXVI FEBRVARII ANNO  
DOMINI MDCLVI,  
ÆTATIS SVÆ LXV.

Here lies he who always elevated the downtrodden with his deeds, observance, counsels. Frà Henri de Chastelet Moyencourt, Knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, Commendator of the Holy Cross at Ambrières, Bailiff of the Morea, one man with so many titles sufficient to complete the rest with one when he was Captain-General of the galleys. He was indefatigable, carrying out this Captain-Generalship which made him famous by land and sea, burning with zeal for spreading his Religion, recommended by everyone for the integrity of his character. He died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of February in the Year of the Lord 1656, at the age of 65.

### 337 - Jean-Paul de Lascaris Castellar

RENOVABITVR VT  
AQVILA.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

VIATOR, LEGE ET LVGE, HIC IACET FRATER JOANNES PAVLVS DE LASCARIS CASTELLAR,  
5 MAGNVS MAGISTER ET MELITÆ PRINCEPS QVI, NASCENDO AB IMPERATORIBVS  
ET COMITIBVS VINTIMILLÆ ACCEPIT NOBILITATEM, VIVENDO IN CONSILIIS ET LEGATIO-  
NIBVS REGVM FECIT AMPLISSIMAM, ET MORIENDO INTER OMNIVM LACRIIMAS REDDIDIT  
IMMORTALEM. REGNAVIT XXI ANNOS, INTER PRINCIPES FORTVNATVS, ERGA SVBDITOS  
PATER PATRLÆ, ERGA RELIGIONEM BENEMERENTISSIMVS, SEPTIMA TRIREMI  
10 QVAM ANNVIS REDITIBVS STABILIVIT, NOVA COMMENDA QVAM INSTITVIT ALIIS  
ATQVE ALIIS ÆDIFICIIS QVÆ CONSTRVXIT. TOT NOMINIBVS TERRA MARIQVE CELEBRIS,  
SOLI DEO SEMPER AFFIXVS, OBIIT DIE XIV AVGVSTI ANNO DOMINI MDCLVII,  
ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXXIV.

PARENTES HOC GRATI ANIMI MONVMENTVM INTER LACRYMAS POSVERVNT

He will be raised like an eagle

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, read and mourn, here lies Frà Jean-Paul de Lascaris Castellar, Grand Master and Prince of Malta who, descending from Emperors and the Counts of Vintimillia received his nobility, while passing his life in Kings' counsels and embassies, made it most splendid, and when dying amidst everyone's tears he rendered it immortal. He reigned for 21 years, blessed among the Sovereigns, a Father of the Fatherland to his subordinates, most meritorious to his Religion, due to a seventh galley which he established from the annual responsions, and a new Commandery which he founded, apart from the other edifices which he constructed. With so many celebrated titles on land and sea, always inseparable from the only God, he died on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of August in the Year of the Lord 1656, at the age of 94.

His subjects placed in tears this monument of grateful memory

## 172 - Vincenzo Martelli

VINCENTIVS MARTELLIVS, FRANCISCI FRATER, PATRITIVS FLORENTINVS,  
EQVES HIEROSOLYMITANVS, HIC QVIESCIT. FORTITVDINEM PIETATE,  
PIETATEM FORTITVDINE ROBORAVIT, CVIVS DEXTERA, IVSTITIÆ  
PLENA, NON NISI IN FIDEI HOSTES ET PER DVELLES GLADIVM STRINXIT  
5 VIGINTI MARITIMA STIPENDIA ADVERSVS TVRCAS, ET IN GERMANIA  
ALÆ EQVITVM DVCTOR PRÆCLARVS, TOT IDEM MERITVS ROSTRATA  
CORONA ET LAVREA DONANDVS PRYTANEI, VBI EQVITES, ADVENÆ,  
ALVNTVR EX PVBLICO. ETIAM CLASSIS PRÆFECTVRA INCLYTVS,  
PRIOR BARLETTÆ, TRES ALIOS SVÆ GENTIS EADEM DIGNITATE  
10 PARES, PISARVM DVOS, MARTELLVM ANNO MCCCCLVI, IOANNEM  
BAPTISTAM ANNO MCCCCXCVI, MESSANÆ VNVM, ANTONIVM  
ANNO MDCVI CENSUIT. OBIIT IV NONAS NOVEMBRIS,  
ANNO SALVTIS MDCLVIII, ÆTATIS LXVII. EQVITES  
ÆRARIO PRÆFECTI SODALI OPTIME  
15 MERITO GRATI POSVERVNT.

Here lies at rest Vincenzo Martelli, brother of Francesco, nobleman of Florence, Knight of Jerusalem. He confirmed his strength with duty and his duty with strength, whose right hand, full of justice, did not draw the sword except against the enemy of his Faith and during combat in his twenty years of maritime service against the Turks, and in Germany he was a celebrated general of a squadron of mounted troops. He was rewarded for the above-mentioned merits with a rostrated crown and triumph at the Grand Master's Palace, when Knights and visitors from abroad were entertained at public expense. Besides his fame for the Admiralship of the fleet, as Prior of Barletta he was on a par with three others of his family of the same rank, two of Pisa, Martello in the year 1456, Giovanni Battista in the year 1496, and one of Messina, Antonio in the year 1606. He died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November, in the Year of Salvation 1658, at the age of 67. Knights, Prefects of the Treasury, placed this as a monument of grateful memory, for their most meritorious companion.

## 184 - Martin de Redin

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ SACRVM  
MAGNI MAGISTRI DON MARTINI DE REDIN,  
MAGNI XAVERII OB GENVS PROPINQVI,  
5 CVIVS ANTE ÆTATEM PRÆMATVRA VIRTVS, SICVLÆ DEIN NEAPOLITANÆ  
CLASSIVM PRÆFECTVRAM MERUIT,  
ADVLTVS AD PONTIFICEM SVMMVM ET HISPANVM REGEM LEGATVS PROPECTVS,  
EXERCITVS REGIOS APVD CATALAVNOS ET GALLECOS CÆTEROSQVE HISPANIÆ POPVLOS,  
SVMMO CVM IMPERIO REXIT.  
10 INDE VICTORIIS, MERITIS ATQVE ANNIS AVCTVS, EX PRIORE NAVARRÆ,  
SICILLÆ PRO-REGE,  
PRINCEPS MELITÆ ABSENS ELECTVS,  
INSVLAM PROPVGNACVLIS AC TVRRITIS SPECVLIS, VRBES AGGERIBVS  
CONSTRVCTISQVE HORREIS ET ANNONA AC VARIO BELLI COMMEATV INSTRVCTIS MVNIVIT.  
15 SVMMA DEMVM OMNIA SVMMO ILLO SVO MAGISTRATV GESSIT  
AC PRO BIENNI ANGVSTIIS STVPENDA,  
DVCIS BVLLIONII EXEMPLVM SECVTVS EXPEDITIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ,  
PRINCIPIBVS EVROPÆ SESE VLTRO VEL DVCEM, VEL COMITEM OBTVLIT.  
OBIIT DIE VII FEBRVARI MDCLX, ÆTATIS SEPTVAGESIMO, IMPERII TERTIO.  
20 FRATER DOMINVS JOANNES DE GALDIANO, ARMENIÆ BAIVLIVVS ET SENESCALLVS,  
COMMENDATOR FRATER GILBERTVS DEL BENE, PALATII PRÆFECTVS,  
COMMENDATOR FRATER DOMINVS ANTONIVS CORREA, MAGISTER EQVITVM,  
COMMENDATOR FRATER DOMINVS ISIDORVS DE ARGAIZ, QVÆSTOR PALATINVS,  
SVPREMIS TABVLIS EXECVTORES DELECTI CVM LACHRYMIS POSVERE.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Dedicated to the eternal memory of Grand Master Don Martin de Redin, - a relative, on account of noble birth, of the great Xavier - whose excellence, premature for his age, earned him the Captain-Generalship of the Sicilian, then of the Neapolitan fleet. When he was an adult, he went as an envoy to the Pope and to the King of Spain, commanded, with the highest authority, the Royal Armies among the Catalans and the Galicians, and the other Spanish people. Thenceforth, exalted in victories, merits and years too, from his previous positions of Prior of Navarra, Viceroy of Sicily, although absent from Malta, he was elected Grand Master. He strengthened the island with bulwarks and watchtowers, the cities with ramparts, while storehouses were constructed and filled with produce and military supplies. At length, he carried out all the principal matters through his supreme Magistracy and that in the astonishingly short period of two years. Following the example of the Jerusalemite expedition of the Duke of Bouillon, he willingly offered himself, either as General or Commander, to the Sovereigns of Europe. He died on the 6th day of February 1660, in the 70<sup>th</sup> year of his life, in the third year of his reign.

Frà Don Juan De Galdiano, Bailiff of Armenia and Steward, Commendator Frà Gilbert del Bene, Prefect of the Palace, Commendator Frà Don Antonio de Correa, Master Equerry, Commendator Frà Don Isidoro de Argaiz, Treasurer of the Palace, selected executors by his last will, placed while mourning, the above inscribed text.



### 173 - Annet de Chattes Gessan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC JACET EMINENTISSIMVS FRATER ANNETVS DE CHATTES GESSAN  
QVI A COMITIBVS CLARI MONTIS ORTVM ACCEPIT  
A PONTIFICIBVS SACRAS CLAVES ET TIARAM,  
VTRVMQVE PER MAIORES,  
5 IN CALIXTO II SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ ACERRIMOS DEFENSORES,  
HOC VNO VERE MAIORVM OMNIVM MAXIMVS,  
QVOD TIARÆ SVPREMAM CORONAM ADIVNXERIT.  
CREATVS NEMINE DISCREPANTE  
EX BAIVLIVO LVGDVNI MAGNVS MAGISTER ET MELITÆ PRINCEPS,  
10 EVM APICEM MERITA IAMPRIDEM EXEGERANT,  
VOTA NVNQVAM PRÆSVMPSERANT,  
SED VIRTVTES TVLERE SVFFRAGIVM.  
PIETAS IN DIVINIS,  
PRVDENTIA IN HVMANIS,  
15 SVAVITAS IN CONGRESSV,  
MAIESTAS IN INCESSV,  
MARESCALDI INTEGRITAS,  
TERRÆ MARISQVE IMPERIVM.  
DE SVO NIHIL IPSE CONTVLIT NISI QVOD AMICIS OBEDIVIT,  
20 REGNAVIT AD PERENNEM MEMORIAM VIX QVATVOR MENSIBVS BREVIS.  
VITÆ PARS NVLLA PERIIT, PRIMAM RELIGIONI, SECUNDAM POPULO,  
TERTIAM SIBI, OMNEM DEO CONSECRAVIT.  
OBIIT INTER LACRIJMAS ET VOTA OMNIVM  
2 IVNII ANNO DOMINI 1660, ÆTATIS SVÆ 73.  
25 FRATER CLAVDIVS DE MONTAGNAC LARFEVLHERE, MA-  
RESCALLVS, FRATER IOANNES IACOB DE VERDELIN, PRIMARIVS  
ELECTIONIS EQVES, HOC GRATI ANIMI MO-  
NVMENTVM POSVERVNT.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies the Most Eminent Frà Annet de Chattes Gessan, who received his lineage from the Counts of Clermont and the sacred keys and papal tiara from Pontiffs both through his ancestors, most astute defenders of the Apostolic See under Callisto II, the latter was the greatest of all ancestors in this one thing that he joined the royal crown to the papal tiara. Frà Annet was unanimously elected, from his position as Bailiff of Lyons, as the Grand Master and Prince of Malta, the voting had never been encroached, but his virtues won the election as his merits had raised him to the top well before. Observance in divine and prudence in human matters, charisma in approach, dignity in reproach, integrity of his Marshalship, supreme power over land and sea. He did not confer anything upon himself, unless it served friends, he ruled briefly, but to eternal memory, in scarcely four months. He did not waste any aspect of his life, he dedicated a first to his Religion, a second to the people, a third to himself, all to God. He died among tears and prayers of everyone on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June in the Year of the Lord 1660, at the age of 73. Frà Claude de Montagnac Larfeulhiere, Marshal, Frà Jean Jacques de Verdelin, pre-eminent Knight-elect, placed this as a monument of grateful memory.

### 319 - Ottavio Solaro

VIR OMNI ÆVO COMMENDABILIS, FRATER OCTAVIVS  
SOLARO, INTER HYEROSOLYMITANOS EQVITES SANCTI STEPHANI  
BAIVLIVATV INSIGNIS, HIC IACET VIATOR IS PRIMA  
POST MARTIS TYROCINIA, CHILIARCÆ MVNERE  
5 POTITVS, MELITENSIVM TRIREMIVM PRIMARIAM  
EXERCIVIT PRÆFECTVRAM, NEC MINVS DOMI QVAM  
BELLO CLARVS, DIGNVM SE PRÆBVIT CVI INSIGNIORES  
PROVINCIAE MANDERENTVR, VNIVERSO TANDEM  
ORDINI IN ELECTIONE MAGNI MAGISTRI DE CLARMONT  
10 REGIMINI DATVS EMINENTISSIMI, EIVSDEM FVNVS BREVI  
INTERVALLO EST SECVTVS, OBYT NAMQVE XXVII  
IVNII ANNO DOMINI MDCLX, ÆTATIS  
SVÆ ANNO  
LXXV.  
15 COMMENDATORES FRATRES ROBERTVS  
ET VICTORIVS AMODEVS SOLARO  
AVVNCVLO AMANTISSIMO IN GRATI  
ANIMI MONVMENTVM POSUERE.

A man, praiseworthy for all time, Frà Ottavio Solaro, distinguished among the Jerusalemite Knights for his Bailiwick at Santo Stefano, lies here, passer-by. He, after the initial military campaigns, obtained first the duty of Commander of 1000 soldiers, exercised an excellent Captaincy over Maltese galleys, famous, not less at home than at war, showed himself a worthy man to whom the more eminent properties of Provence could be entrusted. In his last duty he was given to deputise for the whole Order in the election of the Most Eminent Grand Master de Clermont. He followed in funeral the aforesaid Grand Master after a short while, for he died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June in the Year of the Lord 1660, at the age of 75.

The Commendators, Frati Roberto and Vittorio Amodeo Solaro, placed this as a monument of grateful memory for their most beloved maternal uncle.

## 224 - Thomas de Hozes

	A	Ω
	FRATER DON THOMAS DE HOZES, CONSPICVA NOBI-	
	LITATE EX HISPANYS ORIVNDVS, NONDVM PVE-	
	RITIAM ANTEGRESSVS INTER HIEROSOLIMITANOS	
5	MILITES COOPTATVS, AVITAS, ET COMMI-	
	LITONVM VIRTUTES EMVLATVS, POST	
	MAIORIS SVI CONVENTVS ARCIS ET VNIVS	
	TRIREMIS BIENNALEM PRÆFECTVRAM,	
	LEGATIONES AD SANCTISSIMVM VRBANVM	
10	VIII AD TRINACRLÆ PRO-REGEM SVMPTV	
	PROPRIO FELICITER EXPLETAS, MAGNI	
	CANCELLARI, NOVEN VILLARVM, DE THO-	
	RO, LORÆ GRADATIM DIGNITATES VNA CVM	
	TOSSINENSI COMENDA ASSECVTVS, CVM AD	
15	ORDINIS CVLMEN PVBLICÆ FÆLICITATI BO-	
	NORVM VOTO SIBI ASPIRANDVM ERAT, MOR-	
	TIS TROPHÆVM AC NECESSITATEM POTIVS	
	MEDITATVS, SEPVLCRVM HOC VIVENS,	
	VT INDE SEMPER VIVAT EXEMPLVM VIVIS,	
20	SPONTE CONSTRVXIT. VIXIT ANNOS	
	LXXIX. OBIIT DIE III MARTI ANNO 1661.	

Alpha

Omega

Frà Don Thomas de Hozes, descending from illustrious Spanish nobility, was still in his childhood when he was admitted to the company of Jerusalemite Soldiers, having emulated the ancestral virtues and those of his comrades-in-arms, after a two-year Prefecture of the extensive fortifications of the Convent and the Captaincy of a galley, successfully fulfilling embassies to His Holiness Urban VIII and to the Viceroy of Sicily at his own expense, gradually obtained the high offices of Novillas, Toro, Lora, at the same time with the Commandery of Tosina and the office of Great Chancellor, although he was rising towards the supreme position of the Order, by the desire of all noble men for the sake of public prosperity, he reflected profoundly on the victory and inevitability of death, and arranged this sepulchre on his own initiative while living in order to live on forever from the grave as an example to the living. He lived for 79 years. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of March 1661.

## 178 - Claude de Montagnac de Larfeulière

SISTE VIATOR ET SI IVSTVS ES, IVSTITIÆ QVONDAM CAPITI  
IVSTA PERSOLVE.  
HIC IACET FRATER CLAVDIVS DE MONTAGNAC DE LARFEVLIERE,  
SACRI ORDINIS HYEROSOLYMITANI OBSERVANTISSIMVS EQVES  
5 ET MARESCALLVS QVI, DE SVA SEMPER RELIGIONE BENEMERITVS,  
ILLIVS VBIQVE REBVS STVDIO PECVLIARI DEDITVS, NVNQVAM INTERRVPTA  
SAGACITATIS AC VIGILANTLÆ SIGNA DEDIT. PROCVRATOR GENERALIS  
IN GALLIA ET RECEPTOR IVRIVM COMVNIS ÆRARY SÆRIVS OB INSIGNEM  
CVRAM PROROGATVS, NON MINVS VTILEM QVAM NECESSARIVM SE PRÆSTITIT.  
10 SINGVLAREM HANC POTISSIMVM LAVDEM ASSECVTVS, QVOD IN AVGENDIS  
CONSERVANDISQVE TRIBVS PRÆSSERTIM COMMENDIS MERITO SIBI POTIVS  
QVAM FAVORE ACQVISITIS. CONTRA INVASORES APVD REGIA CONSILIA  
INDEFESSVS ACERRIMVSQVE PROPVGNATOR EXTITERIT, MARESCALLVS  
TANDEM EFFECTVS ET DIGNVS QVI MAGNI MAGISTRI VICES ALIQVANDIV  
15 GESSERIT. POST NON MEDIOCRE PER LONGAM ÆGRITVDINEM PIETATIS  
AC PATIENTIÆ DATVM SPECIMEN, 73 ANNOS NATVS, E VITA MIGRAVIT  
KALENDIS SEPTEMBRIS ANNO DOMINI MDCLXI.  
HOC BENEVOLENTIÆ MONIMENTVM POSVIT GRATA MENS NEPOTVM.

Halt, passer-by, and if you are just, pay due respect to the former Chief of Justice. Here lies Frà Claude de Montagnac de Larfeulière, most observant Knight and Marshal of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem who, always meritorious regarding his Religion, devoted his particular interest to all of its affairs, never showed a distorted view of his sagacity and vigilance. He showed himself no less useful than necessary as the Procurator-General in France, and was prolonged as the Receptor of the Courts of Justice and the Common Treasury on account of his distinguished administration to a ripe age. He gained this remarkable approval especially because of his merit in enlarging and consolidating three Commanderies, rather than through acquisitions by favour. He stood out as an indefatigable and most fierce defender against usurpers in his royal consultations. In his last office, as a Marshal still proved himself a worthy man who had deputed for the Grand Master for some considerable time. Afterwards, he furnished the proof of his observance and endurance by an intolerable illness over a long period. Born 73 years before, he departed from this life on 1<sup>st</sup> September in the Year of the Lord 1661. The indebted dispositions of his grand nephews placed this slab of endearment.

## 405 - Dioniso Ceba

FRATRI DIONISIO CEBÀ,  
SACRI ORDINIS ADMIRATO  
QVOD TOTIVS VITÆ CVRSVM  
INNOCENTISSIMVM  
META SANCTIORI FIRMAVERIT  
5 POSITVM MONVMENTVM  
ANNO MDCLXI.

This monument was placed in the year 1661 for Frà Dioniso Ceba, Admiral of the Sacred Order. Since the course of his whole life was most unswerving he arrived at an even more pious end.

## 158 - Pompeo Rospigliosi

ILLVSTRISSIMVS DOMINVS  
FRATER POMPEVS ROSPILIOSIVS, CREMONÆ BAIVLIVVS,  
COMMENDARVM SANCTI SEPVLCRI FLORINTIÆ FORLIVIIQVE  
PRÆCEPTOR,  
5 AVITÆ NOBILITATIS SPLENDORE  
AC BELLICA STRENVITATE INTER  
COMMILITONES APPRIME CONSPICVVS,  
QVATVOR PRÆSCRIPTIS CVRSIBVS SIVE  
CARAVANIS DECEM ADDIDIT VLTRONEAS  
10 VSQVE DVM, IN MAHVMETTÆ EXPEDITIONE  
INTER PUGNANDUM CAPTUS, AD SUOS UBI  
REVERSVS, BIS VICES, SEMEL CAPITANEI,  
TRIREMI INCLITO LAVDIS NOMINE PRÆFVIT,  
VLTRO CERCINÆ ET CORINTO EXPVGNANDIS  
15 INTERFVIT, PER OMNES GRADVS SVI ORDINIS  
ASCENDENS AD SVPREMVM CVLMEN, MERITIS  
VITEQVE CANDORE PLVRIES ACCLAMATVS,  
AD CELVM ABIIT ANNO MDCLXII, DIE  
VII MENSIS IVNY, ETATIS SVÆ LXXX.

The most Illustrious Don Frà Pompeo Rospigliosi, Bailiff of Cremona, Receptor of the Commanderies of Sansepolcro at Florence and Forli, famous for the splendour of his ancestral nobility and especially among his comrades-in-arms for his brisk warlike qualities, for he added ten caravans, at his own initiative, to the four prescribed expeditions, until, in the campaign against Hammamet, he was captured in the midst of fighting but as soon as he returned to his comrades, he took the lead of a galley, twice as a Lieutenant, once as a Captain. With his renowned reputation of glory, he took part in the storming of Juzur Qarqannah and Corinth. Often highly praised for his merits and purity of life, going through all the ranks of his Order, to the very top, he departed to Heaven in the year 1662, on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of June, at the age of 80.

## 161 - Denis de Polastron la Hilière

VIATOR, QVIESCIT IN HOC LAPIDE FRATER DIONISIVS DE POLASTRON  
LAILLIERE, SACRÆ HOSPITALITATIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ EQVES, SANCTE LVCIE COMMENDATOR, MAGNVS TOLOSÆ PRIOR. PIETATEM,  
MANSVETVDINEM, CHARITATEM IN EGENOS, HVMILITATEM OMNEM CHRISTIANO APTAM HOMINI.  
VIRTVTVM ETIAM IN ANIMO MILITARI SIC ALVIT VT PACIS IN ILLO BELLIQUE INSIGNIA CERTARE  
DICERES: TRIREMEM AB HENRICO 4<sup>o</sup> PRIMVM, TVM A LVDOVICO 13<sup>o</sup>, CHRISTIANISSIMIS, COMENDA-  
5 TAM ANNOS DVODECIM, MELITENSEM DEINDE VNAM DVOS GVBERNAVIT, TVNC MASSILIA REDIENS,  
CVM DE NOCTE PERVADENSES SCOPVLOS NAVIGARET, SIC ADHESIT, VT FRVSTRA OMNI VI ET STVDIO EX-  
TRAHERETVR, PROSTRATVS ILLE IN GENVA, PERICVLVM DEPRACATVR QVARE, INVITO AC REFLANTE VENTO ET  
ADVERSVM PVGNANTE, AQVA TRIREMIS TANDEM SESE EXPLICAT, LIBVRNV VERO INCOLVMIS DEDVCTA, CVM AD  
ALTERVM LATVS INSPICIENDI AC REFICIENDI CAUSA INVERTERETVR, LAPIS, QVI INTRO SESE TABVLATA IM-  
10 MISERAT AC OMNEM SEMPER AQVÆ AT ADITVM PROHIBVERAT, QVASI DEFVNCTVS OFFICIO, SPONTE NEC SINE  
OMNIVM STVPORE, DEHISCENS, COLLAPSVS EST. ANNO 1623, AD VRBANVM 8<sup>o</sup> AB EMINENTISSIMO PAVLA ORATOR MIS-  
SVS EST, TVM POSTEA EIDEM PAVLE MAGISTER PALATIJ ADFVIT, DEINCEPS, IN CONVENTV, VBIQVE ET  
FORIS, AD MAXIMA SEMPER NEGOTIA APPLICATVS, VIXIT. AB EMINENTISSIMO LASCARO PRO MAGISTER, VNA CVM  
MAGNVS COMMENDATOR ESSET, CONSTITVTVS FVIT, QVAM VLTIMAM PERSONAM PER ANNOS  
15 DECEN EA CVRA ET LABORE, STVDIO ET ZELO EGIT, VT ACCEPTAM MVTVO IN GALLIA,  
ITALIA AC ROME, PRESERTIM ET GENVÆ, PECVNIAM FELICITER EXOLVERIT, QVE PECVNIA CON-  
TRA ERAT THVRCAS COMPARATA, QVI AD ANNVM 1643 TOTI RELIGIONI EXITIVM MINITABANTVR,  
VT QVANTVM FVERIT SEMPER COMMODORVM SVORVM NEGLIGENS, PVPLICORVM VERO STV-  
DIOSVS, VEL HINC ARGVMENTARE QVOD DESTINATVM SIBI AC VERIVS PROPE IAM SVVM  
20 MAGNVM SANCTI ÆGIDIJ PRIORATVM NOTABILI ALIQUA REDITVVM PARTE MINVENDORVM PROPOSVERIT.  
QVID PLVRA? VLTIMO, PAREM VITÆ FINEM. SORTITVS SVI DESIDERIVM INGENS, TVM VERO  
MAGNVM SVARVM VIRTVTVM EXEMPLVM AC CHRISTIANE PIETATIS INCITAMENTVM  
TOTI CONVENTVI RELINQVIT, ET SANCTISSIME TRISTISSIME MORITVR MELITÆ  
DIE 1<sup>o</sup> MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS ANNI 1662, ÆTATIS ANNO 86.  
25 FRATER JOANNES DIONISIVS GABRIEL DE POLASTRON  
LAILLIERE, FVLCENSIS IN BRITANIA COMENDATOR, EX  
FRATRE NEPOS, PROPRIJS IMPENSIS HOC MONVMENTVM FECIT.  
REQVIESCAT IN PACE, AMEN.

Passer-by, under this stone rests Frà Denis de Polastron la Hilière, Knight of the Sacred Jerusalemite Hospitality, Commendator of Sainte Luce, Grand Prior of Toulouse. In his military heart he cherished piety, gentleness, charity towards the poor, his humility entirely suitable to a Christian gentleman, and even virtue in such a way that you might say that the principles of peace and war rivalled within him: He commanded a galley, entrusted to him first by Henry IV, then by Louis XIII, most Christian Kings, for twelve years, afterwards a Maltese galley for two. On his return from Marseilles in the latter occupation, when he was sailing through the night, he passed between projecting rocks. Jammed to such a degree that, despite all might and main, he was not able to pull the ship off. He went down on his knees and prayed to avert the danger, and although the hardly bearable wind was blowing contrarily and the sea was raging against them, at last the galley had disentangled itself and was relaunched undamaged towards Livorno, where it was turned on its side to be surveyed and repaired. A boulder, which had inserted itself into the boards and had prevented all the time water leaking through, fell out on its own, as though it had finished its duty, leaving every one stupefied. In the year 1623, he was sent by the Most Eminent De Paule as an envoy to Urban VIII, afterwards, he attended to the aforesaid De Paule as Great Chamberlain of the Palace. Next, he lived in the Convent and everywhere else abroad, always attached to the highest state of affairs. He was made his Lieutenant by the Most Eminent Lascaris, and at the same time Grand Commander. This final position he held for ten years with attention and effort, pursuit and zeal, such that he successfully repaid a sum of money, provided on loan from France, Italy and Rome, and especially from Genoa, which money had been collected for the defence against the Turks who, even up to the year 1643, were posing a threat of destruction to the whole Religion. Thus, while always neglecting his own interests, truly zealous for the interests of the Republic, he even demonstrated that the Grand Priory of St Gilles was destined for him and was already nearly his own in some manner as he had provided a substantial part of its revenues when these were in decline. What more? To conclude, his death was equal to his life, and he drew a huge regret for his lot, leaving behind to the whole Convent a great example of his virtues and an incentive for Christian compassion. He died most saintly, but most sadly, in Malta on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of September of the year 1662, in his 86<sup>th</sup> year. Frà Jean-Denis Gabriel de Polastron la Hilière, renowned Commendator in Britain, nephew on his brother's side, had this monumental inscription made at his own expense. May he rest in peace, Amen.



### 303 - Antonio Tancredi

ILLVSTRISSIMVS  
FRATER ANTONIVS TANCREDI SENENSIS,  
SANCTÆ TRINITATIS BAIVLIVATVS VENVSII  
5 PRIOR, EGREGIVS VIR, SPLEN-  
DIDE RELIGIOSVS, MAGNIFICE  
PIVS, GLADIVM BARBARORVM  
CÆDI, CRVCEM DIVINÆ  
GLORIÆ VOVIT.  
10 VRNÆ SILENTIO  
SIBI OPEM IMPLORANTI, NE-  
POTES GRATISSIMI LVCTV HOC  
MONVMENTVM POSVERE. PERENNEM NO-  
BILIS HOSPES VITAM EXORA  
15 ET, MORTEM VT NVMQVAM TIME-  
AS, SEMPER COGITA.  
OBIIT V OCTOBRIS MDCLXII,  
ÆTATIS LXVIII.

The Most Illustrious Frà Antonio Tancredi of Siena, Prior of the Bailiwick of Santa Trinità di Venosa, an illustrious man, splendidly devout, wonderfully pious, dedicated his sword to the onslaught of the Barbarians, his cross to the glory of Heaven.

Beseeching each other for solace at the stillness of the grave, his most grateful nephews placed this slab with grief. Noble visitor, gain eternal life by imploring prayers for your soul and always have this in mind, so that you never fear death. He died on the 5<sup>th</sup> of October 1662, at the age of 68.

## 129 - Juan Ximenez de Vedoja

XPICTOZ                      A                      Ω  
FRATER DOMINUS IOANNES XIMENEZ DE  
VEDOJÆ, ALCOLEÆ ET  
TUSINÆ COMMENDATOR ET MAGNUS  
5                      ORDINIS CANCELLARIUS,  
HOC JACET IN TUMULO. JACET  
CINIS, QUI SEMPER ARSIT  
PIETATIS ZELO, INCORRUPTUS  
IN JUDITIIS, PUTREDO JACET.  
10                      SISTE, VIATOR, ET INTUERE,  
EN AMICORUM LETITILÆ,  
HORROR DETESTANDUS,  
EN THEATRUM VIRTUTUM,  
SPECTACULUM VERMIUM,  
15                      EN PUTET,  
QUI SEMPER  
BONI NOMINIS SPIRAVIT ODOREM.  
MIRARIS! DISCE ET CUM  
DISCEDES, ORA.  
20                      OBIIT 1663, ÆTATIS 58,  
DIE XIII IANUARI.

FRATER DOMINUS IOANNES GALDIANO, BAJULIVUS ARMENIÆ,  
CONSOBRINIJS AMANTISSIMUS CUM LACRIMIS POSUIT.

Christ                      Alpha                      Omega

In this grave lies Frà Don Juan Ximenez de Vedoja, Commendator of Alcolea and Tusina and Great Chancellor of the Order. He lies in ashes, he who is forever burning with zeal of compassion, although uncorrupted in his judgements, he still lies here in decay. Halt, passer-by, and wonder. Behold! the joy of friends is a horror to be warded off. Behold! an exhibition of virtues, a spectacle of worms. Behold! he, who always breathed forth the essences of good repute, stinks. You are wondering, are you not! Learn, and when you walk away, pray. He died in 1663, at the age of 58, on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of January.

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Frà Don Juan Galdiano, Bailiff of Armenia, his most loving first cousin, placed this slab in tears.

### 301 - Antonio Alifia

5 FRATER DOMINVS ANTONIVS ALIFIA MESSANENSIS,  
SACRÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ RELIGIONIS  
EQVES, GENERIS NOBILITATE CONSPICVVS,  
CORPORIS ANIMIQUE DOTIBVS IN PAVCIS  
SVSPICIENDVS, DVM INTER MELITENSIS  
CLASSIS STRENVOS DVCES TRIREMI SVÆ  
FIDEI COMMISSÆ NAVITER IMPERARET,  
ANNVM AGENS VICESIMVM SEXTVM, DIEM  
CLAVSIT EXTREMVM ANNO DOMINI  
MDCLXIII, MENSE OCTOBRI.

Frà Don Antonio Alifia of Messina, Knight of the Sacred Religion of Jerusalem, illustrious by the nobility of his blood-lineage, especially admirable for the gifts of his body and soul. He belonged to the company of tireless Captains of the Maltese fleet, and while he was diligently in command of the galley, placed in his faithful hands, completed his last day during his 26<sup>th</sup> year in the month October in the Year of the Lord 1663.

## 196 - Raphael Cotoner

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ FRATRIS DOMINI RAPHAELIS COTONER,  
RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MAGNI MAGISTRI,  
MAIORICÆ PATRICII, AC PRIMVM BAIVLIVI.

5  
ARRAGONVM QVICVMQVE TERIS MELITENSE SACELVM  
SACRAQVE SIGNA VIDES SISTE VIATOR ITER,  
HIC ILLE EST PRIMVS COTONERA E STIRPE MAGISTER,  
HIC ILLE EST RAPHÆL, CONDITVS ANTE DIEM,  
10 TALIS ERAT CERVIX MELITENSI DIGNA CORONA,  
TALE FVIT BELLO CONSILIISQVE CAPVT,  
CVRA, FIDES, PIETAS, GENIVM, PRVDENTIA, ROBVR,  
TOT DEDERANT VITÆ PIGNORA CARA SVÆ  
VT, DVM CÆLESTES CITIVS RAPERETVR AD ARCES,  
15 ORDINIS HÆC FVERIT MORS PROPERATA DOLOR,  
QVI NE MVTATAS REGNI SENTIRET HABENAS,  
GERMANO RERVVM FRÆNA REGENDA DEDIT.  
CÆTERA NE QVÆRAS, PRIMVS DE STIRPE SECVNDVM  
PROMERVIT. SATIS HOC, PERGE, VIATOR, ITER.  
20 OBIIT ANNO MDCLXIII, DIE XX OCTOBRIS, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXIII,  
MAGISTERII III ET VII MENSES.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the eternal memory of Frà Don Raphael Cotoñer, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Religion, nobleman from Majorca, and foremost Bailiff.

Eulogy:

Passer-by, whoever you are halt your journey, you are stepping into the Maltese Chapel of Aragon and you are seeing its sacred monuments. Here he is, the first Grand Master of the Cotonera lineage, here he is, Raphael, established Grand Master ahead of time, such an excellent brow worthy of the Maltese crown, such an excellent mind for war and counsel, his care, trust, observance, talent, prudence, strength had given so much precious assurance to life so that, when he was seized so early to the Heavenly heights, his hastened death had caused grief to the Order. He, who did not consider it right that the reins of dominion should change hands, entrusted the rule of sovereignty to his brother, do not seek the others, the first of the lineage paved the way for the second. This is enough passer-by, go on your way. He died in the year 1663, on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of October, at the age of 63, Grand Master for three years and seven months.

### 136 - Giovanni Francesco de Ricasoli

DEO EXERCITVVM.  
FRATER IOANNES FRANCISCVS DE RICASOLIS,  
PERCEPTOR COMMENDATARLÆ  
SANCTI MAGNI DE GRADVLO,  
5 SANCTI IOANNIS DE BETTONA ET  
SANCTI SEPVLCRI DE FLORENTIA,  
HOC TVMVLVM  
VIVENS POSVIT  
10 ANNO DOMINI MDCLXIII.

To the God of armies.

Frà Giovanni Francesco de Ricasoli, Receptor of the Commanderies of San Maggiore of Gradulo, San Giovanni of Bettona and Sansepolcro of Florence, placed, while alive, this grave in the Year of the Lord 1664.

### 375 - Louis du Mesnil de Simon de Maupas

BONO MORS BONA.  
HIC IACET RESVRGENDVS FRATER LVDOVICVS  
DV MESNIL SIMON DE MAVPAS, VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ AL-  
5 VERNLÆ COMMENDATARLÆ DES BORDES COMMENDATOR QVI OMNES VIR-  
TVTES QVÆ RELIGIOSO EQVITI CONVENIVNT PER  
TOTAM VITAM LAVDABILITER EXCOLVIT, ET MVL-  
TAS RELIGIONE SVA SIBI DEMANDATAS PROCVRATIO-  
NES SVMMA CVM PRVDENTIA AC PIETATE PEREGIT,  
10 POSTREMO DENIQVE JVRIVM COMMVNIS ÆRARIJ EXACTORIS  
MVNERE LVGDVNI PROBE FIDELITER PERFVNCTVS,  
CVM DIGNITATES ANTIANITATI ET MERITIS DEBI-  
TAS SECTABATVR, A DEO VOCANTE ET CORONAM  
JVSTITLÆ VIRTVTIBVS RETRIBVENTE, AD SVBLIMIO-  
15 REM DIGNITATEM EVECTVS EST DIE J2 MARTII  
ANNO DOMINI J664.  
ILLVSTRIS DOMINVS FRATER IACOBVS DE CORDON D'EVIEV, ORDINIS  
MARESCALLVS TRIVMQVE COMMENDATARIVS COMMENDARVM  
ET FRATER IOANNES IACOBVS DE VERDELIN, COMMENDATARIVS DE  
20 LACHAPPELLE ET DE PEIRVIS VLTII-  
MÆ VOLVNTATIS EXECVTORES HOC MONVMENTVM FIE-  
RI ET PONI CVRARE.

A good death for a good man.

Here lies, waiting for his Resurrection, Frà Louis du Mesnil de Simon of Maupas, Commendator of the Commandery of Les Bordes of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne who praiseworthily cultivated throughout his whole life all virtues which are appropriate for a Religious Knight and completed, with the greatest prudence and observance, numerous responsibilities entrusted to him by his Religion. Finally, he carried out, honestly and faithfully, the Office of Administrator of the Common Treasury in Lyons. When he was striving after dignities suitable to his seniority and merits, God called upon him for his reward, a crown for his virtues of justice, and was exalted to a higher dignity on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of March, in the Year of the Lord 1664. The Illustrious Don Frà. Jacques de Cordon d'Evieu, Marshall of the Order and Commendator of three Commanderies, and Frà. Jean Jacques de Verdeline, Commendator of Lachapelle and Peyruis, executors of his last will, arranged for this slab to be made and placed.

### 338 - Antoine de Puget Saint-Marc

VIRTUTE VIXIT,  
MEMORIA VIVIT,  
GLORIA VIVET.  
FRATER ANTONIVS DE PVGET SAINCT MARC,  
5 COMMENDATOR SANCTÆ AVLARLÆ ET BAILIVVS  
MANVASCHÆ, POST DIGNITATEM MAGNI  
COMMENDATarii ET ALIA PVBLICA MVNERA  
EGREGIE PERFVNCTA, VLTIMVM DIEM COMPLEVIT  
ÆTATIS SVÆ ANNO 84, DIE 26 MARTII 1664.  
10 COMMENDATOR FRATER RAPHAEL SPINOLA  
ET EQVES FRATER PETRVS DE DVRAND SARTOVS,  
E-CECVTORES SVÆ VLTIMÆ VOLVNTATIS,  
POSVERE.

He lived with virtue, he lives on in memory, he shall live in glory. Frà Antoine de Puget Saint-Marc, Commendator of Saint-Aulaire and Bailiff of Manosque, after he had excellently performed the dignity of Grand Commander and other public duties, ended his last day at the age of 84 on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of March 1664. Commendator Frà Raphaele Spinola and Chevalier Frà Pierre de Durand Sartous, executors of his

### 276 - Christian von Osterhausen

CORPVS HVMO TEGITVR,  
FAMA PER ORA VOLAT,  
SPIRITVS ASTRA TENET.  
FRATRIS CHRISTIANI OSTERHAUZEN,  
5 DACIÆ PRIORIS, INTER SAXONES FAMILIAS  
PERILLUSTRI VIRI, PISSIMI ET  
PRUDENTISSIMI QUI, POST OBITA  
PRÆCIPUA RELIGIONIS MUNERA,  
DUM VIXIT MORIENS,  
10 INGENTI SPOLIO AUXIT ÆRARIUM.  
OBIIT DIE 28 JUNIJ 1664, ÆTATIS 71.

His body is hidden in the ground, his reputation flies by word of mouth, his soul reaches Heaven. Frà Christian von Osterhausen Prior of Dacia, a man very illustrious among the Saxonian families, most pious and prudent who, after he eminently attended to the duties of his Religion, while he still lived, on his deathbed increased the Treasury with his vast inheritance. He died on 28<sup>th</sup> day of June 1664, at the age of 71.



### 293 - Cesar Lopez

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
COMMENDATOR FRATER DON CESAR LOPEZ,  
CLARIS ET VETVSTISSIMIS NATALIBVS ORTVS,  
INGENIO, VIRTUTE CLARIOR,  
5 CIVILIBVS NEGOTYS ET BELLICA VIRTUTE  
CLARISSIMVS,  
PVLVIS ET CINIS HIC IACET,  
QVI IN CVNCTIS MILITARIBVS OBSEQUIIS STRENVE  
REDDITIS RELIGIONE, MAIORVM SVORVM AMPLITVDINEM  
10 ADEQVAVIT, SVPERAVIT  
NEGOTIIS FVNCTIS, PRO QVIBVS PERTRACTANDIS  
AD CHRISTIANISSIMVM REGEM LVDOVICVM XIV  
SE CONTVLIT ALIISQVE EGREGIE PERFVNCTIS,  
ÆTERNVM NOMEN ET FAMA ADEPTVS FVIT,  
15 SED TANDEM ELATVS AD AMPLIOREM  
COMVNIS ÆRARII SECRETARII GRADVM.  
NON SINE COMILITONVM ET TOTIVS  
POPVLI MÆRORE,  
DIEM SVVM CLAUSIT EXTREMVM ANNO MDCLXV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty.

Here lies as dust and ashes Commendator Frà Don Cesar Lopez, descendant from famous and very ancient lineages, more famous for his innate qualities and virtue, most famous for his public duties and warlike prowess, who, when he vigorously provided his services in all military disciplines for the Religion, not only reached but also surpassed the level of his ancestors' greatness through his achievements, according to which past performance he became a councillor to the Most Christian King Louis XIV, and after he excellently carried out other offices obtained an everlasting name and reputation, but also, in his last office, elevated to the very distinguished position of Secretary of the Common Treasury. Not without the bereavement of his comrades-in-arms and the whole populace, he ended his last day in the year 1665.

### 398 - Pierre de Veure

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET FRATER PETRVS DE VEVRE  
QVI, PRÆFECTVRAM VNIVS  
TRIREMIS GERENS ANTEQVAM  
5 NAVIGATIONIS SVÆ TERMINVM  
ATTIGISSET, ÆTERNITATIS POSITVM  
APPVLIT 4 MARTII,  
1665.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Pierre de Veure who, while holding the Captaincy of one galley, sooner than he would have arrived at his navigation's landfall moored at the port of eternity on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1665.

### 383 - Enrico de Rocafull

FIDES

SPES

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SISTE, VIATOR, ET ORA,  
HIC IACET FRATER DOMINVS ENRICVS DE ROCAFVLL,  
5      BAIVLIVVS CASPII ET COMMENDATOR TORRENTIS,  
         AZCO, QVI SANVS RELIGIONI SVÆ NON MINVS  
         ARMIS QVAM INTEGERRIMIS CONSILIIS INFIRMVS  
         PROFVIT ET OPTIMAM VITAM  
         IN QVA PIISSIMI RELIGIOSI ET  
10      STRENI MILITIS PARTES IMPLEVERAT  
         MORTE PIISSIMA CORONAVIT  
         DIE XI MAII ANNO ÆTATIS LX.  
  
FRATER DOMINVS RAJMVNDVS PERELLOS  
ROCAFVLL, COMMENDATARIVS  
15      DE CASTELLO, AVVNCVLO  
         BENEFICIENTISSIMO  
         MONVMENTVM POSVIT MDCLXV.

Faith

Hope

To God, Supreme and Almighty.

Stop, passer-by, and pray, for here lies Frà Don Enrico de Rocafull, Bailiff of Caspe and Commendator of Torrent, Ascó. He was beneficial to his Order when sound and not less with arms than with most sound advice. When fragile, he crowned the prime of his life, in which he had accomplished the tasks of a most pious Religious and strenuous soldier, with a most pious death on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of May, at the 60<sup>th</sup> year of his age.

Frà Don Ramon Perellos Rocafull, Commendator of Castellote placed this slab for his most beneficent maternal uncle in 1665.

### 133 - Nicolas de Navinau la Durandière

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER NICOLAUS DE NAVINAV LA DVRANDIERE,  
IN CASTELLANI OFFICIO ÆQVISSIMVS EQVES,  
MIRE IVSTITIAM COLVIT  
5 ET,  
PRÆTORIÆ NAVIS CAPITANEVS DESIGNATVS,  
AD ÆTERNÆ IVSTITIÆ TRIBVNAL  
CONVOLAVIT.  
HOC AMICITIÆ ET DOLORIS MONVMENTVM  
10 COMMENDATARIVS FRATER EVSTACHIVS D'AUVERNE PROPRIA PECVNIA POSVIT,  
ANNO MDCLXVI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Frà Nicolas de Navinau la Durandière, as a most unprejudiced Knight in the Court of the Castellania remarkably fostered justice and as the Captain designate of the Flagship shot to the height of eternal justice. Commendator Frà Eustache d'Averne placed at his own expense this monument of friendship and sorrow in the year 1666.

### 333 - René le Vexel du Tertre

SEPVLCRI TARTARO INCLVSVM CÆLO  
RENATVM QVIS DVBITET?. FRATREM RENATVM  
LE VEXEL DV TERTRE QVEM, MORVM CANDOR  
ET IN AMICOS PROFVSIO VEL INVIDIS RE-  
5 DDIDERE COMMENDABILEM. IS PRÆCEP-  
TORIAM DE VILLEGAST POTITVS RECEPTORISQVE  
MVNVS IN AQVITANIENSI PRIORATV ADÆPTVS,  
ORDINIS TOTIVS SERVANDIS GAZIS FVIT QVA-  
NDOQVE DEPVSTATVS, POSTREMO MAGNI HOS-  
10 PITALARII DIGNITATEM CONSECVTVS, AL-  
TIORA PETENS, FATO CESSIT ÆTATIS  
SVÆ LXXVI, ANNO DOMINI MDCLXVI.

Is there anyone who would doubt that René is still enclosed in the infernal abode beneath this sepulchre? Frà René le Vexel du Tertre whom the agreeableness of his character and generosity towards friends rendered him praiseworthy, even to the envious. He acquired the Commandery of Villegast and gained the office of Receptor in the Priory of Aquitaine, was assigned the audit, time after time, of the treasuries of the whole Order, finally, obtained the dignity of Grand Hospitaller. While seeking higher aspirations, he yielded to fate at the age of 76, in the Year of the Lord 1666.

### 314 - Giovanni Gerolamo Salvago

A                      XPICTOZ                      Ω  
SISTE ET TVMVLATAM HIC LVGE. QVISQVIS  
MAGNI ET TER OPTIMI EQVITIS IDEAM QVÆRIS,  
EX SERENISSIMA GENVENSIVM PRINCIPE  
5 NOBILITATE. INSIGNIS HIC IACET SACRI HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS  
CVLTOR, MORVM SANCTITATE CONSPICVVS,  
FRATER IOANNES HIERONYMVS SALVAGO VENVSLE PRIOR  
QVI, TOTO EIVS FERE VITÆ SPATIO RELIGIONI  
ADDICTVS, PRÆCIPVIS TRIERARCHÆ,  
10 TYRONVM MAGISTRI, ARCHITHALASSI  
THESAVRI DOMINI, ARMAMENTI PRÆSIDIS,  
IVDICIORVM CAVSSIS DELEGATI AC  
EXTRVENDORVM MVNITIONVM PRÆFECTI  
BENE FVNCTVS MVNERIBVS, SVMMA PROMERITVS  
15 EX PAVCIS QVOS HABVIT QVÆSTVOSIS ANNIS,  
CONSTRVCTO ITALIS ARMAMENTARIO AC  
SVPRA XXX ARGENTEURVM MILIA COLLECTIS, PAVCA  
AD ANIMÆ SVFFRAGIVM, NIL CONSANGVINEIS  
RELINQVENS, INGENTEM IN RELIGIONEM AMOREM  
20 CONTESTATVS, VICTVRVS PER GLORIAM,  
OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO ANNO MDCLVI, IIII NONAS APRILIS  
SEMPITERNO EIVS NOMINI GENERALES EQVITES MONVMENTVM POSVERE.\*

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

Stop and mourn for the virtue buried here. Whoever you are, meditating over the prime example of a great and very excellent Knight, from the most serene, foremost nobility of the Genoans. Here lies a distinguished manorial administrator of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, famous for the moral purity of his character, Frà Giovanni Gerolamo Salvago, Prior of Venosa, who, dedicated to the Religion for almost his whole life span, when he performed capably the tasks of Captain of a galley, Master of the recruits, Governor of the Naval Treasury, Commander of the artillery, Delegate of legal proceedings and Commissioner of Fortifications. He gained the most from the few useful years he had in administration constructing the Arsenal for the Italians and collecting over 30,000 silver pieces, while leaving behind a little for a prayer for his soul, nothing for his kindred, proved his huge affection for his Religion in order to live on through its glory. He died in the Lord in the year 1666, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April. All Knights placed this slab for his everlasting name.

### 343 - Horace Blacas d'Aups

FRATER HORATIVS BLACAS D'AVPS HOC CONDITVR MARMORE,  
BELLICA VIRTUTE CHOCLES ALTER. NVLLA NON IN HOSTES  
EIVS IVVENTA PENDENTE FORIS, DOMIQUE INSTRVCTA EXPEDITIONE,  
IN QVA EXIMIA NON EDIDERIT FORTITVDINIS FACINORA,  
5 SED ILLVD IN PRIMIS ADMIRANDVM  
QVOD MARTIALI GENIO INSIGNEM ANIMI COMITATEM  
MORVMQVE FACILITATEM RARO EXEMPLO ADIVNXERIT,  
HINC QVAM HOSTIBVS PERTIMENDVS  
TAM SVIS DILIGENDVS EXTITIT HÆROS  
10 QVI, TANDEM MASSILIENSEM PRÆCEPTORIAM THOLOSANVMQVE  
PRIORATVM POTITVS, NON INGLORIVS OBIIT DIE IX SEPTEMBRIS,  
ANNI DOMINI MDCLXVI, ÆTATIS SVÆ ANNOS LXXVI.

Frà Horace Blacas d'Aups is concealed by this marble, a second Cocles for his warlike virtue. Not a moment of his youth was lost in the fight against the enemy abroad, and at home there was no expedition equipped in which he did not perform excellent deeds of courage, yet this is especially admirable since he joined his martial talent with a remarkable affability of mind and courteousness of character, a rare exemplar indeed! Hence, he stood out as a hero feared as greatly by the enemy as esteemed by his own who in his last office obtained the Receptory of Marseilles and the Priory of Toulouse. He died not less humble on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of September in the Year of the Lord 1666, at the age of 76.

### 163 - Charles de Fay Gerlande

FERAX HÆROVM ÆTAS HVNC QVOQVE PRODVXIT,  
FRATREM CAROLVM DE FAY GERLANDE, LVGDVNI BAIVLIVVM,  
QVEM VEL EX RVGIENTIS STEMMATIS ICONE GENEROSVM AGNOSCES.  
IS, OCTO PERACTIS IN HOSTES ITINERIBVS, ARDVAS INTER EXPEDITIONES  
ORDINIS VEXILVM PLVRIES DEFERRE COOPTATVS,  
5 NON IMPARI EXPECTATIONE PROVINCIAM EST AGGRESSVS.  
POSTREMO, ÆRARY PRÆPOSITVRAM ALIAQVE PRIMARIA EXERCITA MVNIA  
MAGISTERY, ITEM VICARIAM, ETIAM MAGNO MAGISTRO ABSENTE EGREGIE FVNCTVS.  
SVPREMVM ORDINIS APICEM PROXIME, NEC SEMEL, ATINGENTEM,  
MORS INVIDA HOC CONDIDIT TVMVLO  
10 XXIII DECEMBRIS 1666, ÆTATIS SVE 72.

TANTO ET APPRIME BENEFICO AVVNCVLO  
FRATER LVDOVICVS, NEPOS, CELLES ET VILLE FRANCIE PRÆCEPTOR,  
VT FILIVS LVGENS POSVIT.

The fruitful age of illustrious men also brought forth this man, Frà Charles de Fay Gerlande, Bailiff of Lyons, whom you will acknowledge as noble in particular from the image of roaring lions on his coat of arms. After he had gone through eight campaigns against the enemy, often chosen to bear the standard of the Order in demanding expeditions, not contrary to expectation, he carried out this duty, afterwards, he excellently fulfilled the governance of the Treasury and administered other distinguished duties of the Magistracy, also as its substitute, even in the absence of a Grand Master. Envious Death buried him who arrived very near, however briefly but not once, at the highest pinnacle of the Order, in this grave on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1666, at the age of 72.

For such a great and most kind paternal uncle, Frà Louis, his nephew, Receptor at Celles and Villefranche, placed this slab while mourning as a son.

## 7 - Joachim de Challemaison

EXPECTO TE

ILLVSTRISSIMVS DOMINVS  
FRATER IOACHIMVS CHALLEMAISON,  
MOREÆ BAIVLIVVS NEC NON ET  
5 COVLOVRS COMMENDATARIVS, HIC  
RESVRRECTIONEM EXPECTAT A DIE  
NONA NOVEMBRIS 1667.  
ORATE PRO ANIMA EIVS.

ORA PRO TE, ORANDO PRO ME

I am awaiting You

The most distinguished Don Frà Joachim Challemaison, Bailiff of the Morea and also Commendator of Coulours, is here awaiting his resurrection since the 9<sup>th</sup> day of November 1667. Pray for his soul.

Pray for yourself, by praying for me

## 2 - Tommaso Accariggi

FRATRI THOMÆ ACCARISIO SENENSI,  
HYEROSOLIMITANO EQVITI QVI, IN PRÆTORIA EX SVÆ  
RELIGIONIS TRIREMIBVS CAPITANEVS DESIGNATVS,  
DVM MELITAM APPELLERET, AD PACHINVM IN TVRCARVM  
5 NAVEM SOLLICITE CONSCENDENS ET VICTORIAM  
CVRANS, VVLNERE CONFOSSVS. VIRILITER  
AC PIE VT VIXERAT INTERYT  
ANNO DOMINI 1668,  
DIE 29 JANVARY,  
10 ÆTATIS VERO SVÆ 26,  
FRATER CLEMENS ACCARISIVS, BAIVLIVVS ET EARVN-  
DEM TRIREMIVM GENERALIS CAPITANEVS,  
FRATRIS FILIO MOERENS POSVIT ANNO EODEM.

For Frà Tommaso Accariggi of Siena, Knight of Jerusalem, who, the Captain designate on the Flagship of his Religion's galleys, on his course towards Malta, apprehensively closed in on a Turkish ship and secured the victory off Pachino, in which action he was wounded fatally. He died as courageously and piously as he had lived in the Year of the Lord 1668, on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of January, just 26 years old. Frà Clemente Accariggi, Bailiff, and Captain-General of the aforesaid galleys, mourning over the son of his brother, placed this slab in the same year.



## 292 - Francesco Sylos

FRATER FRANCISCVS SYLOS,  
CVIVS BRACHIVM VNA CVM PECTORE SAVCIATVM A TVRCA,  
INVICTE CHRISTIANVM INSONVIT.  
PANORMI ET AGRIGENTI COMMENDATOR, TRIREMIS DVX,  
5 PRO-REGE AD SICILVM ORATOR, MAGISTERIO PALATY PRÆFECTVS,  
HOC MVNERE HVC TANDEM DECREVIT  
AVRVM QVO GEMINVM INSIGNIVIT SACELLVM.  
RAPAX VEL CVM SACRVM SACRIS  
ABRIPVIT, ORBI EXCEPTVS, TEMPLO DONAVIT CÆLO  
10 KALENDIS JVLY, ANNO DOMINI MDCLXVIII, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXVIII.

Frà Francesco Sylos, when his arm was cut off up to the chest by a Turk, roared invincibly that he was a Christian. Commendator of Palermo and Agrigento, Captain of a galley, Ambassador to the Viceroy in Sicily, Great Chamberlain of the Palace, here in his last office, he decided to use gold for the decoration of two chapels. When Death, rapacious indeed, had snatched this sacrifice from Mass, Francesco, taken out from this world, transferred his temple to Heaven, on the 1<sup>st</sup> July, in the Year of the Lord 1668, at the age of 68.

## 137 - Lucas Bueno

SACRAE RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANAE  
HIC DECOR, HIC DOLOR.  
ILLVSTRISSIMVS DOMINVS DON FRATER LVCAS BVENO ARAGONENSIS,  
EX PRO-VICE-CANCELLARIO, MAJORIS PRIOR ECCLESIAE,  
5 Ad Serenissimum Principem DOMINUM DON Ioannem de AUSTRIA in SICILIA Legatus,  
ARCHIEPISCOPVS ROSANUS ELECTVS THESSALONICENSIVM CIVIVM  
EPISCOPVS MELITENSIS INSTITVTVS EST.  
HOS NON QVÆSIVIT HONORES, SED MERVIT,  
CVI NON PLACVIT VITIO,  
10 RELIGIOSVS ADEO, VT VEL CINERES SVOS  
IVSSERIT ESSE RELIGIOSOS.  
OBIIT ANNO DOMINI 1668, DIE 7 SEPTEMBRIS, ÆTATIS ANNOS LXIX.

Here lies the grace, here lies the grief of the Sacred Jerusalemite Religion. The Most Illustrious Lord Don Frà Lucas Bueno from Aragon, both intimate counsellor and legal advisor to the Most Eminent Grand Master, from the position of Pro-Vice-Chancellor he became the Prior of this Conventual church, envoy to the Most Serene Prince Lord Don Johann of Austria in Sicily, chosen as Archbishop of Rosas and of the people of Thessaloniki, and was inaugurated as Bishop of Malta. These honours he did not request but deserved, upon which favour he would not have agreed, as he was a Religious to such a degree that he even ordered his remains to be blessed. He died in the Year of the Lord 1668, on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of September, at the age of 69.

### 157 - Flaminio Balbiano

HIC IN CHRISTOS QUIESCIT  
FRATER FLAMINIUS BALBIANUS,  
MAGNUS PRIOR MESSANÆ,  
CVIVS ELOGIVM ÆRE INSCVLPTVM  
5 EX PROXIMO PARIETE  
IN ALIVM PROPE SACELLVM SANCTISSIMI CRVCIFIXI  
HVIVS TEMPLI  
TRANSLATVM FVIT ANNO  
MDCCCXCI.

Here rests in Christ Frà Flaminio Balbiano, Grand Prior of Messina, whose inscription, engraved in bronze, was transferred from the neighbouring wall to another wall close to the chapel of the Most Holy Crucifix of this church in the year 1891.

### 227 - Flaminio Balbiano

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VIXI DIV NON MIHI, SED ALIIS  
QVIBVS, NE VITAM INGLORIUS EXIGEREM,  
NVLIVM VITÆ MILITARIS PERICVLVM COMISI,  
5 SED OMNES EIVSDEM GRADVS ADPRIMO VSQVE ADVLTVM EXPERTVS,  
NEC SINE VINERE  
IN BELGIO, IN INSVBRIA, IN SABAVDIA,  
ARCIVM NICIENSIS, ASTENSIS IMPERIA MODERATVM,  
AD SACROS ORDINIS MEI LARES REVERTI, DIDICIT INVIDIA  
10 HIC, TRIREMIVM PRÆFECTVS, LABORANTI CRETENSI REGNO ADFVI,  
HAVD TEMPORE INOPPORTVNO,  
CONSIPIO NOSTRO AC OPERA, EXTERIVS PROPVGNACVLVM OBSESSÆ METROPOLIS  
OPPVGNANTES THRACES AC POSSIDENTES DETVRBAVI,  
ET LANGVENTEM IN PRÆSIDIO VIRTVTVM EXCITAVI, QVÆ IN VNA CIVITATE  
15 SPEM TOTIVS REGNI DEFICIENTEM SVSTENTABAT.  
GRATISSIMO DEIN REI PVBLICÆ VENETÆ SANCTO TORQVE AVREA DONATVS,  
IAM DECIMVM SEXTVM LVSTRVM INGRESSVS,  
POST ADMIRATVS DIGNITATEM, MAGNO PRIORATV MESSANÆ DECORATVS,  
AC SEDE VACANTE MAGISTERII LOCVMTENENS COMCLAMATVS,  
20 ECCLESIVM CVLTVI INDVLGENS, VT RECTE VIVEREM,  
SEPVLCHRV M VIVENS PARAVI.  
FRATER FLAMINIUS BALBIANVS, MAGNUS PRIOR MESSANÆ,  
OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXIX, ÆTATIS XCV, RELIGIONIS LXXVI.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

I lived long, not for myself, but for others for whom, in case I should finish my life ingloriously, I did not turn my back to any danger of military life, on the contrary, I experienced all stages of such life, from the very first day up to my adulthood, and not without living in Belgium, in Insubria, in Savoy when I held sway over the strongholds of Nice and Asti. I returned to my home, the Sacred Order, and Envy became acquainted with the fact that I, as the Captain-General of the galleys, came to the rescue, at a not importune moment too, of the Cretan Sovereignty in peril. With my word and deed, I cast down the Turks attacking and occupying the outer bulwark of the besieged capital, and I made an appeal to the Cretan courage when it was languishing in the stronghold, which courage in one city was keeping alive the waning hope of the whole Sovereignty. Afterwards, I was presented with the Golden Wreath by the most grateful Venerable Doge of the Venetian Republic. Already having reached my 80<sup>th</sup> year, I was decorated, following the rank of Admiral, with the Grand Priorship of Messina and appointed as the Lieutenant of the Magistracy should the Seat become vacant. While indulging in the care of churches, in order to live duly, I prepared my sepulchre while alive. Frà Flaminio Balbiano, Grand Prior of Messina, died in the Year of the Lord 1669, at the age of 95, of which 76 as a Religious.

## 291 - Nicolas de Cullan Saint-Ouen

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET FRATER NICOLAS DE CVLAN SAINT-OVEN,  
COMMENDATARIVS DE LOVVIERS ET VAVMYON,  
QVI MVNVS INFIRMARY ET PRÆTORIÆ  
5 NAVIS DVCIS LAVDABILITER EXERCVIT.  
ANNVM AGENS LXVI, XV FEBRUARII 1669  
AD IMMORTALITATEM TRANSMIGRAVIT.  
  
FRATRES HVBERTVS ET NICOLAS DE CVLAN,  
NEPOTES, AVVNCVLO BENE MERITO  
10 HOC DOLORIS MONVMENTVM POSVERVNT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Here lies Frà Nicolas de Cullan Saint-Ouen, Commendator of Louvier and Vaumion, who praiseworthy had fulfilled the office of Governor of the Infirmary and Captain of the Flagship. He crossed over to immortality on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1669, reaching the age of 65. Frati Hubert and Nicolas, nephews, placed this monument of sorrow for their meritorious paternal uncle.

## 306 - Cappone Capponi

A XPICTOC Ω  
FRATRI CAPPONIO CAPPONI FLORENTINO,  
COMMENDATARIO AGRIGENTI,  
COMMENDATARIO MVGNANI,  
5 MAGNO ITALLÆ ADMIRATO,  
VIRO SPECTATÆ VIRTVTIS BELLI DOMIQVE,  
INTEGRO, COMI, RELIGIOSO,  
PETRVS ET VINCENTIVS CAPPONI AVVNCVLO BENE MERENTI.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXIII, OBIIT XIII KALENDAS IVNII MDCLXIX.

Alpha Christ Omega  
For Frà Cappone Capponi, a Florentine, Commendator of Agrigento, Commendator of Mugnano del Cardinale, Grand Admiral of Italy, a man of tested virtues at war and at home, unblemished, affable, pious. Pietro and Vincenzo Capponi, dedicated to their meritorious maternal uncle. He lived for 63 years, he died on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May 1669.

### 310 - Ottaviano Bandinelli

IN DOMINO DECESSIT FELICITER  
OCTAVIANVS BANDI-  
NELLI, ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI  
MAGNVS BAIVLIVS AQVILÆ,  
5 COMMENDATOR DE CERRO, DE PONTE,  
PARMENI, SENENSIS & LVCENSIS,  
IN BELLO PRO FIDE  
VVLNERATA  
DEXTRA,  
MVLTIS  
10 & HONORIS & PIETATIS  
NEGOTIIS DEXTER EGESTIS  
QVOD VIVENTIBVS COMMVNITER  
SVPEREST VNVM, MORTEM  
VITÆ MERITIS CLARVS  
15 PERFECIT  
MDCLXXI.

He died happily in the Lord  
Ottaviano Bandinelli, Grand Bailiff of the Jerusalemite Order in Aquila, Commendator of Cerro, Ponti, Parma, Siena and Lucca. Although he had wounded his right hand in the war in support of his faith, nonetheless he was rightful in fulfilling numerous works of honour and observance, because one thing only commonly survives the living, reputably, he brought to perfection his death on his life's merits in 1671.

### 189 - Miguel Cortes

SUB HOC LAPIDE HUMATUR FRATER DOMINUS MICHÆL CORTES  
QUEM, ALFAMBRA OPTIME DE SE MERITUM  
COMMENDATOREM,  
ARAGONIA SOLERTISSIMUM NOVENNIO  
5 RECEPTOREM,  
VENERABILIS HIC CONVENTUS INTEGERRIMUM  
MAGNARUM RERUM ARBITRUM,  
OMNIS HIEROSOLIMITANA RELIGIO  
VERE MAGNUM CONSERVATOREM  
10 SPECTANDUM POSTERITATI PRÆBENT.  
MIGRAVIT AD IMMORTALITATEM VII SEPTEMBRIS  
ANNI MDCLXXII, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXV.

Under this slab is buried Frà Don Miguel Cortes most meritorious Commendator of Alfambra, most dexterous Receptor of Aragon for nine years running, extremely principled judge of important matters here of the Venerable Convent, Grand Conservator, whom the whole Jerusalemite Religion approved as a suitable example for posterity. He crossed over to immortality on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September of the year 1672, at the age of 75.

## 170 - Claude de Blot Vivier

HIC REQUIESCIT  
FRATER CLAVDI DE BLOT VIVIER,  
COMMENDATOR D'AVLOIS QVI VIVIDAE  
PIETATIS VIVIS RADIX VIXIT, IN  
5 OCEANO REGIAE NAVIS FVIT  
LOCVM TENENS, DEINDE CAPITANEVS,  
IN RELIGIONE ORDINE JERUSALEM SIBI COMMISSA  
PRVDENTER ADIMPLEVIT, IN EXPEDITIONE  
GIGERIENSI IN AFFRICA DVX GENERALIS  
10 IN TERRA ELECTVS, FORTITER SE GESSIT.  
ANNVM TANDEM ÆTATIS SVÆ 73  
AGENS, E VIVIS EXCESSIT 4 OCTOBRIS,  
1672.

Here lies at rest Frà Claude de Blot Vivier, Commendator of Aulois who lived as an example of conscious piety for fellow men, at sea he was the 1st Lieutenant of the Royal Galley, afterwards Captain, carrying out discreetly those matters entrusted to him regarding the Religious Order of Jerusalem, on land, he bravely conducted himself as General Commander in the expedition to Jijeli in Africa. Finally, living to the age of 73, he withdrew from life on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1672.

## 298 - Gilbert del Bene

FRATER GILBERT DEL BENE, MOREÆ BAIVLIVVS,  
FRANCLÆ MAGNVS PRIOR DESIGNATVS,  
HIC  
HOSPITALARII DIGNITATEM, CLASSIS PRÆFECTVRAM,  
5 LEGATIONES AD PONTIFICEM MAXIMVM  
VITÆ INTEGRITATE DECORAVIT,  
CARVS PONTIFICI, ORDINI SVO VNIVERSO, REGI CHRISTIANISSIMO.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXVIII, DECESSV IDIBVS IANVARIIS MDCLXXIII.  
FRATER CÆSAR DE MIREMONT BERRIEVX, COMMENDATOR CABILONENS  
10 AFFINI CVM LACRIMIS POSVIT.

Frà Gilbert del Bene, Bailiff of the Morea, chosen as the Grand Prior of France, here decorated with the integrity of his life the dignity of Grand Hospitaller, the Captain-Generalship of the fleet, embassies to the Pope, dear to the Pontiff, his whole Order, the Most Christian King. He lived for 68 years, passing away on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1673. Frà César de Miremont Berrieux, Commendator of Chalon, placed this slab with grief for his kinsman.

## 120 - Henri de la Salle

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

Α

Ω

NOBILISSIMUS FRATER HENRIQUUS DELASALLE

VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ FRANCÆ

COMMENDATOR,

DE ESTRAPIGNIJ,

MOISIJ ET LOVVIERE

ADMINISTRATOR,

TRIBUS EMINENTISSIMIS MAGNIS MAGISTRIS

A SECRETIS FIDISSIMUS,

ELEMOSINIS EROGANDIS

ALIJSQUE PIETATIS

CURIS SEDULO VACANS,

UNA ET MUNERE

ET VITA FUNCTUS EST

DIE 28 IANUARIJ

ANNI 1673,

ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNOS 61.

EMINENTISSIMUS MAGNUS MAGISTER HIEROSOLYMITANORUM DOMINORUM FRATER

NICOLAVIS COTONER POSUIT.

Christ

Alpha

Omega

The Most Noble Frà Henri de la Salle, Commendator of the Venerable Tongue of France, Administrator of Estrapigny, Moisy and La Louvière, most faithful intimate counsellor of three Most Eminent Grand Masters, while he zealously made himself available for the disbursing of alms and for other works of piety, for which he paid with both his duty and his life at one and the same time on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of January of the year 1673, at the age of 61 years. His Eminence, the Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Lords, Frà Nicola Cotoner, placed this slab.



### 159- Jean-Jacques de Verdelin

SISTE ET LVGE VIATOR.  
FRATER IOANNES IACOBUS DE VERDELIN IACET HIC, STRENVVS CHRISTI MILES  
CENTIES HOSTIVM SANGVINE, SEPTIES SVO CRVENTATVS,  
COMMENDATOR CAPELLÆ ET DE PEIRVITS.  
5 ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXVI MAGNVS COMMENDATOR EXTITIT,  
CVIVS FACTA SI DIGNOVERIS, MAXIMVM ESSE DIXERIS.  
QVATER ARMAMENTARII PRÆFECTVM VIDIT MELITA,  
SEMEL ÆQVESTRIS MILITLÆ,  
10 IN ELECTIONE MAGNI MAGISTRI DE GESSAN ELECTOREM EQVITEM,  
TVRQVARVVM SÆPIVS IN EXCVRSIONE NAVALI DOMITOREM,  
DVCEM VTRIVSQVE MILITLÆ IN INSVLA GAVLI,  
TRIBVNVM LEGIONARIVM TEMPORE CITATIONIS,  
REPARATOREM MAGNIFICVM SACELLI SANCTI MICHAELIS,  
15 BENEFACTOREM EXIMIVM LINGVÆ PROVINCIÆ.  
IMMORTALITATIS AVIDVS, TROPHEVM MAGIS HOC  
SIBI TANDEM STATVIT QVAM SEPVLCVRVM.  
OBIIT ANNO MDCLXXIII, DIE XX APRILIS, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXXIII.  
FRATER MICHÆL DE VERDELIN, EXECVTOR TESTAMENTI,  
20 NEPOS VT FILIVS INTER LACHRIMAS HOC  
MONVMENTVM POSVIT.

Halt and mourn, passer-by. Here lies Frà Jean-Jacques de Verdelin, a strenuous soldier of Christ, stained on a hundred occasions with the blood of the enemy, on seven with his own, Commendator of Lachapelle and of Peyruis. He stood out as Grand Commander at the age of 76. If you will deem his achievements worthy, you will have confirmed him to be the greatest. Malta saw him four times as the Prefect of the Armoury, once Master Equerry, Knight-Elector in the election of Grand Master de Gessan, more often as a vanquisher of the Turks in naval expeditions, General of both militias on the island of Gozo, Magistrate of the legions in the period of his command, magnificent restorer of the shrine of Saint Michael, excellent benefactor of the Tongue of Provence. Desirous of immortality, he finally decided on this slab as his memorial of victory rather than a sepulchral monument. He died in the year 1673, on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of April, at the age of 83. Frà Michael de Verdelin, his nephew and executor of his last will, placed, as a son, this slab amidst tears.

## 180 - Charles de Cremaulx

PIJS, ADSISTE, PRECIBVS, VIATOR.  
IACET HIC FRATER CAROLVS DE CREMAVLX VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ ALVERNIE,  
MATISCONENSIS ET CHANONATENSIS COMMENDATOR,  
ALTERIVS QVONDAM FRATRI CAROLI, ORDINIS MARESCALLI,  
5 AD CLASSIS PRÆFECTVRAM CELEBERRIMI, NEPOS  
QVI  
AVITAM NOBILITATEM EQVESTRI DIGNITATE  
HANC FORTITVDINE AC PIETATE ILLVSTRAVIT,  
PRÆSTITIS SVO ORDINI MILITARIBVS OBSEQUIJS,  
10 GALLICÆ TRIREMIS PRÆFECTVRAM ADEPTVS,  
VBIQVE BELLICA NON MINVS VIRTUTE  
QVAM MORVM SVAVITATE EMICVIT.  
OBIJT DIE 26 DECEMBRIS ANNO DOMINI 1673.

FRATER HECTOR DE SAINT GEORGE, MONFERRANTIEM COMMENDATOR,  
15 AVVNCVLO DE SE OPTIME MERITO  
CVM LACRYMIS POSVIT.

Passer-by, stand by with pious prayers. Here lies Frà Charles de Cremaulx of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne, Commendator of Mâcon and Chantonay, nephew of the other, late Frà Charles, Marshal of the Order and most celebrated for his Captain-Generalship of the fleet, who embellished his ancestral nobility with equestrian dignity, the latter with valour and sense of duty. Distinguished for the military services for his Order, obtaining the Captaincy over a French galley, he was prominent without bounds by his military prowess no less than by the pleasantness of his character. He died on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of December in the Year of the Lord 1673.

Frà Hector de Saint George, Commendator of Clermont-Ferrand, placed in tears this slab for his most meritorious maternal uncle.

### 134 - Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon

TEGIT HIC LAPIS, VIATOR,  
ILLVSTRISSIMVM DOMINVM PAVLVM ANTONIVM DE ROBIN DE  
GRAVEZON, MAGNVM PRIOREM TOLOZANVM ET COMMENDATOREM  
SANCTI AVLARY MAGNVM ANTEA COMMENDATOREM, CVIVS VENERABERE  
5 CINERES, SI MORES AGNOVERIS ET VIRTVTES. OMNES  
REGNARVNT IN VIVO, OMNES LAMENTENTVR IN MORTVO. PIVS  
ERGA DEVM, PROFVSVS IN PAVPERES, RELIGIONI SVÆ AMANTISSIMVS  
FIDVSQVE MINISTER, TANTI VIRI VIRTVTI REVERITA IPSA PROPE  
MORS EST, DVM DISTVLIT VLTRA ANNVM LXXX FATALEM ICTVM,  
10 VT MAGNIFICVM PALATIVM PRIORI TOLOZANO ET FRATRIBVS  
CAPELLANIS DOMVM AMPLISSIMAM TOLOZÆ ERIGERET,  
MELIOREM IN COELO RECVPERATVRVS ET AMPLIOREM.  
OBIIT MELITÆ ANNO DOMINI 1674,  
DIE 10 MENSIS MARTII, ÆTATIS SVÆ.  
15 LXXXVII.

Passer-by, this slab covers the Most Illustrious Don Paule Antoine de Robin de Gravezon, Grand Prior of Toulouse, and Commendator of Saint-Aulaye before he was made Grand Commander, whose remains you will venerate when you have understood his character and his virtues, all which governed his life, let them now all be lamented in death; he was dutiful towards God, generous towards the poor, most devoted to his Religion and its faithful servant, Death itself was almost having respect for the virtue of so great a man, delaying the fated blow until after his eightieth year so that he could build a magnificent palace for the Prior of Toulouse and a most spacious house for the Brother Chaplains at Toulouse in order to receive a better and bigger home in Heaven. He died in Malta in the Year of the Lord 1674, on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of March, at the age of 87.

### 181 - Jean de la Baume de Foursat

XPICTOΣ  
HIC IACET FRATER IOANNES DE LA BAVME DE FOVRSAT,  
MAGNVS PRIOR ALVERNIE, COMMENDATOR DE CHARRIERES,  
QVEM DIV HABVIT MELITA PRÆFECTVM EQVITVM,  
5 RELIGIONIS MARESCALCHVM DIGNVMQVE  
IN REBVS MAXIMIS MINISTRVM,  
TANTA FVIT HVIUS VIRI FORTITVDO VT IPSAM  
MORTEM NE SVO QVIDEM DIGNATVS SIT METV  
CVM APVD SANCTAM MAVRAM PARI FORTITVDINE  
10 HOSTIBVS INFLIXIT VVLNERA AC IN SE PERTVLIT  
ANNO DOMINI. DE COELO RECTE SOLLICITVS,  
VECTIGALEM SE DEO SCIENS,  
DEAVRATVM HOC SACELLVM DEO ADORNAVIT,  
GLORIOSVM IN COELO TEMPLVM HABITVRVS  
15 ANNO DOMINI 1674, ÆTATIS SVÆ 72,  
DIE 13 MENSIS DECEMBRIS.

Christ.

Here lies Frà Jean de la Baume de Foursat, Grand Prior of Auvergne, Commendator of Charrières, whom Malta had for a long time as the Master Equerry, Marshal of the Religion and worthy mediator in most important affairs. So great was the courage of this man that he indeed disregarded his fear of Death when he, near Levkás, with equal valour, drew blood from the enemy and got wounded himself in that Year of the Lord. Rightly concerned about Heaven, perceiving that he should make a tribute to God, he embellished this gilded chapel for God in order to occupy the glorious temple in Heaven, in the Year of the Lord 1674, at the age of 72, on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of December.

## 218 - Francisco de Torres Pacheco y Cardenas

HIC REQUIESCENTI  
FRATRI DOMINO FRANCISCO DE TORRES  
PACHECO ET CARDENAS, EQVITI VENERANDÆ  
PRIORATVS CASTELLÆ, COMMENDATARIO DE PVER-  
5 TO MARIN QVI AD DIGNITATEM MAGNI CANCELLARII  
ET BAJVLIVVS NVEVEVILLAS  
MERITIS CLARISSIMVS PROMOTVS EST,  
MVLTIQSVE ALIJS OBSEQVIIS PIE AC STVDIOSE  
RELIGIONI PRÆSTITIS, ANNO MDCLXXV,  
10 IV FEBRVARI, FLEBILIS EMIGRAVIT, ET  
TRANQVILLITATE QVA VIXIT EADEM AD  
CÆLESTEM APPVLIT PORTVM, SVI  
DESIDERIO RELICTO.  
  
MAGNUS CANCELLARIUS  
15 FRATER DOMINUS LAURENTIUS MUGNOZ  
DE FIGUEREÀ, EJUS AMANTIS  
ET COMMENDATORIS DE BAZOZABAL  
MAUSOLEVM NON SINE  
FLÆTU EXTRUENDUM  
20 CURAVIT ANNO 1677,  
20 AUGUSTI.

Here is resting Frà. Don Francisco de Torres Pacheco y Cardenas, Knight of the Venerable Priory of Castille, Commendator of Portomarín who, most famous for his merits, was promoted to the dignity of Great Chancellor and Bailiff of Novillas, and after he had piously and zealously fulfilled many other duties for the Religion, accompanied by tears, he departed with the same tranquillity with which he had lived, in the year 1675, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February and he called at the Heavenly port, leaving behind regret for his absence.

The Great Chancellor, Frà. Don Lauren Mugnoz de Figuereà arranged, not without tears, to furnish this splendid sepulchre of his dear friend and Commendator of Bazozabal, in the year 1677, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August.

## 165 - Giovanni Deodati

FRATER IOANNES DEODATVS LVCENSIS,  
POSTQVAM PRÆCEPTORIAS SANCTÆ MARLÆ MAGDALENÆ,  
PARMENSIS, SANCTI MARCI DE ORVIETO ET SANCTÆ LVCÆ PERVSII,  
LAVDABILITER ADMINISTRVERIT SEMPERQVE STVDVERIT  
5 EQVESTREM VITAM CVM ÆQVITATIS LIMITIBVS DEFINIRE,  
PRIORATV VENETIARVM, POST MVLTA OBSEQVIA SVÆ  
RELIGIONI PRÆSTITA, FVIT DECORATVS TANDEM.  
HAVD IMMÉMOR IMMORTALITATIS, HOC VIVENS  
SIBI SEPVLCVRVM PARAVIT ANNO MDCLXIV,  
10 AGENS ETATIS SVE LXXXI.  
OBIIT DIE VII MENSIS APRILIS MDCLXXVI.

Frà Giovanni Deodati of Lucca, since he praiseworthy had administered the Commanderies of Santa Maria Maddalena of Parma, San Marco of Orvieto and San Luca of Perugia, and always made the effort to limit his Knightly life within the bounds of impartiality, after discharging many services for his Religion, his final office, was decorated with the Priory of Venice. By no means forgetful of immortality, he prepared, while alive, this sepulchre for himself in the year 1664, at the age of 81. He died on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of April 1676.

## 176 - René de Maisonseule

FRATER HECTOR DE CHARPIN GENETINES,  
PRÆCEPTOR DES BUGNETS,  
FRATER LUDOVICUS DES-ESCURES-LA-VIVERRE  
ET NOBILIS ANTONIUS DE FAY-LA-TOUR-MAUBOURG  
5 HOC AMICO BENE MERITO DOLORIS  
MONIMENTUM POSUERE.

A XPISTOZ Ω  
HIC CHRISTVM OPPERITVR FRATER RENATVS DE MAISONSEVLE,  
DVPLICATÆ PRÆCEPTORLÆ DIGNITATIS EQVES  
10 QVI VETEREM NOBILITATEM A MAIORIBVS TRADITAM,  
A REGE CHRISTIANISSIMO OB FORTIA FACTA REGIO STEMMATE DECRETAM,  
VIRTUTE PROPRIA LOCVPLETAVIT, AVXIT, AMPLIAVIT.  
NAM IN EO SEVERIOR VITÆ PROBITAS INFVIT,  
INTAMINATVS MORVM CANDOR, ILLIBATA FIDES,  
15 RECTI TENAX OBSERVANTIA ILLVM NON FICTA,  
IN DEVM PIETAS, NECESSITAS IN AMICOS NON FVCATA,  
INDISTINCTA IN OMNES ÆQVITAS  
INCOMPARABLEM REDDIDERE.  
SEMEL ET ITERVM TRIREMIS PRÆFECTVRA SVMMA CVM LAVDE  
20 PARI MAGNIFICENTIA STRENVE PERFVNCTVS EST,  
PRÆTORIANVS TERRA MARIQVE LEGATVS POLEMARCHI  
DIGNITATE, PROXIMVS ANNIS, MERITIS PROXIMIOR,  
IMPIGRE INSISTEBAT. SED MORS NIMIVM PRÆCEPS  
INCERTOS HONORES TRANSMVTAVIT, VITAM ERGO,  
25 QVA OB VARIOS PRO RELIGIONE SVSCEPTOS LABORES  
INQVIETVS VIXERAT MORTE QVA MORIVNTVR IVSTI  
TRANQVILISSIMA, CORONAVIT  
ANNO 1677, DIE OCTOBRIS 17, ÆTATIS SVÆ 48.

Frà Hector de Charpin-Genetines, Receptor of Bugnets, Frà Louis of Escures la-Viverre and the Noble Antoine de Fay La Tour Maubourg placed this monument of sorrow for a meritorious friend.

Alpha Christ Omega

Here Frà René de Maisonseule awaits Christ, a Knight in possession of a double Receptory who enriched, enlarged and strengthened the ancient nobility conveyed by his ancestors on account of their gallant achievements the Most Christian King decreed the Royal emblem on their coat of arms. Life's more serious worth was contained in him, his unstained purity of character, his undiminished loyalty, his tenacious observance of virtue not feigned, his piety towards God, his relationship towards friends not falsely coloured, his strict impartiality towards everyone rendered him incomparable. Twice in succession he energetically fulfilled the Captaincy of a galley, with the highest merit equal to his magnificence, the Order's ambassador extraordinary at land and sea was actively pursuing the dignity of Grand Master, close in seniority, but closer in merits. But Death suddenly changed these uncertain honours, and therefore crowned his life, in which he, owing to the range of works undertaken for his Religion, had lived a tireless man, with the calmest death, by which the just die, in the year 1677, on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of October, at the age of 48.



### 367 - Giovanni Minutillo

SISTE, VIATOR,  
PYSQVE PRÆCIBVS PIOS MANES ADIVVA  
FRATRIS IOANNIS MINVTILLI, EQVITIS NEAPOLITANI,  
VETERI NON MINVS PROSAPIA  
5 QVAM LONGOBARDIÆ PRIORATV ILLVSTRISSIMI,  
QVEM  
IVVENEM MARTIALIS ARDOR, VIRVM MIRA CONSTANTIA,  
SENEM EXIMIA RELIGIO SVpra ÆQVALES EXTVLIT,  
MORVM SVAVITAS, AMICIS MVNIFICENTIA PAVPERIBVS  
10 PROBITAS OMNIBVS SEMPER COMMENDAVIT,  
INSOLITVS IMPERTERRITI, ANIMI VIGOR  
AD MORTEM VSQVE ADMIRABILEM PRÆSTITIT.  
HANC QVIPPE INSTARE PERSENTIENS  
SENIO LICET MORBISQVE CONFECTVS,  
15 PEDES IN TEMPLVM AD SACRVM VIATICVM PROCESSIT,  
RELIGIOSVM DECERE OSTENDENS SACRIS OBIAM IRE,  
MILITEM STANTEM MORI.  
OBYT V IDVS NOVEMBRIS 1677,  
ÆTATIS 84.

Stop, passer-by, and with your devout prayers help the pious soul of Frà Giovanni Minutillo, a Neapolitan Knight, most illustrious no less for his ancient lineage than for the Priory of Lombardy, When he was young, his warlike prowess, when he was an adult, his admirable perseverance, when he was an senior, his extraordinary reverence raised him above his peers, the pleasantness of his character, generosity to friends, goodness to the poor always endeared him to everyone. The extra-ordinary force of his fearless mind continually showed him remarkable, up to his Death. Very much aware that this was imminent, although reduced by old age and illnesses, he dragged himself onto his feet and into church to receive his Last Sacrament, showing that a Religious ought to go to Mass and a soldier ought to die in his boots. He died on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1677, at the age of 84.

### 63 - Marcel de Gallèan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS MARCELLI GALLEANI CASTELLONOV  
CINERES VENERARE VIATOR.  
HIC NOBILITATE NOTUS NOTIOR VIRTUTIBUS,  
5 ADHUC ADOLESCENS TRIREMIS PROTIERARCHUS,  
IN DEPRÆDATIONE CLASSIS PIRATICÆ AD ROCCELLAM  
EXIMLÆ FORTITUDINIS SPECIMEN DEDIT.  
CREVIT MERITIS SUPRA ANNOS, DIGNITATIBUS INFRA MERITA,  
BIS TOLOSÆ RECEPTOR,  
10 SEMEL COTONERII PALATIJ PRÆFECTUS  
DONEC AD MAGNI COMMENDATORIS CULMEN EVECTUS,  
MAJOR HONORE HONORUM DECESSIT IN CORSO  
IV NONAS FEBRUARII MDCLXXVIII, ÆTATIS LXXII.  
FRATER IOANNES BAPTISTA GALLEANUS, COMMENDATOR CAVALLIERI,  
15 EX FRATRE NEPOS, PATRUO BENEFICENTISSIMO POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, pay homage to the remains of Frà Marcel de Gallèan of Châteauneuf. He was known for his nobility though better known for his virtues, still coming to maturity, as a Lieutenant of a galley, he gave an example of his extraordinary courage in plundering the pirate fleet near Roccella. He increased his seniority with the merits mentioned above, his merits with the offices mentioned below, he was twice Receptor of Toulouse, once Great Chamberlain of the Palace of Cotoner, elevated to the summit of Grand Commander, more distinguished with honour, always in the pursuit of honours until he died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1678, at the age of 72.

Frà Jean-Batiste de Gallèan, Knight Commendator, a nephew on his brother's side, placed this slab for a most meritorious uncle.

### 327 - Henri d'Estampes Vallancay

ET GESSIT ET MERUIT PAR QUOQUE MAIORIBUS

CLAUDIT EXIGUA HÆC URNA VIATOR,  
MAGNUM FRANCLÆ PRIOREM  
FRATREM HENRICUM DESTAMPES VALLANCAY,  
5 CUIUS ANTE VIRTUTES VIX ORBIS CEPIT,  
GENUS ILLUM AN GESTA MAIOREM TEGERINT DUBIUM,  
EFFUSA MAGIS COMITAS AN BENEFICENTIA EXTULERIT INCERTUM.  
AUREAM IUVENTAM MARS, VULNERA CAPTIVITATIS PROBAVERE,  
TRIEMIS, MOX NOSOCHOMII PRÆFECTURA ILLUSTRARUNT.  
10 HINC VENETA ET ROMANA PRO SUO ORDINE LEGATIO,  
TERTIÆ VIAM STRAVIT PRO LODOVICO MAGNO.  
REI TORMENTARIÆ A SUMMO PONTIFICE, MARITIMÆ A REGE PRÆFECTUS,  
MAIORIBUS SE UBIQUE PAREM EXHIBUIT.  
IN MELITA REDUX, ETIAM IN OTIO INCLARUIT.  
15 OMNI CENÆ PIETATIS OFFICIIS SUBLIMIORA PROMERITUS,  
CHRISTIANE UT VIXERAT, CUM CHRISTO SACRA CÆNA REFECTUS,  
DECESSIT IPSO DIE PARASCEVES, HORA NONA,  
V IDUS APRILIS MDCLXXVIII, ÆTATIS 78.  
FRATER JACOB DE FOVILLE DE SORAINVILLE, COMMENDATOR D' AUXERRE,  
20 AMORIS PIGNORE BENEFACTORI POSUIT.

DANT SIDERA 4 ANTE MERIDIEM SUBLIMJORI SPLENDET

He gained both his achievements and merits on par with any of his ancestors

This small cinerary urn contains, oh passer-by, the Grand Prior of France, Frà Henri d'Estampes Vallancay, whose virtues the world could grasp erstwhile with difficulty, as it remains doubtful whether these covered to a greater extent his birth or his deeds, whether his profuse courtesy or his beneficence has brought forth more. Mars and the wounds of captivity had put to the test his golden youth, his Captaincy of a galley, soon after the Governorship of the Hospital illuminated it. Henceforth, after a Venetian and a Roman Embassy for his Order, he paved the way to a third on behalf of Louis the Great. He showed himself on a par with his ancestors everywhere as the Commander of the Pope's artillery, and Chief of the King's maritime affairs. He returned to Malta, where he, even at leisure, was famous, gaining merit for the divine services of piety for the higher ranks at every supper, and since he had lived the Christian way, he was restored to Christ through the Holy Eucharist. He died on Good Friday, exactly at the ninth hour, on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of April 1678, at the age of 78. Frà Jacques de Foville de Sorainville, Commendator of Auxerre, placed this slab as a pledge of affection for his benefactor.

Towards dawn the stars fade away by the more radiant

## 150 - Francesco Carafa

FRATRIS DOMINI FRANCISCI CARAFA ARAGONII CINERES HÆC HABET  
VRNA, NOMEN AC DECUS, FAMA. REATIS, FIRMI, MAZARLÆ, PA-  
NORMI COMMENDATARIVS, COLLATOS SIBI SVO AB ORDINE  
TITVLOS GESTIS EXCESSIT, NAVALI IN TIROCINIO GEMINA  
5 AD SEXTVM ET ABIDVM PVGNÆ INTERFVIT, AC FRATRIS DOMINI GRE-  
GORII CARAFÆ, ROCCELLÆ PRIORIS, TRIREMIVM PRÆ-  
FECTI, FRATRIS VICTORIAM FAMAM, SPOLIA VIRTUTE  
AVXIT SVA. HINC AD PRÆSTANDAM ALEXANDRO VII, PONTIFICO MAXIMO, OBE-  
DIENTIAM SVI ORDINIS ORATOR, DEMVM, SVMMVS HIEROSOLY-  
10 MITANÆ CLASSIS PRÆFECTVS, VIRTVTIS ET GLORIÆ NVME-  
ROS EXPLEVIT VNA E TRIBVS ALGERIANIS NAVIBVS GENERO-  
SO SVÆ TANTVM TRIREMIS AVSV AC IMPETV AD CRETAM CAPTA.  
POST TAM PRÆCLARVM FACINVS, MORS ILLVM ÆTERNITATI  
TRANSCRIPT. OBIIT ROCCELLÆ XIX SEPTEMBRIS ANNO MDCLXXIX,  
15 ÆTATIS SVÆ XLVIII. MORTALITATIS SPOLIVM HVC TRANSVECTVM  
FRATER DOMINVS GREGORIVS CARAFA, MAGNVS HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS MAGISTER, HOC TVMVLO  
CONDIDIT.

This slab holds the remains of Frà Don Francesco Carafa, an Aragonese, and his name, splendour and reputation too, who, as the Commendator of Rieti, Firmo, Mazara, Palermo, exceeded the titles given to him by his Order for his achievements, took part in both battles near Sestos and Abydos in his first naval campaigns, and embellished the victory, reputation and spoils of Frà Don Gregorio Carafa, his brother, Prior of Roccella, Captain-General of the galleys, through his virtue. Henceforth, envoy to Alexander VII, to maintain the obedience of his Order, then Captain-General of the Jerusalemite fleet, he made a full count of his virtue and glory when one of three Algerian ships was captured near Crete only through a superior and daring action of his ship. After such an illustrious deed, Death assigned him to eternity. He died at Roccella on the 19<sup>th</sup> of September in the year 1679, at the age of 48. Frà Don Gregorio Carafa, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Order raised this tomb and brought over the mortal remains.

## 17 - Giovanni Battista Ansidei

FRATRIS IOANNIS BAPTISTÆ ANSIDEI,  
PERVSI NĪ PATRICII,  
QVI,  
5 ANXIÆ DEI GLORIA CVNCTIS ANTEPOSITA,  
BIS COMENDATARIVS TER FRVGĪ FILIVS  
IMÆ MATRI, STRENVE PRÆSTITIS OBSEQVIIS,  
AD BAIVLIVATVM SANCTÆ EVPHEMIÆ  
DIGNE MAGIS QVAM FORTVNATE ASSVMPTVS,  
HILARE PAVPERIBVS COR, MANVS APERIENS,  
10 CONTRA VIM REFLANTEM REMIS PATIENTIÆ,  
CHARITATE COMITE, GVBERNATE GRATIA,  
INVIDÆ FORTVNÆ SCOPVLOS EVASIT.  
QVISQVIS IS O SAPIENS VRNÆ SPECVLATOR ODOROS  
IRRORANS CINERES, MANIBVS ADDE PRECES.  
15 TRANSIIT ANNO DOMINI MDC...

Of Frà Giovanni Battista Ansidei, a nobleman of Perugia, who, truly valued the Glory of God above everything, twice a Commendator, a very worthy son of a humble Mother, strenuously maintained allegiance, received, deservedly rather than fortuitously, into the Bailiwick of Sant'Eufemia, cheerfully opening his heart and his hand to the poor, weighing against the headwind with the oars of endurance, escaped the dangers of hostile fate by being a charitable soldier, a grateful leader. Whoever you are, oh wise onlooker, besprinkle the stinking remains of this grave and add a prayer for my soul. He died in the Year of the Lord 1680.

## 42 - Louis de la Salle

DANT ANIMOS

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VIRTUTI CÆLO RECEPTÆ  
EQUITIS FRATRIS LUDOVICIUS DELASALLE,  
5 IN ACERBO ÆTATIS FLORE,  
MATURO PIETATIS FRUCTU CORONATI,  
QUI,  
CALAMITATIS PATIENS PROPRIÆ,  
IMPATIENS ALIENÆ,  
10 ERGA PESTE LABORANTES IPSE LABORANS,  
BLANDE MISERICORS,  
NE EGESTATE PERIRENT ET LUE,  
DISPERSIT ÆGROTANTIBUS ET CURAM ET BONA,  
ANIMAMQUE, SANCTIS OPERIBUS DECORATAM,  
15 CREATORI DEO REDDIDIT  
ANNO ÆTATIS 50, SALUTIS VERO 1680,  
FRATER GUILIELMUS BAJULIVUS DELASALLE  
ETERNUM FRATERNI AMORIS MONUMENTUM  
POSUIT.

They gave their hearts and souls

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To virtue received in Heaven of Chevalier Frà Louis de la Salle, crowned in the tender blossom of his youth with the mature reward of his beneficence, who, although patient with his very own misfortune was impatient of others', concerned himself personally with those suffering from the plague, soothingly compassionate should they perish from want and pestilence, distributed to the sick both care and goods, and returned his soul, adorned with Holy Works, to God his Creator, at the age of 50, in the Year of Salvation 1680. Bailiff Frà Guillaume de la Salle placed this everlasting monument of fraternal love.

### 373 - Carlo Linguilia

CÆLO ET ARMIS

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER CAROLVS EX COMITIBVS LINGVILLÆ,  
HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS IAM ADMIRATVS,  
5 MOX SANCTI IOANNIS AD MARE NEAPOLIS BAIVLIVVS,  
POST PATRVVM FRATREM ALERAMVM, MESSANÆ PRIOREM,  
PRO-PATRVVMQVE FRATREM PHILIPPVM PRIOREM LOMBARDIÆ,  
TERTIVS MAGNÆ CRVCIS DECVS IN FAMILIAM  
INFERENS,  
10 CVM MAIORVM MEMORIA SVPREMA PERCENSES  
VIVENS MORITVRO SEPVLCRVVM STATVIT  
ANNO DOMINI MDCLXXX.

To Heaven and to arms

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Carlo, from the Counts of Linguilia, already the Admiral of the Jerusalemite Order, soon after Bailiff of San Giovanni near the Bay of Naples, was, after his paternal uncle, Frà Alermo, Prior of Messina, his great-uncle Frà Philip, Prior of Lombardy, the third one to bring the honour of the Grand Cross into the family. While contemplating that supreme memory his ancestors left behind, he set up a sepulchre for when he would die, when he was still alive, in the Year of the Lord 1680.



## 106 - Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS DOMINI MICHAELIS TORRELLAS ET SENTMANAT  
LAPIS ISTE MEMORIAM TENET,  
QUI, POST DIVERSA MUNIA, ETIAM BELLICA, IN OBSEQUIUM  
5 SUÆ SACRÆ RELIGIONIS ALIORUMQUE PRINCIPUM  
STRENUE AC INGENUE EXERCITA,  
DIGNITATES MAGNI CONSERVATORIS PER TRIENNIUM  
QUAM OLIM FRATER DOMINUS MICHAEL AC FRATER DOMINUS IOANNES OTHO TORRELLAS,  
EIUSDEM SOBOLIS, ETIAM OBTINUERUNT  
10 NEC NON PRIORATUS CATALAUNIÆ PER TRIGINTA DUOS ANNOS  
MERITO POTITUS FUIT,  
CUIUS SUMMÆ PIETATIS ERGA PAUPERES, MUNIFICENTIÆ AC  
BENEVOLENTIÆ INTER AMICOS OBLIVIONI NON DATUR LOCUS,  
PLENUS TANDEM DIERUM, MAXIMIS CUM SUÆ PROBITATIS  
15 RELIGIONISQUE SIGNIS, MELITÆ COMMUNI CESSIT FATO  
DIE 12 IANUARIJ 1680, ÆTATIS SUÆ 81, RELIGIONIAS VERO 70.  
COMMENDATARIUS FRATER DOMINUS RAYMUNDUS DE SENTMANAT, EIUS NEPOS  
ET IN PRIORATU CATALAUNIÆ PRO SUA SACRA RELIGIONE RECEPTOR,  
NE TANTI VIRI AC PATRUI CLARITAS ABSUMERETUR,  
20 MONUMENTUM HOC GRATO ANIMO PONERE CURAVIT  
ANNO 1707.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

This stone holds the memory of Frà Don Miguel Torrellas y Sentmanat, who, after he had accomplished tirelessly and virtuously the various duties, even those of war, in the service of the Sacred Religion and other Sovereigns, acquired through his merits the dignities of Grand Conservator for three years, which Frà Don Miguel and Frà Don Juan Otto Torrellas, of the same ancestry, also held in the past and also the Priory of Catalonia for thirty-two years. His grave does not permit consigning his utmost compassion towards the poor, generosity and benevolence towards his friends to oblivion, full of days, at last, with the highest display of his righteousness and conscientiousness, he gave himself over to common destiny in Malta on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of January 1680, at the age of 81 years, a Religious for 70 years. Commendator Frà Don Ramon de Sentmanat, his nephew, and Receptor in the Priory of Catalonia for his Sacred Religion, arranged to place this slab of grateful memory in 1707, should the splendour of so great a man and uncle diminish.

#### 404 - Ramon Soler

5 VIVVS MORITVRO,  
IN TENEBRIS STRAVI LECTVLVM  
MEVM, ET RVRSVM POST TENEBRAS  
SPERO LVCEM QVANDO VENIET IMMVTATIO MEA IN NOVISSIMO DIE.

10 FRATER DOMINVS RAYMVNDVS SOLER, MAIORI-CARVM BAIVLIVVS ET COMMENDARVM  
BARCINONÆ AC BAGIOLES COMMENDATARIVS DIE 15 IVNII ANNO  
1674, OBIIT DIE XX MARTII  
1680, ÆTATIS 77.

15 DIES MEI BREVIABUNTUR.  
SI LARENA SON LOS DIAS  
Y ASÍ PASANDO SE VAN  
POCO TIEMPO DVRARAN.

Living in order to die,  
in the darkness I lay out my bed,  
and after the dark I hope for the light again  
when my chance comes on the Last Day.

Frà Don Ramon Soler, Bailiff of the Majorcan Islands and Commendator of the Commanderies of Barcelonette and Bagioles on 15th day of June in the year 1674. He died on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of March 1680 at the age of 77.

My days are being shortened.  
If sand is like the days,  
and thus pass by,  
they lasted just a short while.

### 183 - Nicola Cotoner

FRATRI DOMINO NICOLAO COTTONER,  
MAGNO HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS MAGISTRO,  
ANIMI MAGNITVDINE, CONSILIO, MVNIFICENTIA, MAIESTATE,  
PRINCIPI,  
5 ERECTO AD MAHOMETIS DEDECVS  
E NAVIGII ROSTRIS AC SVLTANÆ PRÆDA TROPHÆO,  
MELITA  
MAGNIFICIS EXTRVCTIONIBVS, TEMPLORVM NITORE, EXPLICATO MVNITOQVE VRBIS POMÆRIO  
SPLENDIDE AVCTA,  
10 CIVE E PESTILENTIÆ FAVCIBVS PÆNE RAPTO,  
HIEROSOLYMITANO ORDINE,  
CVI PRIMVS POST FRATREM PRÆFVIT,  
LEGIBVS, AVCTORITATE,  
RE PVBLICA DIFFICILLIMIS SÆCVLI BELLII TEMPORIBVS SERVATA,  
15 VERO MAGNO  
QVOD TANTI NOMINIS MENSVRAM GESTIS IMPLERIT,  
PYRAMIDEM HANC EXCELSI TESTEM ANIMI  
DAT, DICAT, DEDICAT  
FAMA SVPERSTES.  
20 VIXIT IN MAGISTERIO ANNOS XVI, MENSES VI.  
OBYT 29 APRILIS 1680, ÆTATIS SVÆ 73. POST CVIVS OBITVM  
EXECVTORES TESTAMENTARY TVMVLVM HVNC FIERI MANDAVERE.

Frà Don Nicola Cotoner, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Order, the Prince, with magnitude of mind, counsel, bountifulness, majesty, raised a victory to the disgrace of the followers of Mohammed from his ship's prow and with the prize of the '*Sultana*'. He splendidly embellished Malta with magnificent structures, splendour of churches, extended and fortified the city's limits, and could barely save the population from the jaws of the plague. Strengthening with his laws, authority, spoils, the Jerusalemite Order of which he was in charge directly after his brother, he saved the Republic in the most difficult times of an age of war. Truly great, because he satisfied the requirements of so great a name with his achievements, his reputation lives on and donates, dedicates, devotes this pyramid as a witness of his noble soul. He lived in his Magistracy for 16 years, 6 months. He died on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1680, at the age of 73. After his demise, the executors of his last will commissioned this monument to be erected.

### 190 - Juan Galdiano

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINVS IOANNES GALDIANVS, MAGNVS NAVARRÆ PRIOR,  
LEGATIONE AD ALEXANDRVN VII SPLENDE ACTA,  
ARMENIÆ BAIVLIVS,  
5 MOX TRIREMIVM PRÆFECTVS,  
CLASSE AD GIGERIM DVCTA  
AC RE STRENVE IBIDEM SVMMA EIVS PRVDENTIA GESTA,  
A LVDOVICO XIV DIGNIS LAVDIBVS AVCTVS  
AC PRETIOSA EIVS EFFIGIE DONATVS,  
10 MELITA SENESCALLI MVNERE INTEGRE ADMINISTRATO,  
GALDIANA MVNITIONE ÆRE SVO EXTRVCTA,  
DE HIEROSOLYMITANO ORDINE  
CONSILII, GESTIS, OPIBVS AMPLIFICATO OPTIMO MERITO,  
VT IN OMNIVM OCVLIS VIXIT  
15 INTER OMNIVM LACRIJMAS OBIIT ANNO 1680, XIV MAIJ.  
PATRVO BENEMERENTISSIMO  
FRATER DOMINVS IOSEPH GALDIANVS PROPRIO ÆRE  
MONVMENTVM POSVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Frà Don Juan Galdiano, Grand Prior of Navarra, brilliantly concluded an embassy to Alexander VII, Bailiff of Armenia, soon after, as the Captain-General of the galleys he was leading the fleet near Jijeli where he strenuously carried out military actions with utmost skill. Exalted with deserved praises from Louis XIV and rewarded with his precious portrait, soundly administered the duty of Steward in Malta, erected at his own, Galdian, expense a bulwark, most meritorious, he magnified the Jerusalemite Order with his counsels, deeds and wealth. As he lived in eye of the public he died amidst everyone's tears in the year 1680, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May. Frà Don José Galdiano placed this slab for his most meritorious paternal uncle at his own expense.

### 381 - Jacques de Cordon d'Evieu

OMNIA SPONTE  
DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER JACOB DE CORDON D'EVJEU, SUIS  
5 EXPLETIS IN RELIGIONE MINISTERIIS  
AB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO DE LASCARIS  
ROMAM MISSUS AD INNOCENTIVM X  
ET ALEXANDRUM VII, SANCTISSIMOS PONTIFICES, LEGATUS  
PRO RELIGIONE PER IX ANNOS, DE MARESCALLA-  
10 TU AD BAJULIVATVM LUGDUNI PROVECTVS  
AB ANNO MDCLXVI, MORTIS SUÆ ME-  
MOR, ANTIANITATIS ANNO LXIX, ÆTATIS LXXXIIJ,  
HOC VIVENS POSUIT ANNO DOMINI MDCLXXXI.

Everything by design

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Frà Jacques de Cordon d'Evieu, after he had fulfilled his offices within the Religion, was sent to Rome on behalf of the Religion by His Eminency, the Grand Master De Lascaris, as an envoy to Innocent X and Alexander VII, Most Holy Popes, for nine years. He advanced from the Marshalcy to the Bailiwick of Lyons in the year 1666, and heedful of his death, in his 69<sup>th</sup> year of seniority, at the age of 83, he placed while still alive this slab in the Year of Salvation 1681.

### 391 - Louis le Nourry Dumesny Pontauray

HIC IACET  
FRATER LUDOVICUS LE NOURRY DUMESNY PONTAURAY,  
EQUES PRIORATUS FRANCLÆ  
QUO MAIOREM NULLUS HABEBIT CHARITATEM,  
5 ANIMAM ENIM POSUIT PRO FRATRIBUS  
IN NOSOCOMII PRÆFECTURA  
DIE X JULII,  
ANNO SALUTIS MDCLXXXI, ÆTATIS LVI, RELIGIONIS XXXVIII.  
HOC IN TANTÆ VIRTUTIS  
10 ET GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM EREXIT  
FRATER JACOBUS DE BONNEVILLE,  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCLXXXII.

Here lies Frà Louis le Nourry Dumesny Pontauray, Knight of the Priory of France, no one will offer greater charity than he, for he died for his Brothers in the function of Grand Hospitaller of the Infirmary, on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of July in the Year of Salvation 1681, at the age of 56, a Religious for 38 years. Frà Jacques de Bonneville raised this as a monument of grateful memory of so great a virtue, in the Year of Our Salvation 1682.

### 111 - Gregorio Spinola

ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ  
ILLVSTRISSIMI FRATRIS GREGORII SPINOLÆ, SACRÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ BAIVLIVI,  
E CLARISSIMO GENERE MARCHIONIS ROCCÆFORTIS ET SANCTI ROMANI IMPERATORIS ORIVNDI,  
MORVM INTEGRITATEM, VIRTVTVM COPIAS, CLASSICVM ROVR,  
5 TANDEM AD HOC ALLISA SAXVM, SISTO TIBI VIATOR,  
IMPIGRVM TRIREMIS DVCEM CLASSISQVE ELECTVM PRÆFECTVM  
PRÆMATVRA MORS IN CÆLO TRIUMPHATVRVM ERIPVIT  
ANNO 1682, IDIBVS IANVARIIS, ANNOS ÆTATIS 30.  
ILLVSTRISSIMVS FRATER RAPHAEL SPINOLA, MAGNVS INSVBRIÆ PRIOR,  
10 EX EADEM STIRPE, AMANTISSIMI NEPOTIS DOLENTISSIMUS PATRVVS,  
INGENTIS SPEI IVVENEM POSVIT AMPLIORE LAPIDE  
VT, QVOS INVIDA MORS DIVISIT,  
LAPIS VNVS AC CÆLUM CONIVNGERET.

15

Passer-by, I am leading you to the eternal memory of the Most Illustrious Frà Gregorio Spinola, Bailiff of the Sacred Religion of Jerusalem, descending from the famous family of the Marques of Roccaforte and of the Holy Roman Emperor, the integrity of his character, abundance of virtues, superior strength are now cast on this slab. Premature Death carried off this tireless Captain of a galley and Captain-General-elect of the fleet to triumph in Heaven in the year 1682, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January, at the age of 30 years. The Most Illustrious Frà Raphael Spinola, Grand Prior of Insubria, of the same family, a most mournful uncle of a most beloved nephew, placed this young man of huge expectation beneath this very magnificent stone, so that one stone and Heaven might reunite whom envious Death had separated.

### 347 - Bertrand de Moreton Chabrilan

HIC JACET  
FRATER BERTRANDUS DE MORETON CHABRILLAN,  
MAGNUS SANCTI ÆGIDIJ PRIOR,  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI, BAJULIVI MANOSCÆ, PRONEPOS  
5 QUI, PERACTIS RELIGIONI ET REGI OBSEQUIIS,  
PRIMARLÆ TRIREMI ET MAGISTRALI  
TUM LINGUÆ SUÆ PRÆFUIT,  
MAGNUS COMMENDATOR,  
SED CHARITATE APUD HOMINES,  
10 PIETATE ERGA DEUM MAIOR,  
OBIIT 28 FEBRUARII 1682, ÆTATIS 72, RELIGIOSUS 70.  
HOC FRATER CLAUDIUS, BAJULIVUS, NEPOS,  
GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

Here lies Frà Bertrand de Moreton Chabrilan, Grand Prior of Saint-Gilles, great-nephew of Frà François, Bailiff of Manosque, who, after he had completed his services for Religion and King, was in charge of the Flagship and the Magistral galley, then Prior of his Tongue. He was the Grand Commander, but grander for his charity among men, his observance towards God, died on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1682, at the age of 72, a Religious for 70 years. Frà Claude, Bailiff, nephew, placed this slab of grateful memory.

### 215 - José Rossel d'Omedes

FRATER DOMINVS IOSEPHI ROSSEL DE HOMEDES, GRA-  
GNENÆ COMMENDATARIVS, POST PLVRA SVÆ  
RELIGIONI OBSEQVIA PRÆSTITA ET DE REGE  
CATHOLICO LEGIONIS PRÆFECTVRA IN CATA-  
5 LAVNIA ALIISQVE MVNERIBVS EGREGIE EXERCITIS,  
BENEMERITVS VT MELIVS VIVERET IMMORTALIS  
QVAM TARRACONÆ MORTALITATEM INDVERAT.  
EXVIT MELITÆ ANNO SALVTIS 1682, 20 NOVEMBRIS,  
ÆTATIS SVÆ 68. CVJVS INDE EXVVIIS FRATER DOMINVS AR-  
10 NALDVS SERALTA, CATALAVNLÆ PRIOR ET COMMENDATARIVS,  
FRATER DOMINVS ARNALDVS MOIX, EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI FRATRIS DOMINI GREGORII  
CARAFA RECEPTOR, EXTREMIS TABVLIS EXECVTORES,  
INTER LACRYMAS POSVERE.

15

Frà Don José Rossel d'Omedes, Commendator of Grañena, fulfilled numerous duties for his Religion, and excellently performed the Captaincy of the legion of the Catholic King in Catalonia and many other offices. He was meritorious, in order to live a better life as an immortal than the life as a mortal he had assumed at Tarragona and put aside in Malta in the Year of Salvation 1682, 20<sup>th</sup> of November, at the age of 68. Thereupon, Frà Don Arnaldo Seralta, Prior of Catalonia and Commendator, and Frà Don Arnaldo Moix, Receptor of His Eminence, the Grand Master Gregorio Carafa, executors of his last will, placed this slab amidst tears, for his remains.



### 138 - François de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI FRANCISCO DE TRESSEMANES CHASTVEL BRVNET,  
MANVASCÆ BAIVLIVO,  
QVI PIETATEM IN DEVM, CHARITATEM IN PROXIMVM  
ZELO ET OBSEQVIO ERGA SVAM RELIGIONEM CVMVLAVIT,  
DIVTVRNI MORBI PERTINACIAM INVICTA PATIENTIA  
5 SIC DEFATIGAVIT  
VT NON ILLVM MORS AGGREDI, SED ILLE MORTEM  
AD LVCTAM PROVOCARE SIT VISVS.  
DECORÆ FRVGALITATIS FRVCTVS PVBLICI ÆRARII  
PATRIMONIVM FECIT,  
10 QVO VEL EX ANIMIS PIA LIBERALITATE, SI NON FERRO,  
AVRO COPIOSO, MILITLÆ HIEROSOLIMITANÆ  
CONTRA FIDEI HOSTES SVPPETIAS FERRET,  
NE TANTÆ VIRTVTIS EXEMPLAR POSTERIS DEPERIRET,  
NOMEN ET FAMAM MARMOREO HOC MONVMENTO  
15 ILLVSTRISSIMI COMMVNIS ÆRARII PROCVRATORES PERENNANDAM CENSVERVNT  
ANNO AB INCARNATIONE MDCLXXXIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà François de Tressemanes Chastuel Brunet, Bailiff of Manosque, who increased, with emulation and obedience towards the Religion, his observance towards God, his charity towards his neighbour. He so exhausted the incurability of a long lasting illness by his invincible endurance, so that it may seem that Death did not assail him, but that he challenged Death to a wrestling match. He made the fruit of his becoming frugality the inheritance of the Common Treasury, therefore, even when dead, he would remain piously generous, as he could still come to the aid of the Jerusalemite Militia, not with the iron of his sword but with the abundance of his gold against the enemies of the Faith. In case this example of so great a virtue be lost to posterity, the Most Illustrious Procurators of the Common Treasury voted that his name and reputation should last forever through this marble slab, in the Year from Incarnation 1683.

### 211 - Claude de Clinchambs de Bellegarde

HIC IACET  
FRATER CLAUDIUS DE CLINCHAMBS DE BELLEGARDE  
PRIORATUS FRANCLÆ  
QUI,  
5 PRO SUA RELIGIONE IN MARI SE EXERCVIT,  
PRO PATRIA EQUESTREM TURMAM DUXIT,  
PRO FIDE AD GIGERIUM, TUM IN CANDIA  
MELITENSIVM ORDINATOR FUIT.  
OBIIT IN CONVENTU  
10 ÆTATIS LVII, ANTIANITATIS XXXVIII, DIE IV MAIJ,  
ANNO MDCLXXXIII.

Here lies Frà Claude de Clinchambs de Bellegarde of the Priory of France who, on behalf of his Religion engaged himself at sea, of his Fatherland led a squadron of cavalry and of his Faith was the Ordainer of the Maltese at Jijeli, next at Crete. He died at the Convent at the age of 57, of which 38 years in seniority, on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of May, in the year 1683.

## 270 - Franz Sebastian von Wratislau

DEO VNI TRINO.  
FRATRI FRANCISCO SEBASTIANO, COMITI VVRATISLAVV,  
GERMANIÆ MAGNO BAIVLIVO, MOX BOHÆMIÆ PRIORI  
QVI,  
5 PRO SACRA HIEROSOLYMITANA RELIGIONE  
AD OBEDIENTIAM CLEMENTI X PRÆSTADA  
ORATOR  
SVO MVNERE MAGNIFICE PERFVNCTVS,  
ADAMI FRATRIS DIGNITATVM  
10 ET VIRTVTVM PARITER HÆRES,  
ITA VT NOBILE PAR FRATRVM  
HVIC ÆQVALE VIX  
ALIBI INVENERIS,  
PRIORATV SPONTE DIMISSO,  
15 OMNIQVE FASTV ABHORRENS,  
PIE SEMPER VIVENS,  
FRATERNÆ GENEROSITATIS INVIDVS,  
PVBlico ÆRARIO  
QVINQVAGINTA AVREORVM MILLIA  
20 LEGAVIT.  
EIVSDEM ÆRARY PRÆSIDES,  
NVMQVAM INTERITVRÆ GRATITVDINIS  
MONVMENTVM PONENDVM CVRAVIT  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALVTIS 1684.

To God, One Trinity.

For Franz Sebastian, Count of Wratislav, Grand Bailiff of Germany, soon after Prior of Bohemia who as an Ambassador to Clement X, pledging obedience on behalf of the Sacred Religion of Jerusalem, performed splendidly his mission as the successor to the offices and virtues of his brother Adam he performed so much the same, that you would seldom find here or elsewhere such a noble pair of brothers. He gave up a Priory of his own will, and detesting any kind of vanity, always lived piously, in emulation of his brother's generosity, he bequeathed 50,000 gold pieces to the Public Treasury. The Procurators of the aforesaid Treasury arranged for this memorial of their never ceasing gratitude to be placed in the Year of Salvation 1684.

## 77 - Carlo Gattola

INCLIJTO PRIORI CAPUÆ,  
ORTU ET UOTO BIS EQUITI,  
DON CAROLO GATTOLA TER UIRO,  
QUATER HUMANISSIMO,  
5 QUEM  
CONTRA CARACOGIAM GOLETTA  
IN CLASSIS TURCICÆ INCENDIO HELLESPONTUS  
PRINCIPIUM & CAPITANEUM EMINENTISSIMI CARAFÆ UISE-  
RUNT,  
AD NEAPOLIS PRO-REGEM LEGATIONE PERFUNCTA,  
10 ARMENIÆ BAIULIUATU POTITO,  
INTER DOMINOS COMMUNIS ÆRARIJ ADSCRIPTO,  
EODEMQUE, IN PINGUI SPOLIO, SUCCURATORE SCRIPTO,  
BAIULIUI SPINELLUS, CARAFA & CARAUITA  
FIDI EXSECUTORES METRUM SCULPSE-  
RUNT:  
15 CAROLUS EST PLUS QUAM PHÆBUS, NAM HIC OCCIDIT UMBRIS,  
ILLE, ETSI OCCUBAT GATTOLÆ, AT UMBRA MICAT.  
OBIIT IN CONUENTUU DECEMBRIS 1684, ÆTATIS LXX.

To the Illustrious Prior of Capua, in two ways a Knight, once by birth and once by vow, Don Carlo Gattola, a man, extremely humane, whom they witnessed against the [Admiral of] Caragoe near La Goletta, in the burning of the Turkish fleet at the Hellespont, as the Commander-in-Chief and the Captain of the Most Eminent Carafa, punctiliously carrying out an embassy to the Viceroy of Naples, acquiring the Bailiwick of Armenia and was appointed among the Notables of the Common Treasury. And for the same man, who provided a full coffer for his successor, the Bailiffs Spinelli, Carafa and Caravita, the faithful executors of his will, engraved this meter:

Carlo is more than *Phobos*, for the latter goes down in the shadows,  
while the former, Gattola, although he reposes in the grave,  
yet shines forth from its shadow.

He died in the Convent on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1684, at the age of 70.

## 115 - Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
OSSIBUS ET MEMORLÆ  
FRATRIS IOANNIS HECTORIS DE FAIJ DE LA TOUR MAUBOURG IN ARUERNIS,  
QUI,  
5 PUBERTATE UIX EMENSA,  
IN REPETITO AD IELLESFONTICAS FAUCES CONFLICTU  
BELLICÆ ET CHRISTIANÆ FORTITUDINIS  
NON UNUM SPECIMEN DEDIT.  
IN AFRICANA AD GIGERIM EXPEDITIONE,  
10 MOX  
IN CRETENSI OBSIDIONALI PALÆSTRA,  
QUID MELITENSES COHORTES IN HOSTES EFFUDERINT,  
NOSTRO HECTORE DUCE,  
AGGRESSORES ADHUC TIMIDI PERSENSERE,  
15 SOCIJ ADHUC ATTONITI SUSPEXERE,  
CORONE TANDEM PER UENETOS OBSESSO,  
SUPREMO MELITENSIVM COPIARVM IMPERIO ADIUNCTVS,  
FORTALITIUM TENTATÆ VRBIS FATVM CAPIT,  
ET FERME SOLVS TVETVR,  
20 SED HEV!  
ANIMA TAM GRANDI VICTORIÆ LITANDVM FVIT,  
ET NOSTER DVX, CAPTÆ VRBIS PRETIVM,  
VIVENDI ET VINCENDI FINEM FECIT.  
ALTERVM EIVSDEM MILITIÆ ET FAMILIÆ IMITATVS,  
25 QUI, DE ANNO 1465 PRO FIDE  
EODEM FORSAN LOCO ET FATO OCCVBVERAT,  
VT ANCEPS HÆREAS  
AN PELOPONESSVS GENTI DV FAIJ  
AN HÆC PELOPONESSO FATALIS EXTITERIT.  
30 SICQVE  
EMINENTISSIMO GREGORIO CARAFA CLAVVM ORDINIS MODERANTE,  
SVB CUIVS TRIREMIVM PREFECTVRA  
PRIMA MILITIÆ RVDIMENTA EXCERPSERAT  
FAMILIÆ SVÆ SPLENDORI, CHRISTIANITATIS BONO,  
35 MILITIÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ DECORI.  
OMNIVM MOERORE SVBRIPITVR,  
ANNO ÆTATIS SVÆ 48, REPARATÆ SALVTIS 1685.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the bones and memory of Frà Jean Hector de Fay de la Tour Maubourg of Auvergne, who, just coming out of his puberty, not just once gave proof of warlike and Christian valour in frequent conflicts near the Hellespont. What kind of bloodshed the Maltese troops could pour out over the enemy, under the leadership of our Hector, in the African expedition aimed at Jijeli, and soon after in the theatre of war in the siege of Crete, the aggressors by now gripped by fear, the allies by now admired in astonishment. In his last duty, when Corone was besieged by the Venetians, he was assigned to the supreme command of the Maltese forces, and took the fate of the fortification of the beleaguered city in his own hands, and upheld it virtually alone, but alas!, for so great a victory a soul should be sacrificed, and our leader was the price for that captured city, putting an end to living and conquering. Seeking to resemble another member of the same Militia and family, who, about the year 1465, had died for Faith, perhaps on the same spot and with the same destiny, so that you remain uncertain whether the Peloponnese was predominantly fatal to the family of De Fay or they to the Peloponnese. And he had gathered the first principles of the Militia from the Most Eminent Gregorio Carafa, now the key-bearer of the Order, under his Captaincy of the galleys, such to the splendour of his own family, the advantage of Christianity, the distinction of the Jerusalemite Militia. He was secretly snatched away to the grief of everyone in the Year of Salvation 1685, at the age of 48.

### 364 - Giovanni Francesco Aijroli

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI IOANNI FRANCISCO AIJROLI, IOANNIS THOMÆ FILIO,  
PATRITIO GENVENSI, EQVITI MELITENSI,  
TRIPPLICIS LATIFVNDIJ COMENDATORIO,  
5 TRIREMIS DVCTORI,  
REDDITVVM IN SICILIA COLLECTORI  
QVI, POST, HABITIS CONSANGVINEIS,  
COMMILITONES SVI ORDINIS, EQVITES  
CLARISSIMOS ATQVE FORTISSIMOS,  
10 DOMESTICO SPOLIO SATIS OPVLENTO  
ET EGREGIÆ VIRTVTIS DITAVIT EXEMPLO,  
LVGVBRE SAXVM,  
QVO NON TEGITVR NOMEN,  
IOANNES BAPTISTA AIJROLVS, NEPOS, POSVIT  
15 ANNO MDCLXXXVI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Giovanni Francesco Aijroli, son of Giovanni Tommaso, a nobleman of Genoa, a Maltese Knight, Commendator of a threefold estate, Captain of a galley, Collector of responsions in Sicily who also took his blood-relatives into consideration after he enriched his comrades-in-arms of his Order, most famous and courageous Knights, with his considerable private fortune, and by example of his exceptional virtue. Giovanni Battista Aijroli, a cousin, placed this mournful slab in the year 1686, on which no name is hidden.

### 295 - Giovanni Francesco Aijroli

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS IOANNIS FRANCISCI AIJROLI COMMENDATORIS,  
TRIREMIS PRÆFECTURA AC PANORMI RECEPTORIA  
OPTIME MERITI  
5 RELIGIOSAM MUNIFICENTIAM  
SI SPECTES,  
NESCIAS AN UIXERIT AN OBIERIT  
GLORIOSIOR,  
UIUENS PAUPERUM,  
10 MORIENS PUBLICI ÆRARIJ COMMODO  
STUDUIT.  
CINERI SEPULCHRUM,  
NOMINI TROPHEUM  
FRATER IOSEPH MARIA MARINUS TESTAMENTARIUS EXECUTOR  
15 EREXIT, DICAUIT  
ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS 1687.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Should you observe the devout generosity, the Captaincy of a galley and the Receptory of Palermo of the most meritorious Frà Giovanni Francesco Aijroli, Commendator, you would not know whether he lived or died more gloriously. While living, he was devoted to the interest of the poor, while dying, to the interest of the Common Treasury. Frà Giuseppe Maria Marino, testamentary executor, erected, dedicated a sepulchre for his remains, a trophy for his name in the year 1687 since the Delivery by the Virgin.

## 125 - Giovanni Battista Brancaccio

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI DOMINO IOANNI BAPTISTÆ BRANCACCIO,  
REGIO MILITVM PRÆFECTO,  
PROVINCIA RV M NEAPOLIS QVATER PRÆSIDI,  
5 VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ ITALLÆ ADMIRATO,  
MOXQVE  
BAIVLATVS SANCTI STEPHANI PRIORI,  
AVXILIARVM OCTO MELITENSIVM,  
QVINQVE PONTIFICIARVM TRIREMIVM  
10 STRENVO IN TVRCAS CAPITANEO GENERALI,  
CVIVS AVSPICIJS LEVCAS, NICOPOLIS, CORONE,  
FELICIS BELLI, QVA PREMIA QVA PIGNORA,  
CHRISTIANIS ARMIS ASSERTA  
GENTILIVM SVORVM,  
15 LELIJ, MARCI ANTONY, IOANNIS BAPTISTÆ, IOSEPHI BRANCACCIORVM,  
SACRÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLIMITANÆ PRIORVM,  
SACRÆ CATHOLICÆ MAIESTATIS A SEMISÆCVLO GENERALIVM,  
OBITT DIE III IVLII ACCEPTA ET AVCTA GLORIA MDCLXXXVII  
VICTRIX FAMA MONVMENTVM POSVIT  
20 ANNO SALVTIS HVMANÆ MDCLXXXVI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Don Giovanni Battista Brancaccio, appointed four times as the Royal Prefect of the foot soldiers of the garrison of the realm of Naples, Admiral of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, and soon after Prior of the Bailiwick of Santo Stefano, a tireless Captain-General in opposition to the Turks of eight Maltese auxiliary and five Pontifical galleys. Under his leadership in a successful war at Levkás, Nicopolis and Corone, both booty and hostages were claimed by the Christian troops of his relatives Lelio, Marco Antonio, Giovanni Battista, Giuseppe Brancaccio, Priors of the Sacred Jerusalemite Religion, Generals for half a century of the Holy Catholic King. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of July 1687. Fama, accepting and increasing his glory, placed this slab, as the victress, in the Year of Human Salvation 1686.

## 206 - Jean de Villeneuve Villevieille

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HOC MARMORE TEGUNTUR  
OSSA ET CINERES  
FRATRIS IOANNIS, EX ANTIQUISSIMA FAMILIA  
5 DE VILLANOVA VILLEVIELLE  
QUI, PRÆFECTURA TRIREMIS PRÆTORIÆ  
ET ASSIDUIS OBSEQUIYS ERGA  
QUINQUE EMINENTISSIMOS MAGNOS MAGISTROS  
ET RELIGIONEM,  
10 SIBI AMOREM OMNIUM CONCILIAVIT,  
PRECEPTORIJS POSTEA DE VAOURS ET D'ESPALION  
DONATUS,  
DUM AD MAIORES ORDINIS GRADUS PROGREDITUR,  
PROMPTA MORTE ABREPTUS EST  
15 DIE VII SEPTEMBRIS 1687.  
PATRUO CHARISSIMO  
INTER LACRIMAS AMORIS PIGNUS  
HOC POSUIT MONUMENTUM  
NOBILIS ARNALDUS DE VILLAGGES VILLEVIELLE  
20 ANNO DOMINI 1698.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Covered by this marble slab are the bones and ashes of Frà Jean, from the very ancient family of Villeneuve Villevieille who, with his Captaincy of the Flagship and unremitting obedience towards five Most Eminent Grand Masters and his Religion, gained the affection of everyone. Afterwards, as he was advancing to the higher ranks of his Order, and rewarded with the Receptories of Vaours and Espalion, he was snatched away by an untimely death on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of September 1687. The Noble Arnaud de Villagges Villevieille placed this slab in tears, as a symbol of his affection for his most beloved paternal uncle in the Year of the Lord 1698.



### 350 - François and Joseph de Foresta Collongue

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI DE COLLONGUE FORESTA,  
COMMENDATORIS DE PEIRUIS,  
HABES HIC CINERES, ET NON INGLORIOS.  
5 PLURIMIS PRO SUA RELIGIONE MUNERIBUS  
CUM LAUDE FUNCTUS,  
MERITIS NON MINUS QUAM ANNIS GRAVIS,  
MAGNI COMMENDATORIS AUCTHORITY AC VICES OBTINUIT.  
NEC OBFUIT OBIECTUS, LUMINUM DEFECTUS,  
10 UBI OMNIUM TESTIMONIO  
SUMMÆ OCULATO MENTIS ACUMINE  
AC PRUDENTIA POLLERE DIGNOSCEBATUR,  
QUIN PROFUIT DEFECTUS IPSE,  
SIQUIDEM FACILIUS OCULOS, QUOS  
15 ANTECEDENTER CLAUSERAT MUNDO,  
APERUIT ÆTERNITATI.  
OBIIT 16 OCTOBRIS 1687, ÆTATIS SUÆ 80.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
PATRUO OPTIME MERITO  
20 FRATER IOSEPH DE COLLONGUE FORESTA,  
COMMENDATOR AVENIONENSIS  
ÆGUMENTUM AMORIS,  
INCITAMENTUM VIRTUTIS.  
MIRARIS HUNC CALOREM A MARMORE,  
ILLUM A CINERIBUS VITAM SUMERE?  
25 MEMORIAM SIQUIDEM REPARARE DUM STUDET,  
NE MORIATUR,  
IPSE COMMORI ADDISCIT,  
AC DUM NEPOTIS IN CORDE PATRUUS VIVIT,  
30 PRÆMORITUR IN PATRUI TUMULO NEPOS.  
UTINAM ITA,  
UT PRIMÆ ASSUETUS MORTI,  
SECUNDAM VITET!  
POSUIT ANNO SALUTIS 1698.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here you have the remains, and not inglorious ones either, of Frà François de Foresta Collongue, Commendator of Peyruis. He fulfilled praiseworthy numerous duties for his Religion, laden with merits not less than with years, obtained the title and succession of Grand Commander. He did not become an impediment when hindered by impaired eyesight, where to everyone's opinion he was considered precious for the acute sharpness of his excellent mind and for his discretion. In fact, it was positive, although it had incapacitated him, since it had opened his eyes to eternity more easily, when erstwhile they were closed to the world. He died on the 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1687, at the age of 80.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Joseph de Foresta Collongue, Commendator of Avignon, placed this slab in the Year of Salvation 1698 for his most meritorious paternal uncle, a proof of his affection, a stimulus of his virtue. Are you surprised that the former received warmth from this marble, the latter his life from his remains? Since indeed, while he strove after saving his uncle's memory, for fear that it would fade, he learned further to die with him, and while the uncle lives on in the heart of the nephew, the nephew dies in anticipation upon the grave of his uncle. If only, just as he had come to accept the first death, could avoid the second!

### 199 - Jean Costart de Hottot

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EQUITIS COMENDATORIS DE ESTREPIGNIJ  
FRATRIS IOANNIS COSTART DE HOTTOT,  
PALATIJ PRAEFECTI,  
5 OSSA  
HOC TEGUNTUR LAPIDE.  
HIC,  
BELLICA FORTITUDINE, CHRISTIANA PIETATE,  
EQUES CLARUS  
10 RELIGIONI, IUSTITIAE  
SEMPER INSERUIJT,  
MAGNA VIRTUTIS PROEMIA IAM ADEPTUS,  
MAIORA PROMIRITURUS,  
FATO SEMPER DEFLENDO  
15 ERIPITUR.  
DE OMNIBUS OPTIME MERITUS,  
CUNCTIS MOERENTIBUS,  
SUI DESIDERIUM RELIQUIT  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS 1688.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The bones of the Knight Commendator of Estrepigny, Frà Jean Costart de Hottot, Great Chamberlain of the Palace are covered here by this slab. This Knight, famous for his warlike strength and Christian love, always devoted to the Religion and righteousness, had already gained great rewards on account of his virtue, with greater ones yet to come, when he was suddenly carried off by Fate, on each occasion bringing sorrow about. Most meritorious of all, he left behind regret for his absence in all those who were mourning, in the Year of Salvation 1688.

## 275 - Franz Xaver von Hassenstein

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EQUITIS FRANCISCI XAVERIJ E COMITIBUS  
AB HAISSSENSTEIJN

5                   QUI,  
                  IN BUDENSI OBSIDIONE  
                  ET  
PLURIMIS CONTRA TURCAS EXPEDITIONIBUS  
                  HIJEROSOLYMITANÆ TRIREMIS DUX,  
10                  SEMPER  
                  DE FIDE OPTIME MERITUS,  
                  TANDEM  
                  IN EUBOEAE INSULA  
                  INVIDO FATO OCCUBUIT,  
15                  NE CUM PIJS CINERIBUS  
                  GLORIA  
                  IN TUMULO SEPULTA REMANERET,  
                  NOMEN  
                  HOC MARMORE SCULPTUM VOLUERE  
20                  PUBLICI ÆRARIJ PRÆSIDES  
                  IN MOERORIS ET AMORIS MONUMENTUM  
                  ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS 1688.

The Senate and the Roman People

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Chevalier Franz Xaver, from the Counts of Hassenstein who, in the siege of Buda and as a Captain of a Jerusalemite galley in numerous expeditions against the Turks, always most meritorious for his loyalty, succumbed in this last function to a hostile fate on the island of Negroponte. Lest his glory stays slumbering in the grave with his pious remains, the Procurators of the Public Treasury wished this name be sculpted on this marble slab as a monument of grief and affection in the year since the Delivery by the Virgin 1688.

## 286 - Vincenzo dal Pozzo

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI VINCENTIO A PVTEO VERONENSI, EQVITI HIEROSOLYMITANO,  
MORVM SVAVITATE, VITÆ INNOCENTIA OMNIBVS CHARO,  
MILITARIBVS STVDIJS ANIMIQUE SOLERTIA OPTIME DE SVA RELIGIONE MERITO  
5 QVI, MAGNIS IN EXPEDITIONIBVS TRIREMIVM REVISOR,  
VBI CLASSIS MORBIS VEXATA,  
E CALCIDICA OBSIDIONE MELITAM APPELLIT,  
FALSA PESTIS SVSPITIONE IN LIMODOCHIO,  
COMMVNES INTER LACRYMAS FORTITUDE PIEQVE DECESSIT  
10 VII KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS ANNO REPARATÆ SALVTIS MDCLXXXVIII, ÆTATIS SVÆ XXXVI.  
FRATER BARTHOLOMÆVS A PVTEO, EQVES ET COMMENDATOR, MOESTISSIMVS FRATER,  
DEBITVM AMORIS AC PIETATIS MONVMENTVM POSVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Vincenzo dal Pozzo of Verona, a Jerusalemite Knight, dear to all for his pleasantness of character, innocence of life, most meritorious with regard to his Religion, for his military prowess and resourcefulness of the mind, who was the Purveyor of galleys in large expeditions. When the fleet, on return from the siege of Chalcis, was distraught with illness, it called at port in Malta on a mistaken presumption of the plague in the sick-bay, where he died bravely and piously, surrounded by common grief, on 26<sup>th</sup> October, in the Year of Salvation 1688, at the age of 36. Frà Bartolomeo dal Pozzo, Chevalier and Commendator, his brother, absolutely inconsolable, placed this slab as an obligation of his affection and piety.

## 296 - Antoine de Rety de Vitre

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER ANTONIUS DE RETY DE VITRE,  
COMMENDATOR DE VILLEDIEU,  
MULTIS OBSEQUYS RELIGIONI PRÆSTITIS  
5 ET MUNERE CAPITANEUS UNIUS TRIREMIS  
RITE PERFUNCTO,  
AD MAJORA PROGREDIENS,  
REQUIEVIT IN DOMINO  
DIE VIII JANUARI ANNO MDCLXXXIX.  
10 FRATER CAROLUS DE BREUIL ELION HOC AMORIS SUI  
MONUMENTUM FIERI CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Antoine de Rety de Vitre, Commendator of Villedieu, after he had excelled in many services for his Religion and had duly fulfilled the Captaincy of a galley, progressing to greater achievements, reposed in the Lord on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of January in the year 1689. Frà Charles du Breuil de Héliion arranged for this to be made as a monument of his affection.

## 109 - Thomas de Villages

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER THOMAS DE VILLAGES  
PRIMIS AB ANNIS IN TURCAS ARMAVIT,  
TRIEMI REGLE TUM IN GALLIA DIU PRÆFUIT,  
5 EQUESTRIA MUNIA QUINQUAGENARIUS PERFECIT.  
DIPLOMATE PONTIFICIO LICET EXEMPTUS,  
RECEPTOR SANCTI EGIDII PER VI ANNOS, MAGNUS COMMENDATOR PER XIV MENSES,  
OBIIT MANUESCA BAJULIVUS  
CUJUS ANNUOS REDIT LINGUÆ, CESSIT IN BONUM  
10 UTILIS ANTIQUA CESSARET PRIUSQUAM IPSE VITA,  
QUAM CESSIT DIE XXIX JANUARIJ, ÆTATIS LXXXVI, ANNO MDCLXXXIX.  
FRATER GASPAR, EX FRATRE NEPOS, IN ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ  
MONUMENTUM HOC POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Thomas de Villages armed himself, from a very young age, against the Turks, then, he was for a long time the Captain of the Royal Galley in France. Although exempted from duties by papal dispensation, he still accomplished Knightly duties when he was in his fifties, Receptor at Saint-Gilles for six years, Grand Commander for fourteen months, he died as the Bailiff at Manosque, whose pension he returned to the Tongue, and following proper tradition he retired to his estate before he would retire from life, which he did on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of January, at the age of 86, in the year 1689. Frà Gaspar, a nephew on his brother's side, placed this slab to his eternal memory.

## 97 - Baldassare d'Amico

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
COMMENDATORI FRATRI BALTHASSARI DE AMICO MELITENSI, JURIS UTRISQUE DOCTORI,  
PROTONOTARIO APOSTOLICO, VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ALEMANIÆ CAPPELLANO,  
COMMUNIS ÆRARIJ MULTOS ANNOS CAUSARUM CURATORI ET  
5 ADVOCATO MAGNORUM MAGISTRORUM GESSAN, DUORUM COTTONER ET CARAFA  
AUDITORI, AD EPISCOPATUM MELITENSEM SEMEL NOMINATO,  
MORIBUS SUAVI, INTEGRO, PIO, LITERARUM ET  
ORDINIS LEGUM PERITIA INSIGNI, IN OMNI  
FORTUNA SEMPER EIDEM SUIQUE SIMILI  
10 AC IN OSCULO DOMINI RELIGIOSISSIME  
VITA FUNCTO, PINGUI RELICTO SPOLIO,  
SEXTO NONAS MARTII ANNI 1689, ÆTATIS 72,  
DOMINUS CLAUDIUS BALTHASSAR DE AMICO INGUANEZ,  
PRONEPOS AMANTISSIMUS, HOC MONUMENTUM  
15 POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Commendator Frà Baldassare d'Amico, a Maltese, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, papal envoy, chaplain of the Venerable Tongue of Germany, for many years Curator of lawsuits and Attorney of the Common Treasury, Auditor of the Grand Masters Gessan, the two Cottoners and Carafa, once nominated to the Maltese Episcopate, pleasant of character, irreproachable and pious, outstanding in the expertise of the history and the laws of the Order. He was always true to himself under every circumstance, and he died most devoutly in the kiss of the Lord, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March of the year 1689, at the age of 72, leaving behind a rich inheritance. Don Claudio Baldassare d'Amico Inguanez, his most loving great-nephew, placed this slab.

## 278 - Ferdinand Korff gen. Schmisingh

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EQUITI FRATRI FERDINANDO EX BARONIBUS DE KORFF,  
DICTO SCHMISINGH,  
5       GENERE AC PERANTIQUA ANGARICA NOBILITATE CONSPICUO,  
      QUI, BELLIS TERRA MARIQUE STRENUE GESTIS,  
      TRIREMIS VERE DUX MAIORA DATURUS  
      AD EPIDAUROI SEU MALVASIÆ RUPEM,  
      LETHALIS MORBI VI  
10       NAVFRAGIUM CORPORIS PERFERENS,  
      ANIMAM FIDE VIVAM CHRISTIANE  
      DEO REDDIDIT  
      DIE XXVIII JUNIJ 1690,  
ILLUSTRISSIMUS DOMINUS FREDERICUS, BAJULIVUS BRANDENBURGENSIS, PROPATRUUS,  
15       TANTI NEPOTIS FAMÆ MONUMENTUM ET ANIMÆ PRÆCES  
      CUM LACRYMIS DEDICAVIT ANNO 1693.

The Senate and the Roman People

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Chevalier Frà Ferdinand, from the Barons of Korff named Schmisingh, famous by his birth and very ancient nobility of Enger who strenuously waged wars both on land and sea, indeed as a Captain of a galley. When he was about to offer greater feats near Epidaurus or near the cliffs of Monemvasia, he suffered shipwreck of his body by the violence of a lethal disease. He restored to God his living soul, in the Christian manner, through faith on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of June 1690. The Most Illustrious Don Frederick, Bailiff of Brandenburg, his great-grandfather's brother, dedicated, with tears, this slab to the reputation of so great a nephew, and prayers to his soul in the year 1693.

### 320 - Gregorio Carafa monument

EMERITOS VENERARE CINERES VIATOR  
HIC IACET FRATER DOMINUS GREGORIUS CARAFA AB ARAGONIA, MAGNUS MAGISTER,  
CLARUS GENERE, GENIO PRÆCLARIOR,  
HEROAS, QUOS IN NOMINE GESSIT, IN VIRTUTE CONGESSIT.  
5 EFFUSA COMITATE, DIFFUSIS TRIUMPHIS,  
POPULOS HABUIT AMATORES, ORBEM FECIT ADMIRATOREM.  
BIS AD HELLESPONTUM, TOTIES AD EPIRUM, PELOPONNESUM, ILLYRIUM  
IMPERTERRITO DUCTU, PRÆVALIDA OPE,  
CLASSES DELEVIT, REGNA EXPUGNAVIT.  
10 MUNIFICENTIA, PIETATE PRINCEPS LAUDATISSIMUS,  
URBEM, ARCES, PORTUS, XENODOCHIA, TEMPLA  
AMPLIAVIT, RESTITUIT, ORNAVIT.  
PUBLICO SEMPER RELIGIONIS BONO CURAS IMMOLANS ET STUDIA,  
ÆRARIUM DITISSIMO SPOLIO CUMULAVIT.  
15 OBIIT DIE XXI JULII, ANNOS ÆTATIS LXXV, MAGISTERII XI, ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCXC.

Passer-by, honour these venerable remains

Here lies Frà Don Gregorio Carafa from Aragon, Grand Master, famous for his birth, but more renowned for his talents, those heroes he carried in his name, he brought together in his virtue. He had multitudes as his friends, made the world his admirer through his copious generosity, his triumphs spread abroad, with his fearless leadership and superior might he destroyed fleets, conquered kingdoms, twice near the Hellespont, often near Epirus, the Peleponnese, Illyria. A most admired Prince who with his munificence and observance, enlarged, restored, embellished the city, its fortifications, harbours, hospitals and churches. Always offering his concerns and zeal to the public good of the Religion, he increased the Treasury with most costly riches. He died on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of July, 75 years of age, 11 years in Magistracy, in the Year of Our Salvation 1690.

### 320a - Gregorio Carafa slab

FRATER DOMINVS GREGORIVS CARAFA, ARAGONIVS E PRINCIPIBVS ROCCELLÆ,  
MAGNVS HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS MAGISTER,  
CVI VIVERE VITA PERACTA IN VOTIS ERAT,  
QVIA, MORTEM PRIMAM QVI PRÆVENIT SECVNDAM EVITAT,  
5 HOC SIBI ADHVC VIVENS NON MAVSOLÆVM, SED TVMVIVM POSVIT,  
RESVRRECTVRO SATIS,  
ANNO DOMINI MDCLXXXVIII.

Frà Don Gregorio Carafa, an Aragonian from the noblest men of Roccella, Grand Master of the Order of Jerusalem, to whom to live was a life fulfilled in vows. Because he who anticipates the first Death avoids the Second Death, to this end he placed for himself while alive not a monument but this grave, sufficient for his resurrection, in the Year of the Lord 1688.



## 145 - François de Seytres Caumons

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI FRANCISCO DE SEIJTRES CAUMONS AVENIONENSI,  
CUIUS, CUM AUREIS MORIBUS, COMITATEM DOLEAS OBIISSE.  
EQUESTREM VITAM ÆQUITATIS INCLUSIT FINIBUS, ANIMIQUE  
5 NOBILIORES DOTES COPIOSE ACCEPIT, COLUIT, ADAUXIT.  
PLURIMA SUÆ RELIGIONJ PRÆBUIT AMORIS ARGUMENTA,  
PLURIMA AB EA VICISSIM RECEPIT:  
TRIREMIS PRÆFECTUS, PER BIENNIUM APUD ALEXANDRUM VII  
ET CLEMENTEM IX PER TRIENNIUM ORATOR,  
10 PONTIFICIBUS CHARUS, RELIGIONI PROFICUUS,  
COMMENDIS SANCTÆ LUCIÆ, SANCTÆ EULALIÆ, TRINQUETALLIÆ,  
NEC NON PRIMUM MAGNI CRUCIS AD HONORES,  
POSTMODUM MAGNI COMMENDATARIJ DIGNITATE MUNERATUR,  
MAIORA PARABAT, ILLE PATRARE, HÆC RETRIBUERE,  
15 SED DIGNAM EMULATIONEM INDIGNE FERENS,  
MORS INVIDA DIRIMIT DIE XXVIII JULIJ, 1691,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 67.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà François de Seytres Caumons of Avignon, whose courtesy, along with his splendid demeanour, you deplore passing away. He controlled his Knightly life within the limits of impartiality, and he grasped, fostered, increased the nobler aspects of the mind in abundance; he showed the most possible signs of affection for his Religion, in turn he received the most from it: Captain of a galley, Ambassador for two years at the court of Alexander VII, and for three years at the court of Clement IX, esteemed by the Popes, beneficial to his Religion, he was rewarded with the Commanderies of Sainte-Luce, Sainte-Eulalie and Trinquetaille, and moreover, first with the dignity of Honorary Grand Cross, then with that of Grand Commander. He was preparing greater issues, concluding some, repaying others, but envious Death broke off worthy emulation, shamefully carrying it off on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of July 1691, at the age of 67.

## 210 - Richard de Robins Barbantane

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI RICARDO DE ROBINS DE BARBANTANE,  
INTER MILITES ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI ADSCRIPTO,  
QUI,  
5 PRIUS IN PRIORATU THOLOSANO  
LOCUMTENENTIS VICES SUSTINENS  
PRUDENTIA ET VIGILANTIA,  
MOX UNIUS TRIREMIS MELITENSIS PREFECTUS,  
10 IN EXPUGNATIONE NAUPLIÆ, METHONE SINUS ET CASTRINOVI  
CONSILIO ET MANU,  
DE RELIGIONE ET REPUBLICA CHRISTIANA  
OPTIME MERUIT,  
TANDEM, IMMATURA MORTE ABREPTUS,  
15 UTI VIXERAT, PIE AC RELIGIOSE VITA DECESSIT  
ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS MDCXCII,  
FRATRI DESIDERATO,  
FRATER IOANNES FRANCISCUS DE ROBINS DE BARBANTANE,  
DE CAGNAC PRÆCEPTOR,  
20 AMORIS ET MÆRORIS TESTEM  
INTER LACRUMAS POSUIT MONUMENTUM  
ANNO DOMINI MDCXCIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Richard de Robins de Barbantane, enrolled among the soldiers of the Jerusalemite Order, who, first maintained locum tenens at the Toulousian Priory, with his good sense and alertness, next, as the Captain of a Maltese galley, served most excellently by word and deed the Religion and the Christian Republic in the storming of Navplion, the Gulf of Methone and Navarino. In this last function he was snatched away by an untimely death, departed from life just as he had lived, piously and devoutly, in the year since the Delivery by the Virgin 1692. Frà Jean François de Robins de Barbantane, Receptor of Cagnac, in tears placed this slab as a testimony of love and sorrow in the Year of the Lord 1693, for his dearly missed brother.

## 203 - Hugo de Fleurigny de Vauvilliers

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MEMORIÆ  
FRATRIS HUGONIS DE FLEURIGNY DE VAUVILLIERS,  
EQUITIS SACRI ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI,  
5 CUIUS  
VIGILANTIAM, VIRTUTEM ET PIETATEM  
POMCERIA AMPLIATA URBIS VALLETTÆ,  
PROPUGNACULA EXCITATA CASTRI SANCTI ANGELI,  
PRÆFECTURA TRIREMIS SUPRA NUMEROS AUCTÆ,  
10 CORONE FOELICITER EXPUGNATA,  
AC NOSOCOMIJ HIEROSOLYMITANI GUBERNIUM  
IN QUO PROPRIAM DEDIT UT ALIJS VITAM SERVARET,  
AMPLISSIME TESTANTUR.  
NE TANTI VIRI VIRTUTES AC MERITA OBLIVIONI DENTUR  
15 ET EQUITIBUS HIEROSOLYMITANIS  
DEFICIAT QUOD IMITENTUR,  
NOBILIS CLAUDIUS IOANNES BAPTISTA DE FLEURIGNIJ, CONSULIT  
DUM HOC DOLORIS ET AMORIS ERGA FRATREM AMANTISSIMUM,  
PONIT MONUMENTUM  
20 ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCXCIV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the memory of Frà Hugo de Fleurigny de Vauvilliers, Knight of the Sacred Jerusalemite Order, whose vigilance, virtue and observance bear magnificently witness in the extended boundaries of the city of Valletta, the bulwarks raised of the Castle of Saint Angelo, the advancement of the Captaincy of a galley beyond the call of duty, the successful storming of Coron, and the governing of the Jerusalemite Hospital, where he gave his very own life, so that he might save the lives of others. Should the virtues and merits of so great a man be surrendered to oblivion, and should there be no one available for the Jerusalemite Knights to imitate, the Noble Claude Jean Batiste de Fleurigny, while reflecting upon his sorrow and affection for his most beloved brother, here placed this slab in the Year of Salvation 1694.

## 121 - Louis François de Pontac Beautiran Burdig

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
LUDOVICUS FRANCISCUS DE PONTAC BEAUTIRAN BURDIG,  
DE RELIGIONE CUJUS MUNIA OBIVIT,  
DE REGE GALLO CUJUS IN CLASSE SERVIVIT,  
5 DE OMNIBUS OPTIME MERITUS,  
SANCTI LUDOVICI EQVES DICTUS ET SANCTI JOANNIS MILES,  
EX VULNERE HIC CECIDIT XXV MARTIJ  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCXCIV.  
  
COMMENDATOR FRATER JOANNES GABRIEL DE POLLASTRON  
10 LAILLIERE LEDAIN  
ET FRATER ARNALDUS DE CARDAILLAC  
LONNE, EXECUTORES TESTAMENTARIJ,  
POSUERUNT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Louis François de Pontac Beautiran Burdig went to fulfil his duties for the Religion, he served in the fleet for the King of France, very meritorious regarding all his achievements, was appointed Knight of Saint Louis and Soldier of Saint John, and died of a wound on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, in the Year of Salvation 1694. Commendator Frà Jean-Gabriel de Pollastron la Hillière Ledain and Frà Arnaud de Cardaillac Lomné, executors testamentary, placed this slab.

## 290 - Jacques de Saint-Maur-Lordoue

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
QUID AGIS QUI MEDITARIS HUNC LAPIDEM?  
DESINE MIRARI LONGÆVAM VITAM  
5 FRATRIS JACOBI DE SANCTO MAUR DE LORDOVIS,  
IMITARE VIRTUTES.  
PRIMUM, COMMENDATARIUS COMMENDÆ DE MAISONISSE,  
EXINDE, SUI ORDINIS MARESCALLUS,  
DEMUM, MAGNUS ARVERNIE PRIOR,  
10 VIGILANTIA, INNOCENTIA, INTEGRITATE  
PARTES OMNES IMPLEVIT.  
DIU VIVIT QUI BENE VIVIT  
ET NUMQUAM DESINIT ÆTERNITATI VICTURUS.  
OBIJT,  
DIE 14 APRILIS 1694, ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNOS 86.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

What are you looking at, you who ponders upon this slab? Stop your admiration for the old age of Frà Jacques de Saint-Maur-Lordoue, better emulate his virtues. First, Commendator of the Commandery of Maisonisse, after that Marshal of his Order, finally Grand Prior of Auvergne. He fulfilled all positions with vigilance, virtuousness, integrity. He who lives well lives long enough and never ceases to live for eternity. He died on 14<sup>th</sup> day of April 1694, at the age of 86.

## 144 - Averardo Medici

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EN UT BREVI CONDUNTUR SPATIO  
CINERES FRATRIS AVERARDI MEDICEI!  
SANGUINEM QUÆRIS?  
5 EODEM QUO CORONATUS, MAGNORUM ETRURLÆ DUCUM FONTE DEFLUXIT.  
ORTUM?  
DEDIT FLORENTIA URBS INTER CÆTERAS PRÆSTANTISSIMA.  
MORES?  
CANDIDI, AMENI, INNOXII, PURISSIMI.  
10 VITAM?  
BREVE, SI NUMERAS ANNOS,  
SI VIRTUTES ET MERITA, DIUTURNAM.  
MORTEM?  
HEU QUAM ACERBA! SED O QUAM SANCTA!  
15 OBIIT  
DIE V NOVEMBRIS ANNO MDCXCIV.  
SANCTÆ MARLÆ DE TEMPLO COMMENDATARIUS  
ET ORDINIS ADMIRATUS.  
QUI LEGIS,  
20 ITA VIVE, UT ITA MORIARE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Behold, in what small space the remains of Frà Averardo Medici are stored! Are you looking for his blood-lineage? He sprang from the same source as the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, where he was crowned. His origin? The city of Florence, most superior to others, gave him character. His conduct? Spotless, pleasant, harmless, most pure. His life? Short, if you reckon the number of years, long, if you reckon his virtues and merits. His death? Alas, how cruel! But, oh, how blessed! He died on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of November in the year 1694. Commendator of Santa Maria Del Tempio and Admiral of the Order. Whoever is reading this, live like him, die like him. Frà Giovanni Francesco Ramesino de Luzzara, Knight of the same Order and comrade-in-arms, arranged to place this slab on the request of the Most Serene Carlo and Maria, Duke and Duchess of Mantua.

## 100 - Augusto Maurizio Benzo de Santena

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI AUGUSTINO MAURITIO BENZO DE SANTENA CHERIENSI,  
QUI, POST IACTA MILITARIS GLORIA FUNDAMENTA TERRESTRI MARTE  
IN PEDEMONTIO, AD MARITIMUM IN SUÆ RELIGIONIS OBSEQUIA  
5       CONVERSUS, PER QUATRIENNIUM PROTRIERARCHUS,  
          BIS ETIAM TRIERARCHI VICES GESSIT,  
ATQUE IN CHIENSI EXPUGNATIONE IGNARLÆ COHORTIS DUCTOR, VERE  
          IGNEUS, UTROBIQUE SUMMAM SIBI LAUDEM COMPARAVIT.  
          PRETORLÆ TRIREMIS DESIGNATUS PRÆFECTUS,  
10       AD MAJARA PROPERASSET,  
          SED DUM SUPER EADEM FORTITER DIMICANS,  
          MAURITANÆ PIRATICÆ NAVIS DEDITIONEM PREMIT.  
          GRAVI ACCEPTO VULNERE, NON MULTO POSTEA OCCUBUIT,  
          NEC PROPTEREA VITAM MAGIS RATUS QUAM MORTEM, SI ILLA  
15       AD VICTORIAM CONTULIT, HÆC AD TRIUMPHUM,  
          OBIIT DIE XXII JULII 1695, ÆTATIS 27.  
FRATER SIGISMUNDUS, COMES A THUN, ORDINIS BAIULIUS ET TOTIUS  
          CLASSIS GENERALIS PRÆFECTUS, SUB CUIUS DUCTU PUGNARAT,  
          IN AMORIS ARGUMENTUM POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Augusto Maurizio Benzo de Santena from Chieri, who, after his foundation of military glory had been laid in terrestrial warfare in Piedmont, turned to his Religion's navy, where he, during the four years he served as a 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant of a galley, also deputed twice for his Captain, moreover, as the Captain of the ammunition cohort in the storming of Chios, truly ardent, obtained the highest praise on each occasion. As the Captain designate of the Flagship, he could have hurried to greater achievements, had he not, while fighting heroically on the aforesaid Flagship and pressing hard for the surrender of a Mauritanian pirate ship, been seriously injured and shortly after collapsed. Moreover, he did not deem that life was more important than death, if the former would lead to victory, then the latter would lead to triumph. He died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of July 1695, at the age of 27. Frà Sigismund, Count of Thun, Bailiff of the Order and Captain-General of the entire fleet, placed this slab as a proof of his affection for the man under whose leadership he had fought.

### 193 - Arnaldo Moix

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IACET HIC FRATER DOMINVS ARNALDVVS MOIX MAJORICENSIS,  
COMMENDARVM DE SPLVGA FRANCO, DE BARBENS ET DE SPLV-  
GA CALVA COMMENDATARIVS, EQVES ANIMI PRAESTANTIA  
5 AC IVDICIJ MATVRITATE ET ACVMINE VERE CONSPI-  
CVVS QVOD CVM IN MAGISTRALIS AERARIJ PRAEFE-  
CTVRA, MOX GENERALI RELIGIONIS MANDATO IN  
CATALAVNIA, ALIJSQVE PERMVLTIS PVBLICIS PRI-  
VATISQVE MVNERIBVS COMPROBASSET,  
10 EMINENTISSIMVS MAGNVS MAGISTER FRATER DOMINVS GREGORIVS CARAFA,  
NON EXPECTATO ANTIANITATIS SVF-  
FRAGIO, IN SVPREMVVM PROCERVVM ORDI-  
NEM VOLVIT COOPTATVM. SED AD VI-  
RI GLORIAM QVID ISTA NISI SVMMAM  
15 FORTITVDINEM IN DOLORIBVS TOLERAN-  
DIS RECENSEAS? AD PLVRES QVIPPE ANNOS ARTI-  
CVLARI MORBO CONTINVO VEXATVS, ITA, TAMEN  
DIVINE SVBDEBATVR EX ANIMO VOLVNTATI VT NE  
INTER ACERBIORES QVIDEM CRVCIATVS LEVAMEN DE-  
20 PRECARETVR. NEC CONQVERENDVM AJEBAT INTER  
ANGVSTIAS, CVM IN CORPORE ABSQVE ANGVSTIJS  
ESSE NON LICEAT. TANDEM EX DIVTVRNA  
MORTIS EXPERIENTIA OPTIME MORI EDO-  
CTVS EDOCVIT ANNO 1696, AETATIS SVAE 61.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Don Arnaldo Moix, a Majorcan, Commendator of the Commanderies of L'Espluga de Francoli, Barbens and L'Espluga Calba, a Knight truly famous for his excellence of character and for his maturity and subtlety of judgment which he had proved when he was the Receptor of the Magistral Treasury, soon after the General Commander of the Religion in Catalonia and in numerous other public and private duties. The Most Eminent Grand Master Frà Don Gregorio Carafa, did not await the advancement of his career on grounds of seniority, as he wished him to be admitted among the highest order of leading men. But what are these matters to a man's glory, unless you were to take into account the greatest courage in enduring pain? Indeed, plagued for many years by a chronic disease of the joints, yet he was, divinely inspired, wholeheartedly subjected to His will so that he, not even during most severe torment, prayed for solace. And he was affirming that one should not be complaining during anguish, as one's life should not be without suffering. At last, edified through his own lasting experience of death, he demonstrated how to die best in the year 1696, at the age of 61.



## 126 - Antonio Correa de Sousa

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINUS ANTONIUS CORREA DE SOUSA  
HIC  
HUMANÆ GLORIAM CELSITUDINIS IPSE GLORIOSIOR SISTIT.  
POIJARES, DE ALGOZO, VERÆ CRUCIS COMMENDAS  
TERRÆ COMMENDAT,  
CELI POTITUR IMPERIO.  
EQUITUM MAGISTRI, MAGNI CANCELLARIJ, SUMMÆ TRIREMIUM POTESTATI  
CESSIT HONORIBUS,  
HAUD IPSI CEDUNT HONORES,  
ADDISCAT ORBIS  
QUEM EUBOEIA ET LESA BAIULIUUM,  
QUEM LUSITANIA CORONA AD PETRUM,  
QUEM ROMA AD PONTIFICEM MAXIMUM INNOCENTIIUM XI EXCEPERE LEGATUM.  
MORS EXCIPIT  
QUEM OMNIUM VOTA IN SUMMUM EXOPTAVERANT MAGISTRUM,  
INTEGERRIMÆ ZELO JUSTITIÆ FRETUM,  
MIRÆ IN PAUPERES MISERICORDIÆ AFFECTU ÆSTUANTEM,  
CÆLUM SUSCIPIT CORONANDUM  
DIE XXVII MARTIJ, ANNO MDCXCVI, ÆTATIS SUA LXXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here Frà Don Antonio Correa de Sousa brings to an end the glory of human sublimity, even if he is more glorious himself. He entrusted the Commanderies of Pojares, Algozo, Vera Cruz to earth, on acquiring the Kingdom of Heaven. He ceased from the honours of Marshal, Great Chancellor, the highest rule of the galleys, but by no means did the honours cease from him. May the world know that Negroponte and Leça received him as Bailiff, the Crown of Portugal as Ambassador to Peter, Rome as Ambassador to Pope Innocent XI. Death received whom by unanimous pledge they had hoped for as their highest Master, relying on his commitment for even-handed justice, burning with desire of wonderful compassion towards the poor. Heaven received him in order to be crowned on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of March in the year 1696, at the age of 78.

## 187 - Arnaldo Seralta

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VENERARE HIC CINERES  
FRATRIS DOMINI ARNALDI SERALTA MAIORICENSIS, CATALAUNIÆ PRIORIS  
QUI, POST PUBLICA MUNERA CUM LAUDE GESTA,  
5 SUB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO DOMINO NICOLAO COTONER MAGISTRALIS ÆRARIJ,  
MOX PALATIJ PRÆFECTUS,  
POSTMODUM EIUSDEM EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI LOCUMTENENS,  
NECNON MAGISTERIJ REGENS, SEDE VACANTE,  
ATQUE IN EADEM GENERALIUM COMITIORUM PRÆSES,  
10 SUPREMUM HYEROSOLYMITANÆ REI PUBLICÆ APICEM FORTE ATTIGISSET,  
NI RESTITISSET INSIGNIS ANIMI MODERATIO  
QUA GLORIAM DUM SUBTRAXIT IMPLEVIT.  
TANDEM, ANNIS ÆQUE AC MERITIS GRAVIS,  
15 ÆTERNITATI MATURUS,  
SERENITATE QUAM DUXIT,  
PRESENTEM VITAM FINIVIT,  
NOVAM INCHOATURUS  
ANNO DOMINI 1696, DIE 24 DECEMBRIS,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 85.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Venerate the remains of Frà Don Arnaldo Seralta of Majorca, Prior of Catalonia who, after he had administered public duties with merit, became the Receiver of the Magistral Treasury, and soon after Great Chamberlain of the Palace under the Most Eminent Grand Master Don Nicola Cotoner, and afterwards deputising for the aforesaid Most Eminent Grand Master, and in fact the Lieutenant of the Magistracy during the vacancy of the Mastership, and also the President of the General Elections of the same post. He would perhaps have arrived himself at that very top of the Jerusalemite Republic, if the distinguished moderation of his character had not held him back, with which he satisfied his reputation until he retired. Finally, laden with years and equally with merits, conducting his life with serenity to be ready for eternity, he finished his present life to enter upon a new one in the Year of the Lord 1696, on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of December, at the age of 85.

### 335 - Adrien de Wignacourt

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EMINENTISSIMI PRINCIPIS  
FRATRIS ADRIANI DE WIGNACOURT MORTALES EXUVIÆ  
SUB HOC MARMORE QUIESCUNT.  
5 SI GENERIS SPLENDOREM QUÆRAS,  
HABES IN SOLO NOMINE,  
HABES IN AFFINITATIBUS PENE REGIJS,  
SI RELIGIOSÆ VITÆ MERITA SPECTES,  
CHARITATEM ERGA PAUPERES ET INFIRMOS INDEFESSAM,  
10 ERGA PESTE LABORANTES GENEROSAM  
MIRARI POTERIS,  
ET ITA INTEMERATAM MORUM INNOCENTIAM  
UT MORI POTIUS QUAM FÆDARI VOLUERIT.  
MAGNI ALOFFIJ EX PATRE NEPOS,  
15 INTEGRITATIS, FORTITUDINIS ET JUSTITIÆ LAUDE  
SIMILLIMUS,  
TANTI PRINCIPIS FAMAM EST ASSECUTUS.  
VIXIT SANCTISSIME SANCTISSIME OBIIT  
ANNO SALUTIS 1697, DIE 4 FEBRUARIJ,  
20 ÆTATIS SUÆ 79.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The mortal remains of His Eminency, the Prince Frà Adrien de Wignacourt are resting within this marble monument. If you are questioning the splendour of his birth, you hold it in his name alone, you hold it in his almost royal kindred. If you are looking for the merits of his devout life, you will be able to admire his indefatigable Christian love towards the poor and the sick, his generous charity towards those suffering from the plague, and the innocence of his character, so pure that he would rather die than to be disgraced. Most similar to the great Aloff, a nephew on his father's side, he also obtained the reputation of such a great prince, on the merit of his integrity, strength and righteousness. He lived most piously, most piously he died in the Year of Salvation 1697, on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of February, at the age of 79.

### 130 - Jean-Gabriel de Pollastron la Hillière Ledain

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IACET HIC  
FRATER IOANNES GABRIEL DE POLLASTRON LA HIJLLIERE LEDAIN,  
VIR IUDICIJ MATURITATE, DUM VIVERET,  
5 AC RELIGIONIS ZELO COMMENDABILIS,  
QUOD MUNERIBUS OMNIBUS SACRI ORDINIS IN OBSEQUIUM  
EXPLETIS OPTIME COMPROBAVIT,  
COMMENDAM DE MIGLIAUD ADEPTUS,  
FRUCTUS, QUOS BIENNIO PERCEPIT  
10 MULTIPLICATOS, RESTITUIT COMUNIJ CERARIO,  
DITISSIMO SPOLIO.  
GRAVISSIMO SIQUIDEM PAULOPOST MORBO,  
QUO INTERIIT, AGGRESSUS FUIT:  
DIUTURNAS MORTUAS ANGUSTIAS PATIENTISSIME TOLERA,  
15 IT VEL MORIENS,  
CHRISTIANI FORTITUDINE EXEMPLAR POSTERIS RELINQUIAS,  
OBIIT DIE 30 IANUARIJ 1698, ÆTATIS 64.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Jean-Gabriel de Pollastron la Hillière Ledain, a man with maturity of judgement while he was living, and admirable for the zeal of his Religion, because he most excellently demonstrated that all works he undertook were a service towards the Sacred Order. When he obtained the Commandery of Migliaud, he secured its revenue, which had multiplied over two years, and revived the Common Treasury with most opulent proceeds. Not long after, he was assailed by an extremely grave disease, to which he succumbed accordingly. Bear the long lasting agony of death most patiently, and even on your deathbed you may leave behind an example to posterity by your Christian steadfastness. He died on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of January 1698, at the age of 64.

## 264 - Mattia Preti

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC JACET MAGNUM PICTURÆ DECUS,  
COMMENDATOR FRATER MATHIAS PRETI  
QUI, POST SUMMOS HONORES PENCILLO COMPARATOS  
5 ROMÆ, VENETIIS, NEAPOLI,  
SUB AUSPICIJS EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI DE REDIN MELITAM VENIT  
UBI, AB ORDINE HIEROSOLYMITANO ENCOMIJS ELATUS  
AC INTER EQUITES VENERABILIS LINGUÆ ITALLÆ EX GRATIA ADLECTUS,  
HANC ECCLESIAM SINGULARI PICTURA EXORNAVIT.  
10 SEVERIORIS MOX PIETATIS STUDIO INCENSUS,  
INGENTEM PECUNIAM TABULIS QUÆSITAM  
EROGAVIT IN PAUPERES,  
RELICTO PICTORIBUS EXEMPLO  
QUO DISCERENT PINGERE ÆTERNITATI,  
15 AD QUAM EVOLAVIT NONAGENARIO MINOR QUATUOR ANNIS  
TERTIO NONAS JANUARIJ 1699.  
  
FRATER CAMILLUS ALBERTINI, PRIOR BARULI,  
AMICO DESIDERATISSIMO HOC MONUMENTUM  
POSUIT.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies the great splendour of painting, Commendator Frà Mattia Preti who, after he had gained the highest repute with his painter's brush in Rome, Venice and Naples, came to Malta under the patronage of the most eminent Grand Master De Redin, where he, showered with praise by the Order of Jerusalem, was gratuitously admitted to the company of Knights of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, when he had embellished this church with unparalleled painting. Soon, roused with zeal of graver compassion, he gave an immense sum of money, earned from his paintings, to the poor, leaving behind an example to painters so that they might learn to paint for eternity, to which he flew four years before his ninetieth birthday on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January 1699. Frà Camillo Albertini, Prior of Barletta, placed this slab for his dearly missed friend.

## 151 - Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IACET SUB HOC MARMORE  
ILLUSTRISSIMUS FRATER HENRICUS AUGUSTUS DE BEON DE LUXEMBOURG.  
SI GENERIS SPLENDOREM QUÆRAS,  
5 HABES IN NOMINE.  
SI QUÆRAS UTRUMQUE MILITIS HIEROSOLIJMITANI OFFICIUM  
IN TRIREMIS ET XENODOCHIJ PRÆFECTURA,  
PRÆCLARA DEDIT FORTITUDINIS ET CHARITATIS DOCUMENTA.  
AD PALATIJ MAGISTERIUM ET AD PRIMAM FRANCIÆ  
10 LINGUÆ DIGNITATEM EVECTUS,  
UTRUMQUE MUNUS SPLENDIDE GESSIT.  
ERGA DEUM PIUS, ERGA RELIGIONEM INDEFESSUS,  
ERGA AMICOS FIDELIS, ERGA OMNES BENEFICUS,  
DEO ET OMNIBUS PLACERE STUDUIT.  
15 POST PRÆCLARA GESTA, LETALJ MORBO CORREPTUS,  
UT CURIS EXPEDITIOR MORTI SE ACCINGERET,  
DIGNITATE PRIUS ABDICTA,  
MORI GLORIÆ VOLUIT  
UT SECURIUS POSSET IN DOMINO MORI  
20 ANNO SALUTIS 1699, DIE 15 IANUARIJ, ÆTATIS 65.  
ILLUSTRISSIMI CURATORES TESTAMENTI  
MÆRENTES POSUERUNT.

Under this marble lies the Most Illustrious Frà Henri August de Béon de Luxembourg. If you are seeking the splendour of his lineage, you have it in his name. If you are seeking both duties of this Jerusalemite soldier, he delivered impressive examples of strength and charity in the Captaincy of a galley and the Governorship of the Hospital. After he was advanced to the office of the Grand Master's Palace and to the highest dignity of the Tongue of France, he splendidly conducted each of these offices. Dutiful towards God, indefatigable towards his Religion, faithful to friends, beneficent to everyone, he desired to please God and everybody. After all these splendid achievements, he was assailed by a fatal disease, and in order to prepare himself for death he had renounced his office earlier, so that he was now increasingly disengaged from responsibilities. He desired to die for eternal felicity so that he could die more serenely in the Lord, in the Year of Redemption 1699, on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of January, at the age of 65. The Most Illustrious Curators of his last will placed this slab while in mourning.

## 119 - Bernardo Gort

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
DEDISCAT QUI DIDICIT COMITATEM IN VIAM MORTI.  
FRATER BERNARDUS GORT BARCHINONENSIS  
QUI, MORUM SUAVITATE  
5 VEL INTER ARMA SIBI TOTAM OBTINUIT,  
POST PLURA TAMEN RELIGIONI OBSEQUIA PRÆSTITA,  
PLURES GRADATIM CONSEQUITAS COMMENDAS  
MELIORISQUE REDDITAS,  
TANDEM MAIORICENSIS BAIULIVUS,  
10 NEMINI UNQUAM INFENSUS,  
OMNIBUS BENEFICUS,  
IUCUNDISSIME UT VIXIT  
DIEM EXTREMUM CLAUSIT,  
AD PERENNEM IUCUNDITATEM IN DOMINO MIGRATURUS,  
15 DIE PRIMO FEBRUARIJ 1699, ÆTATIS SUÆ 78.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

May he forget all that he learned about society on the road to Death.

Frà Bernardo Gort of Barcelona, who preserved his entire reputation through the pleasantness of his character, in particular among the warriors themselves, conversely, after he had supplied many services to his Religion, he gradually obtained more Commanderies and accordingly higher yields, in his last office he was Bailiff of Majorca. Never hostile to anyone, beneficent to everyone, most gratifyingly as he had lived, he concluded his last day in order to set out to eternal bliss in the Lord, on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of February 1699, at the age of 78.



## 122 - François de Mores Ventavon

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI FRANCISCO DE MORGES VENTAVON,  
MORUM SUAVITATE AC SPECTATISSIMA FIDE ORNATO,  
CUIUS MILITAREM GLORIAM, BELLICA ORDINIS TIROCINIA,  
5 MOX SUB VEXILLIS CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS SUSCEPTÆ EXPEDITIONES,  
POSTMODUM IGILGITANÆ OBSIDIONIS,  
DUM PRO PUBLICA CAUSA  
MILITUM SUÆ RELIGIONIS TRIBUNUM AGERET, COMPROBARUNT.  
COMMENDA MASSILIENSI,  
10 VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ PROVINCIÆ PRINCIPATU  
ET TANDEM PRIORATU SANCTI ÆGIDIJ A SUA RELIGIONE MUNERATUS,  
COMMENDA MONTIS PESSULJ  
FRATREM CÆSAREM DE VILLANOVA TOURENC, AMICUM SUUM,  
EX SUA PRIORALI PRÆROGATIVA MUNERAVIT.  
15 OBIJT NONAGENARIO MINOR 22 FEBRUARIJ, 1699.

FRATER IOANNES BAPTISTA DE BOFFIN LA SONE, PRONEPOS,  
ARGUMENTUM AMORIS  
DOLENS PROPRIO ÆRE POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For François de Mores Ventavon, blessed with a friendly disposition and extraordinary faith, whose first military campaigns of the Order, and soon after the expeditions undertaken under the banner of the Most Christian King, and a little later, on account of the Republic, the military commandership of his Religion while he was in charge of the siege of Jijeli, confirmed his military glory. He was granted by his Religion the Commandery of Marseilles, the Priorship of the Venerable Tongue of Provence and, his last office, the Priory of Saint-Gilles, he granted, from his prioral title, Frà Césare de Villeneuve Tourenc, his friend, the Commandery of Monte Pessulo. He died, almost a nonagenarian, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 1699.

Frà Jean Baptiste de Boffin la Saonne, his great-nephew, placed in mourning this slab at his own expense, as a sign of his affection.

### 330 - Balduin Brulart de Genlis

XPICTOZ

RELIGIOSA FRATRIS BALDUINI BRULART DE GENLIS INSIGNIA,  
MONTISPESSULANI MORITUR, IBI CORPUS, HIC IACET MEMORIA.  
HUNC LUDOVICUS MAGNUS FECIT SACRAE MILITIAE EQUITEM.

HIC IN COMMENDAM VILERS LEODII TEMPLI INSTITUIT,

ILLE PRIMO CENTURIONEM,

DEINDE TRIBUNUM MILITUM CORONAE CONSTITUIT,

ATQUE CRESCENTE CUM AETATE VIRTUTE,

MILITARIS GLOBI PREFECTUS GENERALIS, MILITUM INSPECTOR,

DIRECTOR CASTRORUM, MARESCALLUS EXERCITUUM REGIS

ATQUE GIRONAE GUBERNATOR EFFICITUR.

SUA SACRAE RELIGIONI MEMOR

IPSI, QUOD IUSTITIA ACCEPIT, PIETATE RESTITUIT,

SPOLIIS DIVES DITISSIMIS ZELI PIGNUS RELIQUIT.

OBIIT 13 MARTII 1699.

HOC GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM VENENRANDI COMMUNIS AERARII PROCERES POSUERE.

Christ.

The religious emblems of Frà Balduin Brulart de Genlis. He died in Monte Pessulo, his body lies there, his memory here. Louis the Great made him a Knight of the Sacred Militia, he established him at the Commandery of Villers-le-Temple of Liège, he appointed him, first as Centurion, then as Military Tribune to the Crown. and also, with increased age and virtue he was made Prefect-General of a military company, Inspector of the infantry, Governor of fortifications, Marshal of the King's armies and Governor of the Gironde region. Mindful of his Sacred Religion itself, he returned by sense of duty what he had received by right, leaving behind the richest spoils, a rich proof of his zeal. He died on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March 1699. The Venerable Procurators of the Common Treasury placed this as a monument of grateful memory.

### 365 - Stefano Maria Lomellini

CLAUDIT DUM RESERAT

EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI FRATRI DOMINI GREGORIJ CARAFÆ SUMMA RELIGIO  
AD EXCITANDA VETUSTA PIETATIS OFFICIA,  
PROTECTORIS DEXTERE URNAM ET ARAM EREXIT,  
5 AD QUOD PRIUS LOCUM INSTAURARAT, ORNARAT, DOTARAT.  
FRATER STEPHANUS MARIA LOMELLINUS,  
ANGLIÆ POSTEA VENETIARUM PRIOR,  
SUB TANTI PATRONI TUTELA NATUS, COOPTATUS ET AUCTUS,  
HANC AUTEM VENERANDI PROCERES BENEMERENTIÆ  
10 DECREVERE POSTERIS MEMORIAM  
ANNO SALUTIS MDCLXXXVII.

FRATER STEPHANUS MARIA LOMELLINI, VENETIARUM PRIOR,  
A MORTE VICTUS, HIC DE MORTE VICISSIM VICTORIAM  
EXPECTAT EX QUO ENIM SECUNDAM TIMUIT, PRIMAM  
15 IMPAVIDE SUSTINUIT DIE VII SEPTEMBRIS 1699.

He closes while he opens

The highest reverence for the Most Eminent Grand Master, Frà Don Gregorio Carafa, in order to revive ancient duties of observance, established a slab of his guardian and an altar on the right hand side at that place which he had previously restored, decorated, endowed. Frà Stefano Maria Lomellini, Prior of England, afterwards of Venice, born, admitted and raised under the guardianship of such a great man, together with the Venerable Notables decided on this memorial of merit to future generations in the Year of Salvation 1687.

Frà Stefano Maria Lomellini, Prior of Venice, defeated by Death, here in turn awaits victory over Death, for which reason, therefore, he feared the second, but fearlessly underwent the first on the 7th day of September 1699.

### 396 - Giovanni de Giovanni

ÆTERNAT HOC MARMOR SINGULAREM PIETATEM  
ILLUSTRIS DOMINI, PRIORIS BAJULIVI SANCTI STEPHANI,  
FRATRIS DON ANDREÆ DE JOANNE  
QUI AD MAJOREM DEI CULTUM,  
5 POST AUCTUM AB EO HUIUS VENERANDI ORATORII DECOREM,  
UT SUI FRATRES, RELIGIOSI  
EX HAC VITA IN DIES DECEDENTES,  
PER BONAM MORTAM REQUIEM CONSEQUI MEREANTUR ÆTERNAM,  
HAS FOUNDATIONES PERPETUAS  
10 PARI GENEROSITATE EXCITAVIT, FIRMAVIT, DOTAVIT  
DIEBUS VENERIS QUADRAGESIMÆ EXPOSITIONIS DE MANE ET CELEBRATIONIS  
SEX MISSARUM PER ACTA MAGNIFICI NOTARII MARCHESII SUB DIE 12 FEBRUARII 1738,  
PRO AGONIA CELEBRATIONIS QUATUOR MISSARUM ET EXPOSITIONIS MANE ET SERO  
PER ACTA EJUSDEM NOTARII SUB DIE 8 NOVEMBRIS 1738,  
15 PRO BONA MORTE QUOLIBET PRIMO DIE VENERIS EXPOSITIONIS ET CELEBRATIONIS SEX MISSARUM  
PER ACTA MAGNIFICI NOTARII MORELLI SUB DIE 9 DECEMBRIS 1739,  
ET CELEBRATIONIS UNIUS MISSÆ QUOTIDIANÆ  
PER ACTA MAGNIFICI NOTARII CALLUS SUB DIE 18 MAII 1744.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
20 FRATRIS DOMINI JOANNIS DE IOANNE MESSANENSIS,  
PRÆCLARISSIMI GENERIS PATRITY,  
MONUMENTUM, NON CINERES, SERVAT HÆC URNA  
CUIUS  
EXCELSE VIRTUTES ANIMIQUE DOTES  
25 UNIUS, INDE TOTIUS CLASSIS TRIREMIIUM  
SUPREMAM TRIBUERE PRÆFECTURAM,  
BARULI DEIN SUÆ PATRIÆ MAGNUM PRIOREM  
MERITO RENUNCIATUS,  
REGIMINI EJUSDEM UT INCUMBERET, ARREPTO ITINERE,  
30 PRÆTORIAM SACRI ORDINIS NAVEM CONSCENDIT,  
QUÆ  
BELLICAM NAVEM BARBARAM AGGREDIENS,  
IN MEDIO QUASSATA FLUCTUS FATO CARUIT VICTORIA,  
ETSI INFRACTA BARBAROS SUO FUGAVIT TERRORE  
35 ANNO 1700.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DON ANDREAS DE JOANNE E MARCHIONIBUS SOLATY  
OLIM SANCTÆ MARIA IN CARBONARA NUNC SANCTÆ MARIE  
DE SALICE A FOSSANO COMMENDATARIUS ATQUE BAJULIVATI SANCTI  
40 STEFANI PRIOR, SACRI MAJESTATIS CAROLI, UTRIUSQUE SICILIÆ  
REGIS, APUD SACRAM RELIGIONEM MINISTER, AVUNCULO DE  
SE BENEMERENTI ERÆXIT ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS 1739.  
VIVERE DESIIT DIE 9 AUGUSTII, ANNO DOMINI 1755,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 80.

For translation, see overleaf.

### 396 - Giovanni de Giovanni

This marble immortalises the remarkable piety of the Illustrious Lord, Prior of the Bailiwick of Santo Stefano, Brother Don Andrea de Giovanni who, for greater worship of God had improved the splendour of this Venerable Oratory in order to reward his Brothers, the Religious departing from this life every day to gain eternal rest by means of a good death, and with equal generosity raised, strengthened, endowed these everlasting foundations for the Exposition of the Host in Lent in the morning and for the celebration of six Masses on Fridays in a deed drawn up by the noble Notary Marchesi on 12th day of February 1738, for the celebration of four Masses and for the Exposition of the Blessed Sacraments in the morning and evening on behalf of the Passion in a deed drawn up by the aforesaid Notary on 8th day of November 1738, on any first Friday for the Exposition of the Blessed Sacraments and for the celebration of six Masses for a good death in a deed drawn up by the noble Notary Morelli on 9th day of December 1739, and for the celebration of one daily Mass in a deed drawn up by the noble Notary Callus on 18th day of May 1744.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

This urn preserves a monument, not the remains of Brother Lord Giovanni de Giovanni, a Messinian, a nobleman of most famous birth whose exalted virtues and gifts of the mind gained him the Captaincy of one, thenceforth the Captain-Generalship of the whole fleet of galleys, next, he was announced Grand Prior of his fatherland at Barletta for his merit of the same command, in order to exert his influence on a slow moving campaign, he embarked for a transfer to the Flagship of the Sacred Order, from which, while attacking a barbarian warship, he was cut off in the middle of the fray. Although his victory was shattered by Fate, albeit the shine was taken off, he routed the barbarians by his ferocity, in the year 1700.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Of the consolation of Brother Don Andrea de Giovanni, from the Marquesses, formerly Commendator of Santa Maria in Carbonara, now of Santa Maria del Salice at Fossano, and Prior of the Bailiwick of Santo Stefano, representative of His Holy Majesty Charles, King of the Two Sicilies, to the Sacred Religion, raised this slab for his meritorious maternal uncle in the Year of Salvation 1739. He ceased to live on the 9th day of August, in the Year of the Lord 1755, at the age of 80.

### 326 - Nicolas de Chevestre de Cintray

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
QUIESCIT SUB HOC MARMORE  
ILLUSTRIS FRATER NICOLAUS DE CHEVESTRE DE CINTRAY,  
COMENDATARIUS ALAGNY, LESEC ET ACHELIPPE  
5 QUI, OMNIBUS FERE RELIGIONIS OFFICIIS PERFUNCTUS,  
E MAGNA HOSPITALITATE  
AD GENERALIS THESAURARIJ DIGNITATEM EVECTUS EST.  
PRUDENS REDITUUM ADMINISTRATOR,  
OPULENTUM RELIGIONI SPOLIUM RELIQUIT,  
10 ET SIBI MODERATE, PARCUS,  
NEPOTES E PARSIMONIA ADIUVIT  
UT RELIGIONIS MUNERA SUSTINERENT,  
IN HOC ETIAM UTRISQUE BENEFICUS.  
QUA VIXERAT ANIMI TRANQUILITATE,  
15 NONAGENARIUS, VIVERE DESIIT IV JANUARIJ 1700.  
PERILLUSTRES FRATRES CAROLUS DE LOPIS DA FARA ET JOANNES FRANCISCUS  
DE CINTRAY, PRONEPOS, POSUERE.

#### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Under this marble slab rests the Illustrious Frà Nicolas de Chevestre de Cintray, Commendator of Alagny, Lesec and Achelippe who, punctiliously performing just about all duties of the Religion, formerly the Grand Hospitaller, was raised to the dignity of Treasurer-General. As a prudent administrator of revenues, he left behind opulent spoils to his Religion; moderate and frugal to himself, he helped his nephews out of their abstinence so that they could maintain the duties of the Religion, and in doing so, he was indeed beneficent to both. He had lived with a tranquillity of mind, with which he now, a nonagenarian, ceased to live on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1700. The greatly distinguished Frati Carlo de Lopis de Fara and Jean-François de Cintray, a great-nephew, placed this slab.

## 128 - Domenico Maria and Giovanni Battista Spinola

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CINERES HIC NE QUÆRE, VIATOR,  
STAT MORTIS MEMORIÆ, NON TROPHÆO.  
BAIULIVUS FRATER IOANNES BAPTISTA SPINOLA, POST PECULIAREM TRIREMIS,  
5 MOX GENERALEM CLASSIS PRÆFECTURAM, IN 33 ADHUC ÆTATIS ANNUM,  
POSUIT VIVENS SIBI AC DOMINICO MARLÆ, FRATRI AMANTISSIMO,  
QUEM ANCEPS ABSTULERIT IGNIS AN UNDA.  
HIC REPETITO TRIREMIS DUCTU, IN UTROQUE VICERAT HOSTES,  
ET DUM, SUB FRATRIS IMPERIO, CUM BARBARA NAVI CONGREDITUR,  
10 VEL SAUCIATUS VICTORIAM FIRMASSET  
NI TONANTE UNDIQUE IGNE, MARE HORRIDE TUMESCENTE  
AC MISERE FATISCENTE PRÆTORIA,  
ELEMENTIS CESSISSET DIE 16 FEBRUARIJ ANNI 1700,  
CUIUS ITAQUE SUDORES, SUBSTANTIAM, VITAM  
15 RELIGIONIS CONSUMPSIT ARDOR, MARMOR ÆTERNET.

QUI BAJULIVUS ROMAM, NEAPOLIM, PANORMUM MISSUS, ORATOR  
AD INNOCENTIUM XIII, PHILIPPUM V, VICTORIUM AMEDEUM,  
AC GENERALIS RECEPTORIS MUNERE FUNCTUS, MERITORUM NON MINOS  
QUAM OPUM DIVES, GENERE CLARUS, VIRTUTIBUS CLARIOR,  
20 DIUTINUM MORBI LINGUOREM INVICTA TOLERANTIA PERPESSUS,  
HEIC OBIT, IMMENSIS GAZIS COMMUNI ÆRARIO RELICTIS,  
XIV KALENDAS FEBRUARII MDCCXXXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, do not seek his remains here, it holds good to the memory of death, not to the triumph over it. Bailiff Frà Giovanni Battista Spinola, after the Captaincy of a particular galley, soon after held the Captain-Generalship over the fleet when he was only 33 years old, placed, while alive this slab for himself and Domenico Maria, his most beloved brother, whom it remains unclear whether fire or wave swept away. The latter, in reclaiming leadership of a galley, had prevailed over enemies on either side. Under the command of his brother, he engaged with a barbarian ship, and although he was wounded, he nevertheless would have secured the victory, if it was not for the cannon fire thundering from everywhere, the waves rolling violently and the Flagship cracking open excessively. He thus had to surrender to the elements on the 16th day of February of the year 1700. May this marble immortalise him whose passion of his Religion consumed his blood, sweat and tears.

He was sent to Rome, Naples, Palermo as a Bailiff, to Pope Innocent XIII, Philip V, Vittorio Amedeo as an ambassador. After fulfilling the office of Receptor General, rich of merits no less than of wealth, famous for his noble birth, more famous for his virtues, although enduring with unconquerable firmness the chronic fatigue of illness, he died here, leaving behind an immense wealth for the Common Treasury, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 1737.



## 70 - Pierre Viany

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET FRATER PETRUS VIANIJ, PRIOR ECCLESİÆ,  
PRO QUA ORNANDA NUNQUAM QUIEVIT.  
CIRCA DIVINI CULTUS OBSERVANTIAM  
5 MIRUM QUAM FUIT SOLLICITUS!  
PIETATE IN DEUM, ASSIDUITATE IN TEMPLO, TOTIUS VITÆ  
SANCTIMONIA,  
NEC NON INDEFESSO SACRARUM LITTERARUM  
STUDIO, CLERO PRÆLUXIT SEMPER.  
10 OMNIUM IN OMNIBUS NON TAM PRÆSUL QUAM EXEMPLAR,  
SIBI PARCUS, IN PAUPERES PRODIGUS,  
ERGA ALTARIA MAGNIFICUS,  
ET CONSANGUINE EORUM PRORSUS IMMÉMOR,  
IN PIA OPERA, QUIDQUID HABUIT, TOTUM IMPENDIT.  
15 VETITO SIBI ETIAM MARMORE SEPULCHRALI  
SED TANTI VIRI MEMORIÆ  
ILLUSTRISSIMI PUBLICI ÆRARIJ PROCERES  
HOC MONUMENTUM POSUERE.  
OBIIT ANNO 1700, NOVEMBRIS DIE 18,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 68, PRIORATUS 34.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Pierre Viany, Prior of this Church, for which embellishment he never rested. It is wonderful how he was concerned regarding the observance of divine worship! He always illuminated the clergy with his piety towards God, attendance in the Church, the sanctitude of his whole life, and also his indefatigable study of the Holy Scriptures. Not so much as the Prior, but as an example to everyone in everything. He was frugal to himself, charitable to the poor, sumptuous to altars, and absolutely regardless of his family, he spent everything, whatever he had, on good works. Although he had even opposed a marble memorial for himself, yet the Most Illustrious Notables of the Common Treasury placed this slab to the memory of so great a man. He died in the year 1700, on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of November, at the age of 68, of which he spent the last 34 in his Priorship.

## 186 - Agosto Sanz de la Llosa

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SISTE, VIATOR,  
AD MEDITANDUM SUPREMUM DIEM TE HUC INVITAT  
FRATER DOMINUS AUGUSTINUS SANZ DE LA LLOSA  
5 BAIULIUUS DE CASPE  
ET COMMENDARUM DE ASCON ET CASTELLOTTÆ COMMENDATARIUS.  
ULTIMUS DE SUA FAMILIA FACILIUS AGNOVIT  
VIAM, IN QUA A RELIQUIS PRÆVENTUS FUIT,  
CONTINUO SIBI INGREDIENDAM,  
10 PROPTEREA TERMINUM QUEM PRE OCULIS VOLUIT,  
VIVENS SIBI SIGNAVIT IN LAPIDE.:  
IN MUNERIBUS PRO RELIGIONE GESTIS,  
IN DIGNITATIBUS ET PREMIJS AB EA RECEPTIS  
HUNC TERMINUM COLLIMAVIT.  
15 AD HUNC PARITER OMNIA CONFERT, GRANDE MALUM  
QUOD ALIAS MORS ESSET.  
SATAGENS MORTIS MEMORIAM VENDICARE,  
HINC MORTEM LÆTUS ASPICIENS  
CUI ASSUEVERAT. OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO  
20 26 DECEMBRIS ANNO 1701.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Halt, passer-by, Frà Don Agosto Sanz de la Llosa, Bailiff of Caspe and Commendator of the Commanderies of Ascó and Castellotte, here invites you to meditate on the Last Day. He, as the last of his family, understood almost without hesitation that the road, on which he was preceded by the others, must be forthwith followed by himself. Therefore, the end, which revolved in his mind he engraved for himself, while alive, on this slab:

He took a right aim at his end in the fulfilment of his duties for the Religion, and in the acceptance of its positions and rewards, He likewise associated everything with this, because otherwise Death could be a great evil. Busying himself to claim time from Death, thence joyfully awaiting Death to which he had grown accustomed. He died in the Lord on the 26<sup>th</sup> of December in the year 1701.

## 104 - Giacomo Cavaretta

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ÆTERNITATI VIXIT, QUI CESSIT TEMPORI,  
HUMANIS SATIS SATIUS SUPERIS.  
FRATER DOMINUS IACOBUS CAVARETTA SANCTI STEPHANI PRIOR  
5 AC DE MORELLO ET GRASSANO COMMENDATOR,  
SIBI PARCUS, RELIGIONI PROFICUUS,  
PATRIÆ PROFUSUS,  
FAMILIARIBUS BENEFICUS,  
PAUPERIBUS LIBERALIS, SUBDITIS  
10 ÆQUE CHARUS AC INTIMIS,  
LONGO TANDEM CONFECTUS SENIO,  
DEO ANIMAM REDDIDIT DIE 17 JUNIJ 1702,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNO 81.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

He who lived for immortality, died on time, he had spent enough time with mortals, he has now abundant time for those Heavenly. Frà Don Giacomo Cavaretta, Prior of Santo Stefano and Commendator of Morello and Grassano, frugal to himself, beneficial to his Religion, lavish to his fatherland, supportive to his relatives, generous to the poor, equally dear to his subordinates and intimate friends, was finally exhausted by a cumbersome condition of old age. He returned his soul to God on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of June 1702, in the 81st year of his life.

## 105 - Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET  
FRATER JACOB DE FOVILLE D'ESCRAINVILLE,  
QUI, CUM ANNOS NATUS CIRCITER XXXIII PIETATIS ERGO  
5 SACRÆ MILITÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ SE ADDIXISSET,  
ANTIQUAS NORMANNORUM IN SARACENOS VICTORIAS,  
NORMANNUS IPSE, FELICITER IN TURCAS RENOVAVIT,  
IN EOS IGITUR PROPRIJS SUMPTIBUS NAVEM INSTRUXIT PRIMUM,  
DEINDE TRIREMIS PRÆFECTURAM GESSIT,  
10 POSTEA, PRÆTORIAM IPSAM REXIT  
SIC EFFLAGITANTE SUPREMO TRIREMIUM DUCE,  
EXCELLENTISSIMO BALLIVIO DE HARCOURT,  
QUIBUS IN OMNIBUS VIRTUTI ADSTIPULANTE FORTUNA,  
QUAM PLURIMAS HOSTIUM NAVES FUGAVIT, SPOLIAVIT, CEPIT.  
15 PROPTER QUÆ MERITA, INTER BALLIVOS HONORARIOS  
ANNUMERATUS EST AB EMINENTISSIMO DE WIGNACOURT,  
QUO ETIAM TEMPORE ANNUA ATTRIBUTIONE  
A LUDOVICO MAGNO DONATUS EST,  
CUIUS NEGOTIA MELITÆ ADMINISTRAVIT ANNIS XX,  
20 DENIQUE, FERME DECREPITUS, TRIREMIUM OMNIUM  
REGIMEN SIBI ASSUMPSIT,  
UT QUOD SUPERERAT OPUM ET ANNORUM  
CHRISTO ET RELIGIONI IMPENDERET.  
PRÆTORIÆQUE SUB EO PRÆFUIT IPSIUS EX FRATRE NEPOS  
25 FRATER IOANNES ANNÆUS DE FOVILLE D'ESCRAINVILLE,  
QUI, CARISSIMO AVUNCULO, PIE DE MORTUO XVII IANUARIJ  
ANNI MDCCIII, DUM ANNUM FINIRET LXXXI, HOC GRATI  
ANIMI MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Jaques de Fouille d'Escrainville, who, when he was about 34 years of age, in consequence of his virtue, had devoted himself to the Sacred Jerusalemite Militia. A Norman himself, he successfully renewed, to the detriment of the Turks, those old victories of the Normans over the Saracens. He therefore, initially, furnished a ship at his own expense, next he undertook the Captaincy of a galley, afterwards he was in charge of the Flagship itself. Thus by urgent request of the Captain-General of the galleys, the Most Excellent Bailiff of Harcourt, he put to flight, spoilt, captured as many ships as possible of the enemy, in all these events his good fortune was engaged to his virtue. On account of these merits, he was chosen to the company of Honorary Bailiffs by His Eminency De Wignacourt, besides, at that time, he was given an annual stipend by Louis the Great, whose affairs he administered in Malta for twenty years. Finally, quite advanced in years, he obtained the Captain-Generalship of all the galleys, so that he could devote the remainder of his strength and years to Christ and the Religion. Frà Jean-Anné de Fouillie d'Escrainville, a nephew on his brother's side, in charge of the Flagship itself under his command, placed this as a monument of grateful memory for his most beloved maternal uncle, who, while nearing the end of his 81st year, died piously on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January of the year 1703.

### 93 - Jean du Hamel

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET  
FRATER IOANNES DU HAMEL.  
ORDINIS SUI XENODOCHII  
5 PRÆFECTURA HONORIFICE PERFUNCTUS,  
SACRI ÆRARIJ QUÆSTOR  
SUPREMUS EXTITIT  
DONEC,  
DIVES IN BONIS OPERIBUS,  
10 THESAURUMQUE IN COELIS  
NON DEFICIENTEM ADEPTUS,  
FIDE MUNITUS, SPE ERECTUS,  
CHARITATE FORMATUS,  
OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO 12 NOVEMBRIS,  
15 ANNO SALUTIS 1703, ÆTATIS SUÆ 79.  
COMMENDATARIUS FRATER FRANCISCUS DU HAMEL,  
EX PATRE NEPOS, HOC MONIMENTUM  
DOLENS POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Jean du Hamel. He performed honourably the Governorship of the Infirmary of his Order, stood out as the Supreme Treasurer of the Sacred Treasury until he, abounding in good works, arrived at the infallible Treasure of Heaven, strengthened by faith, raised with hope, reared through charity, died in the Lord on the 12<sup>th</sup> of November, in the Year of Redemption 1703, at the age of 79. Commendator Frà François du Hamel, nephew on his brother's side, placed this slab in mourning.

### 372 - Louis de Saint Pol

ABSIT GLORIARI NISI IN CRUCE  
DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
AD MEMORIAM NOBILIS PUERI  
LUDOVICI DE SAINT POL  
5 QUI, INTER EPHEBOS HONORARIOS MAGNI MAGISTRI DOMINI  
RAIMUNDI PERELLOS DESTINATUS,  
IMMATURA ET RAPIDA MORTE  
EX MUNDO ABREPTUS, AB ANNO  
MILLESIMO SEPTINGENTESIMO QUARTO  
10 IN ISTA CRYPTA SEPULTUS,  
FRATER CAROLUS PETRUS, EQUES VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ  
ET PRIORATUS FRANCIÆ, FRATRI GERMANO  
HIC MONUMENTUM CURAVIT.

God forbid boasting except in case of the Cross.

To the memory of the noble boy Louis de Saint Pol who, chosen to the company of the honorary pages of Grand Master Ramon Perellos, was stolen from the earth by an premature and swift death. He lies buried in this grave from the 1704<sup>th</sup> year. Frà Charles Pierre, Knight of the Venerable Tongue and Priory of France, provided here a slab for his brother.

## 287 - Paul de Baroncellis Javon

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CIVICAS CORONAS ET VOTIVAS NAUFRAGORUM TABULAS  
SUSPENSAS URNÆ CONTEMPLARE, VIATOR.  
MONIMENTA HÆC MAGNANIMI IN REMPUBLICAM MERITI  
5 EREXIT FAMA LAUREATO CINERI  
COMMENDATORIS FRATRIS PAULI DE BARONCELLIS IAVON  
QUI, POST EMENSUM GLORIÆ STADIUM IN EXPEDITIONE PELOPONNESI,  
INTER TRIERARCHOS ADLECTUS, VITAM PRO CIVIUM SALUTE  
IN NAUFRAGIO PRÆTORIE TRIREMIS DEVOVIT,  
10 UNUS QUIPPE, ADVERSA LICET OBLUCTANTE PROCELLA,  
VELIFICATIONE TRIREMIS, CUI PRÆERAT, INTERMISSA,  
AUDACISSIMO CONATU, FELICISSIMO EVENTU,  
CLX VIROS CUM PRÆFECTO CLASSIS SERVAVIT INCOLUMES.  
PROCLAMATUS EXINDE SINGULARI PROECONIO SERVATOR.  
15 QUI LEGIS, COLLIGE EX HOC QUANTAS GESSISSET SI DIU VIXISSET,  
SED, HEU, TANTAM SPEM IMMATURO FATO MORS ADEMIT.  
DESIJT ENIM VIVERE QUADRAGESIMO SEPTIMO EXPLETO 17 JULIJ 1704,  
FRATER CHRISTOPHORUS DE BARONCELLIS IAVON,  
MAGNUS PRIOR SANCTI ÆGIDIJ, LAPIDEM HUNC VIRTUTIS ET DOLORIS TESTEM  
20 AMANTISSIMO NEPOTI POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, contemplate on the civic crowns and votive tablets of shipwrecked men dedicated to this slab. Reputation raised this slab of high-spirited service for the Republic to the laurelled remains of Commendator Frà Paul de Baroncellis Javon who, after he had crossed his arena of glory in the Peloponnesian campaign, was chosen to the company of Captains. He sacrificed his life for the safety of his fellow-citizens when during the shipwreck of the Flagship, alone indeed, and notwithstanding that the cruising of the galley under his command was frustrated by a contrary wind, he saved the lives, by a most daring attempt with a very successful result, of 160 men, including the Captain-General of the fleet. For this reason he was publicly proclaimed, with unanimous praise, as a saviour. You, who are reading this, reckon from this how much he would have achieved, had he lived longer, but alas, Death carried off so much hope by a premature fate. Indeed, he ceased to live after 47 years, on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1704. Frà Christophore de Baroncellis Javon, Grand Prior of Saint-Gilles, placed this slab as a witness of virtue and grief for his most beloved nephew.

## 288 - Mazzeo Grugno

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINUS MAZZEUS GRUGNO, COMMENDATOR MORELLI,  
SICULUS HIEROSOLYMORUM SANCTI IOANNIS, VIRTUTE ANIMIQUE MAGNITUDINE  
SUIS AC SIBI NON IMPAR,  
5 PLURIMIS PRÆCLARE GESTIS NOMEN AUXIT AD FASTIGIUM,  
BIS APUD SICILÆ PRO-REGEM ÆTATIS FLORE  
LEGATIONEM GERENS, PRUDENTIA SENIUM EXPLEVIT,  
TRIREMIS PRÆFECTURAM MUNIFICE EXERCENS,  
10 IN MAGNAM TURCARUM NAVIM CAPESSENDAM  
STRENUE DIMICAVIT  
ET INTER BELLII DISCRIMINA  
SEMPER LUSIT INPERTERRITUS,  
AT QUI MARTI NUMQUAM CESSIT,  
MORTI TANDEM CESSIT IMMATURÆ,  
15 MELITÆ ANNO DOMINI 1705, ÆTATIS SUÆ 31, MENSE DECEMBRIS DIE II  
CUI NE BREVI VITÆ REDDITÆ MEMORIA DEESSET SEMPITERNA,  
EIUS AMANTISSIMUS FRATER DOMINUS IOANNES GRUGNO FACIENDUM CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Don Mazzeo Grugno, Commendator of Morello, a Sicilian of Saint John of Jerusalem, his own virtue and magnitude of mind belonging to the same class as his own lineage, increased his reputation to the very pinnacle by numerous very splendid exploits. Twice completing, in the flower of his age, an embassy to the court of the Viceroy of Sicily, which he conducted with the prudence of those advanced in years, munificently carrying out the Captaincy of a galley, he vigorously fought to capture the Flagship of the Turks, and always rallied fearlessly amid the dangers of war. But he who never yielded to war, at last yielded to a premature Death in Malta, in the Year of the Lord 1705, at the age of 31, on 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the month of December. Should eternal memory fail of this short life returned, his most loving brother Don Giovanni Grugno cared to arrange for this slab.



## 80 - Giulio Bovio

OPPRIMIT LAPIS MORTALES EXUVIAS  
FRATRIS IULIJ BOVIJ BONONIENSIS, ANGLLÆ PRIORIS.  
HIC PIETATEM, IUSTITIAM, PRUDENTIAM  
HABUIT, COMITES ET DUCES.  
5 UNIUS PONTIFICLÆ TRIREMIS,  
TERCENTUM PEDITUM DUX IN URBE AVENIONENSI,  
COMMUNIS ÆRARIJ PER XXIII ANNOS SECRETARIUS,  
AD SANCTISSIMUM PONTIFICEM CLEMENTEM XI ORATOR EXTRAORDINARIUS.  
FIDEM ERGA SUUM PRINCIPEM,  
10 OBSEQUIUM ERGA SUUM ORDINEM  
ÆQUE PROBAVIT,  
AD MAIORA NATUS, NISI MORS OBSTITISSET.  
ABBAS GUIDO BOVIUS, FRATRI GERMANO,  
DOLORIS ET GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM  
15 POSUIT ANNO SALUTIS MDCCVI.

This slab covers the mortal remains of Frà Giulio Bovio of Bologna, Prior of England. He possessed compassion, righteousness, prudence, comrades-in-arms and leaders. Captain of a Pontifical Galley, Commander of three hundred foot-soldiers in the city of Avignon, for 23 years Secretary of the Common Treasury, Ambassador Extraordinary to His Sanctity Pope Clement XI. He proved his credibility towards his Prince, equally his allegiance towards his Order, destined for greater things, if Death had not stood in the way. The abbot Guido Bovio placed, in mourning, this as monument of grateful memory for his brother, in the Year of Salvation 1706.

## 81 - Charles de Glandeves Cuges

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IN TUMULO FRATRIS CAROLI DE GLADEVES CUGES  
UTRAMQUE PALLADEM GEMERE NE MIRERIS,  
VIVENS UTRAMQUE EXPRESSIT,  
5 ET ITA UT ARMIS NE MELIUS  
AN STUDIJS PRÆSIDENTEM IGNORES  
ILLIS PROLUSIT CUM, ADHUC IUVENIS, TRIREMIS PRÆFECTUS,  
TURCICAM VEL POST LETHALE VULNUS SUSCEPTUM SUBEGIT.  
IN HIS FERIATUS, CUM ROMÆ, PARISIJS OPTIMATIBUS CHARUS,  
10 ADMIRATIONEM PRÆSENS, ABSENS DESIDERIUM EXCITAVIT.  
PLURIMUS UBIQUE, EXERCITATUS MUNERIBUS,  
COMMENDIS SIBI COMMISSIS, SEDULO REPARATIS  
PER SEPTENNIIUM ET ULTRA MAGNUS COMMENDATARIUS,  
PRUDENTIÆ IUSTITIÆQUE CULTOR,  
15 MERITIS GRAVIS E VIVIS ERIPITUR,  
QUA SÆPISSIME ANGEBAUR ARTHRITIDE,  
DIE 9 SEPTEMBRIS 1706, ÆTATIS SUÆ 79,  
OPULENTO RELICTO SPOLIO RELIGIONIS ERGO.  
MEMORIAM NE FATA ERIPIANT, ÆTERNARUNT IN LAPIDE  
20 FRATER IOANNES BAPTISTA SPINOLA, ORDINIS BAIULIUS EXEQUATOR,  
ET NOBILIS CAROLUS DE GLANDEVES CUGES, EX FRATRE NEPOS.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

In case you are wondering why *Pallas* is lamenting each one of her attributes over the slab of Frà Charles de Glandeves Cuges, he exhibited one as well as the other when he was alive; and in case you also did not know whether he was better at arms or studies, he shone out in the former when he was still a young man, as the Captain of a galley, he conquered a Turkish vessel, even after he was seriously wounded, he shone forth in the latter, when he, valued by the Sovereigns in Rome and Paris, aroused admiration when present, a regret when absent. He was most esteemed everywhere, disciplined in duties, when he was entrusted with commanderies, he carefully restored them to profitability during seven years, and, in addition, as the Grand Commander, he was a cultivator of prudence and righteousness; although heavy with merits, he was carried off suddenly from the living by arthritis, which was most frequently troubling him, on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of September 1706, at the age of 79. He bequeathed a rich inheritance to his Order. Should the fates snatch his memory away, Frà Giovanni Battista Spinola, Bailiff Executor of the Order, and the Noble Charles de Glandeves Cuges, a nephew on his brother's side, immortalised it in stone.

### 332 - Jean de Fresnoy

FRESNOY. MONTMIRAIL. VAVDETAR. NICOLAY

FRERE IEAN DE FRESNOY, FILS DE MESSIRE  
CHARLES MARQVIS DE FRESNOY ET DE DAME  
ANNE DE VAVDETAR, FVT RECEV DANS L'ORDRE EN  
5 RANG DE CHEVALIER LE XIV AOVST MDCXXVI,  
FAICT COMMANDEVR DE LA VILLEDIEV EN LA MON-  
TAGNE LE XXI DECEMBRE MDCLXIII, DE SLYPE  
PAR AMEILLORISSEMENT LE J NOVEMBRE MDC  
LXX, DE SOMMEREVIL PAR SECOND AMEILLORISSE-  
10 MENT LE XXV JVILLET MDCLXXVIII, ET LE MESME  
IOVR DE L'HOSPITALITE ET LE DERNIER JVIN 1684  
GRAND PRIEVR DE CHAMPAGNE. A VISITE PERSONNELLE-  
MENT TOUTES LES COMMANDERIES DE SA JURIDICTIONES  
ANNEES 1685 ET 1687, POURVEU DE LA COMMANDERIE DE VALEVR  
15 LE 18 JANVIER 1689 POVR SON DROIT DE VISITE PRIORALLE.  
IL RENOUUELLA SA VISITE PRIEURALE POUR LA SECONDE FOIS  
ANNEE MDCXC ET LA TROISIEME L' ANNEE MDCXCVII APRES QUOY USANT  
DE SON DROIT A DONNE LA COMMANDERIE DE BRAUX AU CHEVALIER  
FRERE PHILIPPE DE FRESNOY, SON NEVEU L' ANNEE MDCCII, ENFIN APRES AVOIR  
20 VECU XCIII ANS IL EST MORT LE TRENTE UN MAIJ, MDCCVII, AYANT LAISSE  
UNE DEPOVILLE CONSIDERABLE A LA RELIGION. PRIES DIEU POVR SON AME.

Frà Jean de Fresnoy, son of the Noble Charles Marquis de Fresnoy and Lady Anne de Vaudetar, was received into the Order in the rank of Chevalier on the 16th of August 1626, was made Commendator of Villedieu-en-la-Montagne on the 21st of December 1663, of Slijpe by promotion on the 1st of November 1670, Sommereux by a second promotion on the 25th of July 1678, and on the same day Prior of the Hospital and Grand Prior of Champagne on the last day of June 1684. He visited personally all the Commanderies under his jurisdiction in the years 1685 and 1687, and provided the Commandery of Valeurs on the 16th of January 1689, for his right of prioral visit. He renewed his prioral visit for the second time in 1690 and for the third time in the year 1697, after which using his right by giving the Commandery of Braux to Chevalier Frà Philippe de Fresnoy, his nephew, in the year 1702. Finally, after he lived for 93 years, he died on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1707, leaving behind a considerable legacy for his Religion. Pray to God for his soul.

## 273 - Franz Sigismund von Thun

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI FRANCISCO SIGISMUNDO, COMITI DE THUN,  
MAGNO BOHEMIÆ PRIORI,  
KLEINHOLZ, GREßNICH ET VIENNÆ COMMENDATARIO  
5 TER INSIGNITO HOC EST MERITISSIMO,  
HUNC TERMINUM NATURA POSUIT AD VITAM, FAMA SIGNAVIT AD ÆTERNITATEM.  
TRIEMIUM ÆQUE IMPERIUM AC FORTUNAM MODERANS,  
QUARTUM ET ANNUM HIC UNUS PRÆFECTUS DUM BENE EXPLEVIT, OPTIME OCCUPAVIT,  
10 VENETÆ CLASSIS GLORIAM SUORUM AUXILIO PROTEXIT, SUA VIRTUTE FOVIT,  
BIS FORTIS,  
DUM VICTORIAM COMPARAT ET DIVIDIT.  
TURCÆ SI NEGANT, LEGANT  
SUAM DEPERDITÆ FEROCITATIS HISTORIAM IN PRÆALTÆ NAVIS DEVICTA SUPERBIA.  
15 IAM SIGISMUNDI SANGUIS TRIUMPHUM IN VULNERE SCRIPSIT,  
NECNON DE VULNERE SANGUIS LOQUITUR.  
SIC HONORIS INSIGNIA, QUÆ RECEPIT, IN FRATRIS PURPURA  
SANGUINI SOCIAVIT, SUA SANGUINE ADAUXIT.  
UT MAGNUS IN SUIS, MAXIMUS IN SE VIDERETUR,  
20 MERITO MAGNÆ CRUCIS STEMMATE INNOCENTIUS XI, PATER IUSTUS FILIUM EMERITUM  
ET DITAT ET DONAT,  
APUD PATREM SANCTISSIMUM LEGATIONE DE BUDA CAPTA FUNCTUM,  
INVICTISSIMI LEOPOLDI ORATOREM RECEPERE ANGLIA, POLONIA ET BAVARIA,  
SEMPER PAREM IMO ET MAIOREM HONORI.  
TANDEM,  
25 CUI NON DEFECIT ONUS, IPSE NUNC DEFECIT ONERI  
UT TAMEN VIVAT HONORI.  
IOANNES ERNESTUS, ARCHIEPISCOPUS ET PRINCEPS SACRÆ SALISBURGENSIS,  
SANCTÆ SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ LEGATUS GERMANIÆ PRIMAS,  
FRATRI DEFUNCTO HOC MONUMENTUM,  
30 HOC VIRTUTI SUFFRAGIUM POSUIT  
ANNO DOMINI 1707.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Franz Sigismund, Count von Thun, Grand Prior of Bohemia, Commendator of Kleinholzen, Gressenich and Vienna, very much distinguished, that is, most meritorious; a natural cause ended his life, his reputation marked it for eternity. He took up his duties superbly, equally in charge of the command and lot of galleys while he properly concluded herein four years as a sole Captain. He protected the glory of the Venetian fleet with the help of his men, fostered it with his own virtue, twice courageous, while he prepared and shared the victory. The Turks, should they deny, may read his history of their abandoned fierceness in the subdued haughtiness of their heavily loaded ships. The blood of Sigismund already wrote triumph in a wound, and also his blood speaks from the wound. Thus, the signs of honour, which he received, he mixed with the blood of his brother in purple, increased it with his blood. In order to appear great among his men, supreme unto himself, Innocent XI both enriched and presented him with the deserved garland of Grand Cross as a just father does to a meritorious son. After fulfilling an embassy to His Holiness with regard the capture of Buda, England, Poland and Bavaria received him as the envoy of the Unconquerable Leopold, always on a par, nay indeed, even superior to his reputation. In this last office, to whom a burden never weighed too much, he was now weighed down by the burden in order yet to live on for honour. Johann Ernst, Archbishop and Prince of Holy Salzburg, principal legate of the Holy See of Apostolic Germany, placed this slab for his deceased brother as an intercessory prayer for his virtue, in the Year of the Lord 1707.

## 102 - François Antoine de Castel St Pierre

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI FRANCISCO ANTONIO DE CASTEL SAINT PIERRE, EQUITI VENERANDO LINGUAE FRANCIAE,  
CENSUS MAGISTRALIS DE PIETON COMMENDATARIO,  
5 QUI, OB SUAM IN RE MILITARI VIRTUTEM AC PRUDENTIAM,  
CLARISSIMO IN GALLICIS ORIS NOMINE SIBI COMPARATO  
UBI PRIMUM INSTITUTA FUIT BELLICARUM NAVIUM CLASSIS,  
IN SUPREMUM HUIUS MODERATOREM  
TOTIUSQUE NAVALIS MILITIAE LOCUMTENENTEM GENERALEM  
10 DELECTUS EST ANNO MDCCIL.  
POSTQUE FERE TRIENNIUM POSSESSIONEM INIVIT,  
ANNO MDCCVI CEPIT PRAETORIAM NAVIUM TUNETANAM  
ANNOQUE SEQUENTI ORANO AUXILIARIS ADFUIT.  
POSTEA, VALETUDINEM FACINORUM SUORUM CURRICULO  
ADVERSANTEM SENTIENS,  
15 SE SE A SUSCEPTA PROVINCIA ABDICAVIT,  
OPTIMAM REGIMINIS NORMAM SUCCESSORIBUS RELINQUENS.  
OBIIT VERSALIIS XIV CAENDAS JUNIJ ANNI MDCCIX.  
EQUITES BELLICIS NAVIBUS PRAEFECTI,  
PRIMO EARUM MODERATORI OPTIME MERITO,  
20 MONUMENTUM HOC PROPRIO AERE POSUERUNT ANNO MDCCXXXVI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà François Antoine de Castel St Pierre, Venerable Knight of the Tongue of France, Commendator of the Magistral Property of Piéton, who, on account of his virtue and prudence in military matters, had established his name most firmly on the French shores as soon as the fleet of sailing ships was built. He was chosen as the Supreme Commodore and Lieutenant General of the whole naval militia in the year 1702, and after holding this position for nearly three years, he seized the Tunisian Flagship in the year 1706, and in the following year he was present at Oran with the auxiliary troops. Afterwards, while sensing that his health would inhibit the course of his actions, he resigned from the post of command he had obtained, leaving behind the best model of military command for his successors. He died at Versailles on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May of the year 1709. The Knights, Lieutenants General of the Sailing Ships placed, from their own purse, this slab for their most meritorious, first ever Commodore of those ships in the year 1736.

## 225 - Ettore Pinto de Miranda

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
RELIGIOSIS CINERIBUS RELIGIOSISSIMI VIRI,  
FRATRIS DOMINI HECTORIS PINTO DE MIRANDA,  
CUJUS STRENUITAS, PIETAS, INTEGRITAS, FIDES  
5 PRÆFECTURAM TRIREMIS  
PROBAM, SACRI HOSPITALIS CENSURAM,  
TRIEMIUM MAGISTRATUM,  
INSULÆ GAULOS GUBERNIUM,  
MAGISTRALEM QUÆSTURAM  
10 ALIAQUE PLURIMA  
FORTITER, FIDELITER, PIE AC LAUDABILITER  
EXPLETA MUNERA, CONDECORARUNT.  
GRAVIS AUTEM ANNIS ET GRAVIOR MERITIS,  
AD DIGNITATEM MAGNI CANCELLARIATUS EVECTUS,  
15 QUAS A RELIGIONE DIVITIAS ACCEPERAT.  
PROVIDE EIDEM RESTITUENS,  
FATO CESSIT DIE 23 IUNIJ 1709,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 66.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the sacred remains of a most devout man, Frà Don Ettore Pinto de Miranda, whose energy, observance, integrity and faith adorned his tried Captaincy of a galley, the Governorship of the Sacred Hospital, the Captain-Generalship of galleys, the government of the island of Gozo, the Magistral Treasuryship and numerous other duties which he bravely, faithfully, piously and praiseworthily fulfilled. But now, laden with years and even more with merits, exalted to the dignity of Great Chancellor, providently restoring the wealth to the Religion which he had received from it, he yielded to his fate on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of June 1709, at the age of 66.

## 59 - Joseph de Langon

FRATRIS IOSEPHO DE LANGON ARVERNO,  
CUIUS VIRTUTEM IN IPSO TYROCINIJ FLORE MATURAM,  
GALLICÆ NAVES FECERE, THRACES SENSERE,  
MELITENSES HABUERE VICTRICEM,  
5 AURANUM, DIRA OBSIDIONE CINCTUM,  
CUM UNICA RELIGIONIS NAVE, CUI PRÆERAT ONERARIAM DUCENS,  
PENETRATA ALGERIJ CLASSE EIUSQUE REGE TESTE VEL INVITO,  
MILITEM ET COMMEATUM INVEXIT.  
GENERALIS CLASSIUM ELECTUS LOCUMTENENS,  
10 AD TRIVOLITANORUM PRÆTORIAM INCENDENDAM  
PLURIMO MOMENTO FUIT,  
LAUDES TAMEN CONSILIO ET FORTITUDINE SIBI UBIQUE COEMPTAS  
IN ALIOS CONTINUO TRANSTULIT,  
SUPREMA TANDEM ALGERIJ NAVE SUBACTA,  
15 ACCEPTOQUE INDE VULNERE VICTOR FATO CESSIT  
DIE 18 APRILIS 1710, ÆTATIS SUÆ 41,  
EMINENTISSIMUS MAGNUS MAGISTER FRATER DOMINUS RAYMUNDUS PERELLOS Y ROCCAFULL,  
AD BENEMERENTIÆ ARGUMENTUM,  
MORTUO HOC MOERENS POSITUM VOLUIT CENOTAPHIUM  
20 AD MEMORIÆ PERENNITATEM.

For Frà Joseph de Langon of Auvergne whose virtue, matured in the most flourishing condition during his first campaign, the French ships attained, the Turks recognized, the Maltese cherished as the victor. He was in charge of a single ship of the Religion, while leading a supply convoy to Oran, a city surrounded by a dreadful blockade, and after he broke through the Algerian fleet, their King as a reluctant onlooker, Joseph attacked the military and supplies. After his appointment as Lieutenant General of the fleets, he was instrumental in setting fire to the Flagship of the Tripolitani, nevertheless he conveyed onto others without delay the praises he had obtained everywhere by his counsel and valour. In his last action, on conquering the Algerian Flagship, he was wounded, from which wounds he, the victor, died on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of April 1710, at the age of 41. The Most Eminent Grand Master Frà Don Ramon Perellos y Roccafull, as he was mourning for the deceased, wished this cenotaph to be set up to his everlasting memory, as proof of his merits.



## 289 - Anselme de Cais

QUICUNQUE CALCAS IGNOTOS CINERES,  
MEMORIAM VENERARE  
FRATRIS ANSELM DE CAIJS NICIENSIS,  
BAIULIVI MANOASCÆ, QUI IN LIMINE HUIUS  
5        TEMPLI VOLUIT HUMARI VT OMNIUM  
             PEDIBUS CALCARETUR,  
             DESTINATO DUM VIVERET MARMORE  
             PRO MONUMENTO SINE NOMINE, SINE STEMMA.  
             QUANTA IN EO ELUXERINT  
10        VIRTUTUM DECORA, HABES AB HOC VNO  
             HUMILITATIS ARGUMENTO. SI POTIORA QUÆRIS,  
             FAMAM CONSULE, CUI SILENTIUM AB IPSO INDICTUM  
             NON OBSTAT. OBIIT 17 IUNI 1710, ÆTATIS 86.  
             NE TANTA VIRTUS IPSO CUM CINERE FUNERETUR,  
15        FRATER AMADEUS DE CAIJS, COMMENDATOR CAVALLERLÆ,  
             LAPIDEM HUNC POSUIT NON AD PATRUI IUSSA CONTERENDA,  
             SED AD POSTERORUM DOCUMENTUM.

             QUI ME CALCAS,  
             CALCABERIS,  
20        ET TU,  
             ID COGITA  
             ET  
             ORA PRO ME.

Whosoever treads upon these unknown remains, venerate the memory of Frà Anselme de Cais of Nice, Bailiff of Manosque, who wished to be buried at the threshold of this church in order to be trodden upon by everyone's feet. This marble was intended, while he was alive, to be a slab without a name, without a coat of arms. You have from this one proof of humility how much the splendour of virtues illuminated him. If you are looking for more important matters, examine his reputation, to which his publicly stated silence does not object. He died on 17<sup>th</sup> June 1710, at the age of 86. In case so much virtue is left buried with his remains, Frà Amadée de Cais, Commander of the Cavalry, placed this slab not to tread under foot the orders of his uncle, but as an example for generations to come.

You who tread on me will be trodden upon, you, both reflect on this and cast a prayer for me.

### 392 - João Pereira Coutinho

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET  
FRATER IOANNES PEREIRA COVTINHO LVSITANVS,  
QVI AB IPSO TIROCINIO  
5 VNVM SIBI STVDIVM INDVXIT,  
TERRA MARIQVE  
DE SVA RELIGIONE BENEMERERI,  
HINC PRIMVM PROTRIERARCHVS,  
MOX PRÆFECTVS TRIREMIS,  
10 INDE IV VIR  
MARITIMÆ CLASSIS ADMINISTRANDÆ,  
SVMPTV, PROVIDENTIA, CONSIPIO  
SINGVLAREM REPVBLCÆ NAVAVIT OPERAM,  
MORIENS TANDEM  
15 VT BENEMERENTIS EQVITIS IDEAM ABSOLVERET  
EX COMMENDIS DE ALGOSO ET SERNANSELCHE,  
QVAS ACCEPERAT OPES REDDIDIT ÆRARIO  
ELATVS EST OMNIVM LACRIJMIS  
QVIA OMNIBVS CARVS.  
20 OBIIT 26 JVLII J7J0, ÆTATIS 56.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà João Pereira Coutinho, a Portuguese, who since his apprenticeship had resolved that his sole pursuit would be to serve his Religion on land and at sea, thenceforth first Lieutenant, soon after the Captain of a galley, then as a member of the Committee of four of the fleet's maritime administration provided an outstanding service to the Republic regarding the expenditure, with providence and counsel. Finally, on his deathbed, in order to perfect the ideal of a meritorious Knight, returned to the Treasury the wealth which he had received from the Commanderies of Algozo and Sernanselche. He was borne to the grave by everyone's tears because he was dear to all. He died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1710, at the age of 56.

## 89 - Massimiliano Balsan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER MAXIMILIANUS BALSANUS, JURIS UTRIVSQUE DOCTOR,  
OB MORUM ET DOCTRINÆ PRÆSTANTIAM  
A QUATUOR SERENISSIMIS PRINCIPIBUS  
5 IN OMNIBUS JURISPRUDENTIÆ MUNIIS  
ET SUPPLICUM LIBELLORUM MINISTERIO  
CURSU HAUD INTERRUPTO APPROBATUS,  
A LEOPOLDO I IMPERATORE,  
10 INTER TORNEARIOS EQUITES ADSRIPTUS,  
CONJUGE ADEMPTA,  
IN HIEROSOLYMITANÆ ECCLESIAE CAPITULUM  
COOPTATUS  
ET CATHEDRALIS ECCLESIAE DECANATU DECORATUS,  
15 PLENUS MERITIS, FATO CESSIT  
ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNO LXXIV, ÆRÆ VERO CHRISTIANÆ MDCCXI.  
COMMENDATOR FRATER JOANNES BAPTISTA BALSANUS,  
EJUSDEM CATHEDRALIS ECCLESIAE DECANUS,  
MORTALES TAM BENEMERENTIS PATRIS EXUVIAS  
20 IN CLARUM FILIALIS AMORIS ARGUMENTUM  
MOERENS HIC CONDI CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Massimiliano Balsan, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, favoured in his uninterrupted career by four Most Serene Princes on account of his superiority of morals and teaching in all offices of jurisprudence and the commissariat of Petitions, admitted into Knighthood by Leopold I, Emperor, and received, after the death of his wife, into the Chapter of the Jerusalemite Church and graced with the Deanship of this Cathedral Church. He yielded to destiny, full of merits, in the 74<sup>th</sup> year of his life, indeed in the year of the Christian Era 1711. Commendator Frà Giovanni Battista Balsan, Dean of the same Cathedral Church, while mourning, arranged for the mortal remains of his meritorious father to be buried here as a clear proof of his filial love.

## 219 - Fernando Contreras y Arellano

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SUB HOC LAPIDE MORTALES DEPOSUIT ENUVIAS  
FRATER DOMINUS FERDINANDUS CONTRERAS ET ARELLANO,  
EQUES PRIORATUS CASTELLÆ AC ORDINIS VICE CANCELLARIUS,  
5 CUIUS MERITIS ET TOGA ET SAGO COMPARATIS  
IMPAR EST QUÆCUNQUE LAUS,  
QUOT ENIM MUNIA TERRA MARIQUE EXERCUIT  
TOT PROBITATIS ET FORTITUDINIS EXEMPLA RELIQUIT,  
10 IN EXPUGNATIONE LEUCADIS ET NICOPOLIS,  
PRÆTORIUS LEGATUS  
AUXILIARIBUS COPIJS SUMMA CUM LAUDE PRÆFUIT,  
CONCILIJS COMPLETIS, PRUDENTISSIMUS INTERFUIT CONSILIARIUS,  
CANCELLARIAM SEXDECIM ANNIS MIRA SEDULITATE REXIT,  
15 QUO TEMPORE VETUSTA EQUITUM MONUMENTA  
E TENEBRIS ERUTA LUCI RESTITUIT  
AC CHRONOLOGICO INDICE EXORNAVIT,  
ASSECUTUS TANDEM GRADATIM BAIULIUATUS  
NOVEM VILLARUM, SANCTI SEPULCHRI AC LORÆ,  
INGENTI OMNIUM MOERORE DECESSIT DIE 2 NOVEMBRIS 1711.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Under this slab Frà Don Fernando Contreras y Arellano has put his mortal remains to rest. He, Knight of the Priory of Castile and Vice-Chancellor of the Order, to whose merits, weighed in both war and peace, whatsoever praise is inadequate, for he engaged in as many duties on land and at sea as he left behind examples of integrity and valour. He was the Lieutenant of the Flagship in the siege of Levkás and Préveza, in charge of the auxiliary troops, with the highest acclaim, as a very experienced counsellor he took part in the General Assembly, he governed the Chancery for sixteen years with remarkably diligence, and during that time he restored to light the ancient slabs of Knights, and arranged them, released from the darkness, in chronological order. In his last office, where he gradually acquired the Bailiwicks of Novillas, Santo Sepulcro and Lora, he passed away, to the immense sorrow of everyone, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of November 1711.

## 205 - Mario Bichi

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
                                 HABES  
                                 IN UNO FRATRE MARIO BICHIO,  
                                 AVITI DECORIS CUMULUM,  
5                      PRO AVORUM DIGNO LAUDIBUS,  
                                 QUIA NOLUIT  
                                 NIMIRUM,  
                                 IN IURTÆ SENARUMQUE COMMENDIS,  
                                 TRIREMIS PRÆFECTURA,  
10                      TRIREMIUM MAGISTRATU  
                                 ONERA SUBIJT, HONORES RESPUIT.  
                                 VERE ORDINI ADDICTUS SUO,  
                                 CUI VIVENS SERVAVIT,  
                                 MORIENS RESTITUIT OMNIA.  
15                      HINC  
                                 GRATIAS TANTO EQUITI ÆTERNAS HABITURI,  
                                 MARMORI COMMENDARUNT  
                                 COMMUNIS ÆRARIJ PROCURATORES,  
                                 ANNO SALUTIS 1712, ÆTATIS SUÆ 58.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

You hold in one man, Frà Mario Bichi, the accumulation of ancestral grace, deserving praises for his ancestors, since he evidently had no such desire, as he endured the burdens but rejected the honours regarding the Commanderies of Jurta and Sena, the Captaincy of a galley and the Command of the galleys. Truly dedicated to his Order to which he, while living, gave his service, to which he, on his deathbed, returned all his gains. Henceforth, the Procurators of the Common Treasury, in order to show their eternal gratitude for such great a Knight, committed his memory to marble in the Year of Salvation 1712, at the age of 58.

## 58 - Charles Félix d'Oraison

SORS  
EXTRA SORTEM  
EST OMNIBUS  
UNI  
MORI

5

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IN PULVERE JACENT OSSA  
FRATRIS CAROLI FELICIS D' ORAISON DE AQUA,  
SANCTÆ LUCIÆ COMMENDATORIS, BAJULIVI MANUASCÆ,  
10 QUI, DUM VIXIT INTER NOS, UT ÆTERNUM VIVERET CUM BEATIS,  
SE TOTUM DEO DEVOVERAT,  
ET MORIENS, SUA RELIGIONI SUÆ OMNIA DEDIT,  
QUOT IPSI DEMANDATA FUERINT SUÆ RELIGIONIS OFFICIA  
SINGILLATIM NON PERSEQUAR, QUIA PLURIMA,  
15 QUIBUS ITA FUNCTUS EST AD APICEM, UT NON PRESSA LEVITER,  
SED FIXA AD MEMORIAM HOMINUM SEMPITERNAM,  
RELIQUERIT OMNIUM VIRTUTUM VESTIGIA,  
QUÆ SUÆ RELIGIONIS QUOTQUOT AMANTISSIMI SEQUANTUR.  
POSUERE MARMOR, QUO ILLIUS TEGUNTUR OSSA,  
20 IN PIGNUS AMORIS, AMICI, ET ANIMI GRATI MONUMENTUM  
IPSO MARMORE PERENNIUS  
COMMUNIS ÆRARIi PROCURATORES ILLUSTRISSIMI.  
OBIIT 17 JANUARIi 1714, ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNOS 86, MENSES 10.

Beyond destiny, it is the destiny of one and all to die

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here in dust lie the bones of Frà Charles Félix d'Oraison from Bourbon-l'Archembault, Commendator of Sainte-Luce, Bailiff of Manosque, who, while he lived among us, in order to live forever with the Blessed, had devoted himself totally to God, and, while on his deathbed, bequeathed everything he had to his Religion. How many duties of his Religion were entrusted to him I shall not discuss one by one, because they were numerous. He took the performance of these duties to such a height leaving behind a mark of all his virtues, not superficially touching upon, but deeply rooted into the everlasting memory of mankind, so that those of his Religion who desire most, may pursue these virtues how so ever many there are. His friends, the Most Illustrious Procurators of the Common Treasury, placed this marble by which his bones are covered, as a monument more durable than the marble itself, in a demonstration of love and of grateful memory. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 1714, at the age of 86 years and 10 months.

## 62 - Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HEIC QUIESCUNT PII CINERES  
FRATRIS PAULI DE FELINES DE LA RENEAUDIE,  
MAGNI PRIORIS ALVERNÆ, VITÆ SANCTIMONIA,  
5 IN ÆGROS CHARITATE, IN EGENOS MUNIFICENTIA,  
HUMILITATE, ALIISQUE VIRTUTIBUS INSIGNIS ET PLANE DIGNI,  
QUEM EMINENTISSIMUS MAGNUS MAGISTER, FRATER DOMINUS RAYMUNDUS PERELLOS,  
PATRIS VICE HABUERIT,  
10 SEQUE COETUMQUE SUUM EJUS ORATIONIBUS SÆPIUS COMMENDARIT.  
NON MINUS VOLUNTARIA CORPORIS MACERATIONI,  
QUAM ÆVO PROPE CENTENARIO CONFECTUS,  
OBIIT DIE XXVII DECEMBRIS ANNI MDCCXV,  
NEMPE RECURRENTE FESTO DOMINI JOHANNIS APOSTOLI,  
15 UT, QUEM IPSE VIVENS PRÆCIPUE COLUIT,  
EIUS BEATO CONSORTIO MORIENS FRUERETUR.  
FRATER JOHANNES DE FELINES DE LA RENEAUDIE, EJUS PRONEPOS,  
HOC GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are resting the remains of the pious Frà Paul de Félines de la Reneaudie, Grand Prior of Auvergne, an illustrious man and unmistakably commendable for the sanctity of his life, charity towards the sick, generosity towards the poor, humility and other virtues, whom the Most Eminent Grand Master, Frà Don Ramon Perellos, considered like a father, and he quite frequently entrusted himself and his assembly to his prayers. He died, exhausted as much by voluntary castigating his body as by accomplishing the old age of nearly a 100 years, on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of December of the year 1715, when the feast of the Apostle John was taking place, him whom above all he had paid reverence to during his life, so that he could enjoy his blessed fraternity around his deathbed. Frà Jean de Félines de la Reneaudie, his great-nephew, placed this slab of grateful memory.



## 94 - Louis de Fleurigny

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CHRISTIANE LECTOR, SPARGE HUMUM FLORIBUS,  
FLOS ILLE EQUITUM,  
ILLUSTRISSIMUS FRATER LUDOVICUS DE FLEURIGNY,  
5 SEPULTUS HIC, PROH DOLOR, DEFLORUIT!  
IMMOQUE JAM VIVIT ILLE, ET FLORET MAGIS  
FAMA SUPERSTITE SUÆQUE RELIGIONIS ZELO  
QUO SUADENTE GLORIA,  
CURSORIÆ NAVIS VERE DUX OPTIMUS,  
10 BELLUM INTULIT MAHOMETO,  
PRÆFECTURAM TRIREMIS INCLITE GESSIT  
ET MUNERE PARISIENSIS RECEPTORIÆ EGREGIE PERFUNCTO  
LAUDEM MERUIT ILLE MAXIMAM.  
TANDEM  
15 TRIREMIUM GENERALIS GUBERNATOR ELECTUS,  
POST COMBUSTAM CAPITANEAM TRIPOLITANAM NAVEM,  
INTER PROCERES MAGNÆ CRUCIS A CLEMENTE XI  
GLORIOSE ANNUMERATUS EST,  
CONFECTUSQUE MORBO, CESSIT HONORIBUS.  
20 VIXIT ANNOS 75, DEVIXIT ANNO 1716.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Christian reader, bestrew the ground with flowers. That flower of the Knights, the Most Illustrious Frà Louis de Fleurigny, on the one hand was buried here, oh grief, he shed his blossom! on the other hand, he is living on from that very moment, and blossoming more by his surviving reputation and the passion for his Religion which were his driving ambition. As a brilliant Captain of a corsair ship he waged war against Mohammed, he gloriously accomplished the Captaincy of a galley, and excellently fulfilled the duty at the Parisian Receptory, deserving the greatest merit. In his last office, elected as the Captain-General of the galleys, and after the Tripolitanian Flagship had been set on fire, he was gloriously included among the Nobles of the Grand Cross by Clement XI. He ceased from honours only when he was consumed by illness. He lived for 75 years, he died in the year 1716.

## 198 - Jean Stéphane de Ricard

DA PAUPERIBUS  
ET HABEBIS  
THESAURUM  
IN CÆLO.  
5 JOANNES STEPHANUS DE RICARD, VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ FRANCIÆ MILES,  
IMMATURA MORTE RAPTUS,  
FUIT UNIUS TRIREMIS PRÆFECTUS ET ROMAGNIÆ COMMENDATARIUS.  
OBIIT ANNO SALUTIS 1716.  
ORA PRO EO.  
10 HUIUS MEMORIÆ MÆRENS, AMANTISSIMUS FRATER  
JOANNES FERDINANDUS DE RICARDO, NEOVILLE IN TEMPLO COMMENDATARIUS,  
MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

Give to the poor and you will hold a treasure in Heaven.

Jean Stéphane de Ricard, soldier of the Venerable Tongue of France, seized by an untimely death, was the Captain of a galley and Commendator of La Romagne. He died in the Year of Salvation 1716. Pray for him. While mourning the memory of this man, his most caring brother Jean Ferdinand de Ricard, Commendator of Neuville d'Église, placed this slab.

## 60 - Gilbert de Fougères Ducluseau

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI GILIBERTO DE FOUGIERES DUCLUZEAU,  
LUGDUNENSI BAJULIVO, MORTUO DEBENTUR  
MAJORES LAUDES, QUIA VIVENS  
5 OMNES RESPUIT, LICET MERUERIT  
SATIS INDICASSE SIT CULTOREM  
SACRÆ HOSPITALITATIS AC MILITLÆ,  
UT OMNIBUS, QUAS UTRAQUE PARIT.  
VIRTUTIBUS PRÆDITUM CONJCIAS  
10 RELIGIOSÆ SIMPLICITATIS AMANTISSIMUS,  
LUXUS FASTUSQUE INFENSISIMUS FUIT.  
LAUDABILIS PARSIMONLÆ, FÆNUS  
ORDINI EGENISQUE VECTIGALE FECIT.  
NIL SIBI RELINQUENS NISI CHRISTIANÆ  
15 FRUGALITATIS DIVITEM QUÆSTUM.  
FORTEM, CONSTANTEM, ÆQUANIMEM  
CAPTIVITAS, MORBUS, MORS PROBARUNT  
EN DIGNUM IHEROSOLIJMITANIS EXEMPLUM  
DUM VIVUNT, DUM MORIUNTUR.  
20 OBIIT DIE 27 SEPTEMBRIS ANNI 1716.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Much praise is owed to Frà Gilbert de Fougères Ducluzeau, Bailiff of Lyons, after his death, because he, while alive, rejected all praises, although he was worthy enough to be appointed the Governor of the Sacred Hospitality and Militia, so that you may presume that he was endowed with all virtues which either point of view brings forth. He was most fond of pious simplicity, most hostile to luxury and arrogance. Admirable for his parsimony, he gave his tributary gains to the Order and the poor, while leaving behind nothing for himself, except the rich gain of his Christian frugality. Captivity, illness, death reveal a strong, consistent, kind man, lo!, a worthy example for the Knights of Jerusalem, while they live, until they die. He died on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of September of the year 1716.

## 95 - Césaire de Villaneuve Thourenc

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CINERIBUS FRATRIS CÆSARIS DE VILLANOVE THOURENC,  
SANCTI EGIDIJ PRIORIS  
ET COMMENDARUM DE LACHAPELLE  
5 ET DE MOMPÉLIER COMMENDATARIJ.  
MIRARIS TANTA SIBI, DUM VIVERET, COMPARASSE,  
QUÆ, IN TRIREMIS PRÆFECTURA ALIISQUE MUNERIBUS  
SUÆ RELIGIONI OBSEQUIA PRÆSTITIT,  
STRENUUM ET EMERITUM REDDIDERE,  
10 ET COMMENDA QUAM SERVATO ÆRE FUNDAVIT.  
AMOREM, QUO EIDEM RELIGIONI DEVINCTUS ERAT,  
OSTENDIT.  
ATQUE HINC MIRARI DESINE  
QUOD LONGÆVUS VIXERIT  
15 ET IN BONA QUIEVERIT SENECTUTE.  
ANNOS NATUS PLUS NONAGINTA,  
DE BENE GESTIS ETIAM IN HAC VITA  
CENTUPLUM REPORTATUR.  
OBIIT DIE 14 OCTOBRIS 1716.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the remains of Frà Césaire de Villaneuve Thourenc, Prior of Saint-Gilles, and Commendator of the Commanderies of Lachapelle and Montpellier. You are wondering that he achieved so much during his life, as he showed in the Captaincy of a galley, and what gave him strength and merit in the pursuit of other offices of his Religion as he displayed his affection with which he was devoted to the aforesaid Religion and in the Commandery which he founded with his savings. And from now on, stop wondering that he lived to a great age and that he reposed in good old age. He was over 90 years old, and it is reported that with regard to good works he even achieved enough for a hundredfold of years in this life. He died on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of October 1716.

## 92 - Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ET PERENNI MEMORIÆ FRATRIS LUDOVICI ROGERIJ  
DE BLECOURT TINCOURT, E MAGNÆ CRUCIS EQUITIBUS,  
QUEM BARBARI TIMUERANT ARMATUM, CAPTIVUM MIRANTUR,  
5 INFRAC-TUM SORTE IMPROSPERA, AMANT CONCAPTIVI PATREM.  
ROMÆ PRÆFUIT ARDUIS TEMPORIBUS ARMATÆ NOBILIVM TURMÆ,  
NEC ROMANO PONTIFICI DISPLICIUT, NEC JUSSA REGIS NEGLEXIT.  
QUALIS IN GALLIA TRIERARCHUS EXTITERIT  
DIXERE COÆTANEI TESTES CUM PLAUSU,  
10 DICENT POSTERIS NEPOTES CUM GAUDIO.  
ATTRITIS VIRIBUS PRÆTURAM INIIT QUINQUEREMIVM SUÆ  
RELIGIONIS, UT IN AGENDO INDEFESSUS, SIC PERICULI NESCIUS,  
HAUD SEMEL REGIVS MELITÆ PROCURATOR, PRINCIPI CHARUS  
ET POPVLIS, MAGNUM OMNIBUS RELIQUIT SUI DESIDERIVM,  
15 QUEM NOSTRI NE LUGEAS LUGEBUNT QUOS ALUIT PAUPERES,  
SED IMITARE, VIATOR,  
IN ADVERSIS FORTEM, CAUTUM IN IMPLEXIS, IN MUNERIBUS ACCURATUM,  
PIVM SINE FASTU, RELIGIOSI MILITARIS ARCHETYPON.  
OBIIT MASSILLÆ, DUPLICI PRÆCEPTORIA DECORATUS, DIE TERTIA  
20 NOVEMBRIS, ÆTATIS ANNOS 74, REPARATÆ SALUTIS 1716.  
SIT IN PACE LOCUS EIUS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty,  
and to the everlasting memory of Frà Louis Roger de Blécourt Tincourt, from the Knights Grand Cross;  
the Barbarians had feared him when armed, admired him when captured, his fellow-captives, when  
overcome by the same misfortune, loved him as a father. He was in Rome in difficult times in charge of  
an armed troop of nobles, where he neither displeased the Roman Pope, nor disregarded the orders of his  
King. Contemporary witnesses related while expressing approval, his nephews will relate with joy to the  
next generations how excellent a galley's Captain he was in France. Although his strength was diminished,  
he assumed the Captaincy of the Religion's Flagship, still indefatigable in action and thus heedless of  
danger, and by no means on only one occasion Royal Procurator in Malta. Dear to his Prince and people,  
he left behind a huge regret for his absence in everyone, passer-by, you should not mourn him but follow  
his example, ours will mourn him and those poor he nourished, be courageous in adversity, careful in  
involvements, meticulous in duties, pious without pride, a prime example of a military Religious. He  
died at Marseilles, twice graced with an Receptory, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of November in the Year of Redemption  
1716, at the age of 74. May his grave remain in peace.

## 47 - Carlo Carafa

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SISTE, VIATOR, ET LUGE,  
QUI LATET HIC EXANIMIS,  
ÆTERNUM PATERE ORBI DEBUERAT,  
5 FRATER DOMINUS CAROLUS CARAFA ARAGONIUS,  
QUEM, DUM VIVERET, AMAVIT MELITA AMORE EXIMIO,  
FLEVIT PARI GEMITU, DUM EGIT ANIMAM.  
EIUS SANGUINIS SPLENDOREM SI IGNORAS,  
LOCORUM NEAPOLI PRINCIPES QUI SINT INQUIRE,  
10 HEROUM SOBOLES, MAGNI PARENS MAGISTRI,  
PARENTUM MERITA AUXIT, HONORIBUS, VIRTUTIBUS ETERNAVIT,  
PHILIPPI V IN AULA LEGATUS, DUX IN BELLO, IN CURIA PRÆSES,  
ILLUSTRISSIMAM HIJEROSOLYMITANAM RELIGIONEM, INTER PRIMATES PRIMUS,  
PRUDENTIA, VIRTUTE, CONSILIO TUTAVIT, DEFENDIT, ILLUSTRAVIT,  
15 HONORUM VERTICEM DEBITO ÆQUAVIT GRADU, MERITIS SUPERAVIT.  
COMMENDATORIÆ PRIOR ROCCELLÆ, SENESCALLUS PRETOR FUIT PRIMARIUS.  
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXV SALUTIS NOSTRÆ, MDCCXVII,  
DIE III NONAS MARTIJ,  
FATUM OBIJT EXTREMUM.  
20 ABI, VIATOR, ET HEROIS IMITARE VIRTUTEM,  
IN QUA UNA VIVIT ADHUC ILLE SUPERSTES.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Halt, passer-by, and mourn. He who lies here lifeless, had the duty to stretch out to the world forever, Frà Don Carlo Carafa of Aragon, whom Malta loved with extraordinary affection while he lived, bewailed with equal lamentation as he was expelling life's breath. If you are ignorant of the splendour of his blood-lineage, ask who the princes of the Locri in Naples are: They are the ancestors of heroes, parents of a Grand Master. He increased the merits of his ancestors, immortalising them with honours and virtues. He was a legal advisor in the court of Philip V, a leader in war, President of the Curia, he succeeded in arriving at the peak of honours, a rank destined to him, and he carried it to a greater height with his merits, as the first among the first-ranking, he guarded, defended, enlightened with discretion, excellence and counsel the Most Illustrious Jerusalemite Religion. He was Prior of the Commandery of Roccella, Steward and Chief Praetor. He went to meet his final fate at the age of 75, in the Year of Our Redemption 1717, on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of March. Go now, passer-by, and seek to take up the virtue of this hero, in which [virtue] he still lives on, while you are, as yet, standing on top of it.

## 272 - Heinrich Ludger von Galen

PATER DE GALEN

MATER RECKE DE STEINFUHR

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
 EQUITI HENRICO LUDGERO, MOGUNTIAE AC FRANCOFORDIAE COMMENDATORI,  
 SACRI ROMANI IMPERII LIBERO BARONI DE GALEN EN ASSEN,  
 5 A VETUSTISSIMAE NOBILITATIS GERMANIAE PARENTIBUS PROGENITO  
 CELSIS, QUONDAM CELEBERRIMIQUE DOMINI  
 DOMINI EPISCOPI AC PRINCIPIS MONASTERIENSIS  
 CHRISTOPHORI BERNARDI, EX FRATRE NEPOTI,  
 QUI DUM BELLIS TERRA MARIQUE GESTIS  
 10 IN ANNO 1704, DUX TRIREMIS EXISTERET  
 MAGNIQUE BAJULIVI BIS LOCUMTENENS ANNIS 1709 ET 1711  
 AC PRO UNO EX GENERALIBUS MILITARUM,  
 DUM TURCAE ANNO 1708 BELLUM INFERRE CONTRA HANC INSULAM MINABANTUR,  
 DENIQUE IN CUNCTIS FERE MUNERIBUS SACRO ROMANO IMPERIO CLARE FUNCTIS,  
 15 PROPRIA VIRTUTE ET COMMUNI PLAUSU,  
 IAM MAGNUS  
 IN RECTA VIA AD MUNIA ET MERITA MAJORA ESSET,  
 E PRÆCIPITE RHEDA INFELICITER EXILIENS  
 IN TUMBAM MORTIS MAGNO OMNIUM PLANCTO INCIDIT  
 20 DIE XI JULII 1717, ÆTATIS SUÆ 43.  
 MONUMENTUM HOC MOERENS POSUIT FRATER EJUS  
 CHRISTOPHORUS HENRICUS SACRI ROMANI IMPERII COMES DE GALEN, DOMINUS IN ASSEN  
 SACRI CÆSARÆ ET CATHOLICÆ MAIESTATIS  
 CONSILIARIUS INTIMUS ET IMPERIALIS AULICUS.

AVA PATRIS DK HOPPE

AVA MATRIS DE GALEN

Father von Galen

Mother Recke de Steinfuhr

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Heinrich Ludger, Commendator of Mainz and Frankfurt, Baron of the Holy Roman Empire Von Galen in Essen, descendant of prominent ancestors of the most long-standing nobility of Germany - such as the once most celebrated lord, the Lord Bishop and Prince of Münster Christopher Bernard, a nephew on his brother's side - who, while at the time when wars raged on both land and sea in the year 1704, was the Captain of a galley and twice Lieutenant of the Grand Bailiff in the years 1709 and 1711 and served instead of one of the Generals of the Military while the Turks were threatening to bring war to this island in the year 1708. Finally, he performed illustriously in practically all duties for the Holy Roman Empire by his very own virtues and with common approval. By now a great man, in pursuit of greater offices and merits, unexpectedly and to the great lament of everyone, plummeted to his death, when he unfortunately leaped headlong from a derailing carriage into a ravine on the 11th day of July 1717 at the age of 43. His brother, Christopher Heinrich, Count of the Holy Roman Empire of Galen, Lord of Essen, and intimate counsellor and imperial courtier of the Holy Emperor and the Catholic King, placed this slab in mourning.

Grandmother of father de Hoerde

Grandmother of mother von Galen

## 61 - Jean de Philip St Viance

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IN HOC AUREO CINERUM THESAURO  
ILLUSTRISSIMUM HABES HEROEM,  
QUEM JURE MAGNANIMITAS REDDIDIT  
5 BIS DUCEM TRIREMIS,  
VIRTUS NAUTICI AGMINIS DUCTOREM,  
FIDELITAS IN CONVENTU CONSERVATOREM,  
MERITUM IN ORDINE MARESCALLUM,  
JUSTITIA IN ARVERNIA PRIOREM,  
10 ZELUS TANDEM RELIGIONIS IN BARBAROS  
GENERALEM CLASSIS PRÆFECTUM,  
IN HAC EXIGUA CINERUM SUMMA,  
SUMMA IN DEUM PIETAS,  
IN PAUPERES MUNIFICENTIA,  
15 ILLIBATA SEMPER ANIMI ET CORPORIS CASTITAS  
CÆTERÆQUE VIRTUTES  
CERTATIM CORUSCASSE VISÆ SUNT,  
SED HIS PLURA NI LIBITINÆ FALX PRÆVALUISSET.  
VIS BREVI DICAM:  
20 JACET HIC  
ILLUSTRISSIMUS FRATER JOANNES DE PHILIP SAINT VIANCE,  
OMNIUM VIRTUTUM ET LAUDUM GLORIA CORONATUS.  
OBIIT DIE 3 FEBRUARII 1718, ÆTATIS SUÆ 80.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

In this golden vault of ashes you behold a most illustrious hero. The greatness of his soul made him deservedly the Captain of a galley twice, his virtue the leader of the naval troops, his faithfulness the Conventual Conservator, his merit the Marshal of the Order, his righteousness the Prior of Auvergne, in his last office, his Religion's zeal against the natives of Barbary, the Captain-General of the fleet. In this small mount of ashes lie the greatest, the greatest observance towards God, bountifulness toward the poor, the chastity of his soul and body, always unharmed, and his other virtues appear to have become sincerely illustrious. But there would have been more than this, had not the scythe of Libitina prevailed. You wish that I speak briefly: Here lies the Most Illustrious Frà Jean de Philip St Viance, crowned with the glory of all virtues and praises. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of February 1718, at the age of 80.



## 271 - Johann Siegmund von Schaesberg

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
JOANNIS SIGISMUNDI, SACRI ROMANI IMPERII COMITIS, A SCHÆSBERG BAJULIVI,  
COMMENDATORIS STEINFURT ET MONASTERIENSIS EXUVIÆ  
QUI, POSTQUAM ANNO 1682 SACRÆ MILITIÆ NOMEN DEDIT,  
5 COHORTIS GERMANORUM SUB-CENTURIO  
EXPUGNATIONIBUS LEUCADENSI ET NICOPOLITANÆ INTERFUIT,  
HINC CORONENSI VULNERE INSIGNIS,  
A PLURIMIS NAVIGATIONIBUS TRIERARCHUS,  
DEINDE SUMMUS PER GERMANIAS PERCEPTOR EVASIT,  
10 DIVI QUOQUE JOANNIS GUILIELMI ELECTORIS PALATINI  
QUIN ETIAM CAROLI CÆSARIS  
CONSILII SANCTORIBUS ADSCRIBI MERUIT  
CUI ANNO 1715, NAVES CONSCENDENTE VENETÆ CLASSIS PRÆFECTO,  
SUPREMUM IN CHRISTIANAS TRIREMES IMPERIUM CONCESSIT,  
15 CUI DENIQUE TOT BELLI PACISQUE OFFICIJS EGREGIE FUNCTO,  
SECUNDUM SUPRA SEXAGESIMUM ANNUM AGENTI,  
ULTIMA DIES FUIT XXI SEPTEMBRIS  
MDCCXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The remains of Johann Sigismund, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Bailiff of Schaesberg, Commendator of Steinfurt and of Münster who, after he was received into the Sacred Militia in the year 1682, was present as the sub-Centurion of the cohort of the Germans during the sieges of Levkás and Préveza, henceforth, distinguished with a wound at Coron, after numerous campaigns, was made Captain of a galley and finally became the supreme Receptor of all Germany. He deserved to be appointed to the Most Venerable Counsels of the Blessed Johann Wilhelm, Palatine Elector, as well as of Emperor Charles, to whom he complied, embarking as the Captain-General on the ships of the Venetian fleet in the year 1715, the highest in command of the Christian galleys. Finally, after performing excellently so many duties of war and peace, living well beyond his 62nd year, his last day came on the 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1718.

## 82 - Charles Sevin de Bandeville

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
RECOLENDÆ MEMORIÆ  
VENENRANDI FRATRIS CAROLI SEVIN DE BANDEVILLE,  
CAMPANLÆ PRIORIS, COMMENDATORLÆ DE BONCOURT COMMENDATORIS,  
5 QUI, POST ELARGITAS DE ANNO 1715 LIBRAS 10000  
IN SUBSIDIUM EXPENSARUM  
OCCASIONE GENERALIS CITATIONIS EROGATARUM  
LIBRAS PARITER 252790 RELIQUIT IN SPOLIO,  
NEC OBTENTA FACULTATE  
10 DISPONENDI DE QUINTA PARTE, UTI VOLUIT,  
AC LEGATUM QUODCUMQUE CONSULTO OMISIT  
UT AD SUAM RELIGIONEM, DILECTISSIMAM MATREM  
ASSE INTEGRUM PERVENIRET,  
SCIEBAT ENIM NIHIL MAGIS PIUM  
15 QUAM SACRAM HOSPITALITATEM SACRAMQUE MILITIAM  
SIBI DATIS SUBSTANTIJS PROMOVERE,  
IUXTA SUÆ PROFESSIONIS INSTITUTUM,  
OBIIT DIE 24 NOVEMBRIS ANNO 1718, ÆTATIS SUÆ 78.  
VENERANDI PROCERES COMMUNIS ÆRARIJ  
20 AD PERENNE RELIGIOSISSIMI VIRI MONUMENTUM  
ET SINGULORUM EXCITANDUM EXEMPLUM  
POSUERE ANNO 1719.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the recollection of the memory of the Venerable Frà Charles Sevin de Bandeville, Prior of Champagne, Commendator of the Commandery of Boncourt, who, after he had left behind an inheritance of 10,000 pounds generously given in the year 1715 towards the relief of the Order's expenses at the general proclamation of the sum thereof, as well as 252,790 pounds, in consequence of not taking up the possibility of settling for the fifth part, according to his own wish, and as he disregarded any legacy with a weighed deliberation so that it could reach his own most beloved Mother Religion as a whole inheritance, in the knowledge that nothing is more pious than to advance the Sacred Hospitality and the Sacred Militia with the fortune given to him, according to the rule of his profession of vows. He died on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of November in the year 1718, at the age of 78. The Venerable Notables of the Common Treasury placed this as an everlasting memorial of a most devout man and as an engaging example of one to each, in the year 1719.

## 46 - Traiano Geronda

OPERA SEQUUNTUR.  
APOCALYPSIS IOANNIS CAPITULUM 14. VERSUS 13.

VITA, MORS  
VENERANDI FRATRIS TRAJANI GERONDA  
5 HIEROSOLIJMITANO NOMINI PRÆCLARE CONSONANS,  
DIGNA EST COELO, MARMORE, POSTERITATE,  
MILITEM CUM VIDISSES ET RELIGIOSUM,  
BELLI ET HOSPITALITATIS SIGNA SEQUENTEM,  
NEGOTIIS DEDITUM ET ORATIONI,  
10 QUAM PLURIMA SUI ORDINIS,  
ET PRÆCIPUE COMMUNIS ÆRARI, MUNIA IMPLENTEM,  
SIMULQUE PIAM CONVICTUS ÆDEM,  
NON TAM ÆRE PROPRIO, QUAM QUOTIDIANO SACRO  
ET EXEMPLO INSTAURANTEM,  
15 MAGNA CRUCE AD HONORES  
QUOS MERITUM NON QUÆRENDO POSCERETUR INSIGNITUM,  
PLURIBUSQUE GAUDISII LITUS PROPUGNACULIS MUNIENTEM,  
TANDEM DIUTURNI MORBI PERTINACIA LICET TENTATUM  
SIMILLIMA TAMEN VITÆ,  
20 MORTE VITAM FINIENTEM QUARTO NONAS AUGUSTI 1719,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNO 71.

They pursue works  
Apocalypse chapter 14, verse 13

The life and death of the Venerable Frà Traiano Geronda admirably resound in harmony his Jerusalemite reputation. They are worthy of Heaven, marble, posterity, when you consider a soldier and a Religious, following his vocation of war and hospitality, dedicated to works and prayer, fulfilling, as many as possible, the duties of his Order, and especially those of the Common Treasury, and restoring at the same time the way of life at the Auberge, not so much through his own funds as through his daily sacrifice and example, distinguished with the rank of honorary Grand Cross, which was not a merit being offered on demand, and added several bulwarks for safeguarding the coast of Gozo. Finally, although tried by the intransigence of a long lasting illness, yet, very much according to the nature of life, his life ended with death on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1719, at the age of 71.

## 195 - Ramon Perellos y Roccafull

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

EMINENTISSIMO PRINCIPI FRATRI DOMINO RAYMUNDO DE PERELLOS ET ROCCAFULL,  
CLARISSIMO GENERE NATO ET, VIRTUTUM SUFFRAGIO AD MAGISTERIUM EVECTO  
QUI, OMNIBUS ÆQUE CHARUS, MAGNORUM ETIAM PRINCIPIUM PRÆCONIIS COMMENDATUS,  
5 ET PRÆTER CETERAS ANIMI EGREGIAS DOTES, IUSTITIA PRÆCIPUE  
ET CHARITATE CONSPICUUS, METUI AB OMNIBUS POTUIT PARITER ET AMARI,  
APPRIME MUNIFICUS, NULLIUS MERITA SINE PRÆMIO DIMISIT,  
ERGA CHRISTI PAUPERES SUMME MISERICORS,  
EORUM CUSTOS VERIUS VOLUIT ESSE QUAM DICHI,  
10 ERGA DEUM ET SUPEROS VERE RELIGIOSUS ASSIDUIS FUNDENDIS PRECIBUS,  
TEMPLIS PRETIOSA SUPELLECTILI,  
MINISTRIS INSIGNI HABITU DECORANDIS MAGNOPERE INTENTUS,  
SUI PENE VISUS EST OBLIVISCI,  
QUI, DEMUM PORTU ÆDIFICIIS ORNATO, ADDITIS PROPUGNACULIS,  
15 QUATUOR BELLICIS NAVIBUS AUCTA CLASSE,  
MAGNA NON SEMEL PECUNIÆ VI IN COMMUNE BONUM ELARGITA,  
CUM SUUM EXHAUSISSE ÆRARIUM CREDI POTUISSET,  
TER CENTENA AUREORUM MILLIA PUBLICI ÆRARIi RATIONIBUS INFERENDA  
POST 23 ANNOS OPTIMI PRINCIPATUS PIE MORIENS RELIQUIT.  
20 OBIIT DIE 10 JANUARIi 1720, ÆTATIS SUÆ 84.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the Most Eminent Prince, Frà Don Ramon Perellos y Roccafull, descending from a most famous lineage and exalted to the Magistracy by praise of his virtues, who, equally dear to everyone, even was enjoined to the glory of grand sovereigns, and besides other distinguished gifts of the mind especially famous for his probity and charity, was able to be equally feared and loved by everyone, extremely generous, dismissed no one's services without reward, most merciful towards the poor of Christ, wished to be their guardian more genuinely than is revealed. He, a true Religious, was greatly devoted to God and to those in Heaven, with constant outpouring prayers, particularly attentive to embellishing churches with costly outfits, priests with distinguished garments, almost seemed to forget about himself, who, finally, after he had richly adorned the port with buildings, added bulwarks, increased the fleet with four sailing ships, more than once generously gave his wealth, by oblige of his own money, to the common good, when he could have been refunded for exhausting his own reserves. After 23 years of prime leadership, while passing away piously, he thrice bequeathed 100,000 gold pieces to the account of the Public Treasury. He died on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of January 1720, at the age of 84.

### 239 - Pierre Chapelle de Jumilhac

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI PETRO CHAPELLE DE JUMILHAC, REI MILITARIS PERITIA  
PRÆLIISQUE NAVALIBUS IN TURCAS STRENUE COMMISSIS  
CLARISSIMUS,  
5 SACRÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIÆ MARESCALLUS, LUGDUNI BAJULIVUS,  
AC MAGNI ARVERNORUM PRIORATUS  
AMPLISSIMAM DIGNITATEM ADEPTUS,  
COMITATE MORUMQUE SUAVITATE AMICIS CHARUS,  
PLERISQUE SUI DESIDERIUM RELINQUENS, ACQUIEVIT IN PACE  
10 XIV KALENDAS MAII, ANNO DOMINI MDCCXX, ÆTATIS LXIII.  
PETRUS CHAPELLE, MARCHIO DE JUMILHAC, EXERCITUS  
GALLICI LEGATUS GENERALIS, PRIMÆ SCLOPETARIOR  
COHORTIS OLIM, PRÆFECTUS MAGNI PRIORIS,  
EX FRATRE NEPOS, HOC MONUMENTUM  
15 PONI CURAVIT ANNO MDCCLXXVI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Pierre Chapelle de Jumilhac, most famous for his knowledge of military operations and naval battles uncompromisingly engaged against the Turks, Marshal of the Sacred Jerusalemite Militia, Baliff of Lyons, acquired the supreme dignity of the Grand Priory of Auvergne, dear to his friends by the courteousness and pleasantness of his character, and leaving behind regret for his absence in almost everyone. He found rest in peace on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April in the Year of the Lord 1720, at the age of 63. Pierre Chapelle, Marquis of Jumilhac, Lieutenant General of the French army, once harquebusier in the first cohort, Prefect of the Grand Prior, a nephew on his brother's side, arranged for this slab to be placed in the year 1776.

### 49 - Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO,  
JUSTITIAS JUDICANTI.  
FRATER GASPAR DE PONTEVES BARGEME,  
FUIT.  
5 ANNOS VIXIT SUPRA XCII,  
QUORUM XXXXII COMMENDATOR,  
ET XX TOLOSE PRIOR.  
QUID PLURA?  
NUNC PULVIS JACET.  
10 DISCE, VIATOR,  
HUMANE GLORIÆ ETIAM LONGEVIORIS  
HOC SOLUM ESSE SUPERSTES.  
FUIT,  
CÆLESTIS IMMO GLORIA  
15 ÆTERNA EST.  
OBIIT ANNO SALUTIS MDCCXX,  
DIE XXVIII APRILIS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty, Passer of Judgements.

Frà Gaspar de Ponteves Bargème, he was. He lived for more than 92 years, of which 42 as a Commendator and twenty as the Prior of Toulouse. What else? Now he is dust. Learn, passer-by, that this floor is what remains of human glory, even when it is boundless. He was, but Heavenly glory is perpetual. He died in the Year of Salvation 1720, on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of April.

## 66 - Jean-François, Charles and Balthasar Veran

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOANNI FRANCISCO VERANO ARELATENSI,  
QUI, PRIMO ÆTATIS FLORE ET VERNANTIBUS ANNIS,  
POSTQUAM, RELIGIONI HIEROSOLYMITANO NOMEN DEDISSET,  
5 IN BONAM NIMIRUM CRUCEM ABIJSSET,  
PRO COMUNI ÆRARIO MAGNIS INSUMPTIS LABORIBUS,  
QUOS DEINCEPS PER TRIGINTA ANNOS SUSTINUIT,  
ET QUIBUS IN LUCRO POSUIT ALIUD NIHIL  
QUAM MAGNAM GLORIÆ ET LAUDIS MERCEDEM,  
10 QUAM CONSECUTUM ESSE PRETEREA COMPERTUM EST  
QUANDO  
EMINENTISSIMI DOMINI MAGNI MAGISTRI FRATRIS MARCI ANTONII ZONDADARII  
MINISTER A SECRETIS ET COMMENTARIENSIS  
IN REBUS AD UNIVERSAM NATIONEM GALLICAM SPECTANTIBUS,  
15 OMNIUM IN SE OCULOS ET ADMIRATIONEM CONVERTIT.  
OBIIT XIV KALENDAS MARTIJ MDCCXXI, ÆTATIS SVÆ LX.  
COMENDATOR FRATER CAROLUS VERANUS, GERMANUS FRATER,  
POSUIT ANNO MDCCXXXIV.  
  
FRATER BALDASAR VERANUS MELITENSIS IN GALLIA ADOLESCENS,  
20 A MAGNO MAGISTRO DE VILHENA JEROSOLYMITANÆ RELIGIONI ADSRIPTUS ET CUBICULATUS  
IN GALLICIS SCRIBENDIS ÆPISTULIS SECUNDUS, V KALENDAS MAIJ  
MORTE SUBREPTUS, MAGNUS SCUTIFER, ÆTATIS LXXII,  
HIC CUM PATRUIS DUOBUS IN PACE REQUIESCIT ET IN HONORE.  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCLVII AMICUS MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Jean-François Veran of Arles, who, in his budding age and in his flourishing years, had enrolled in the Jerusalemite Religion and indisputably set out for Heaven's reward. He exerted great efforts on behalf of the Common Treasury, sustaining it for thirty years. From this he gained nothing other than great reward of glory and praise, which, it was henceforth established, he sought after when he directed everyone's eyes and admiration towards himself as the private aide and intimate counsellor to the Most Eminent Grand Master Frà Marco Antonio Zondadari, in matters pertaining to the whole French nation. Jean-François died on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1721, at the age of 60. Commendator Frà Charles Veran, his twin brother, placed this slab in the year 1734

Frà Balthasar Veran, a Maltese who was raised in France, received and lodged at the Jerusalemite Religion by Grand Master de Vilhena, the second secretary for French correspondence, Master Equerry, snatched away by Death on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, at the age of 72, rests here in peace and in honour with his two uncles. A friend placed this slab in the Year of the Lord 1772.

## 48 - Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde

FELICES FUERUNT FIDELES.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

HIC IACET

FRATER JOSEPH DE FÆLIX LA REINARDE,

5 QUI COMMENDAM DE ESPOLIONS CIRCA TRIGINTA ANNOS GUBERNAVIT,

NON SOLUM AUXIT, SED DUPLICAVIT.

CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS TRIBUNUS MILITUM EFFECTUS,

UNIUS GALLICARUM TRIREMIIUM ETIAM DUX ESTITIT.

10 MAGNUS COMMENDATARIUS COMMUNI PLAUSU ELECTUS,

OMNES BONI RELIGIOSI NUMEROS ADIMPLEVIT.

AD MAGNUM SANCTI EGIDII PRIORATUM EVECTUS,

COMMENDAM PRIORALEM

FRATRI PETRO DE FÆLIX LA REINARDE DONAVIT - NON UT SIBI PARENTEM,

SED QUIA IN SUI PRIORATUS RECEPTORIA

15 COMMUNI ÆRARIO INSERVIEBAT,

MERITA RESPICIENS, NON SANGUINEM.

RELIGIONIS OPTIMUS FILIUS, SCIENS SE BONORUM ORDINIS RECTOR

NON DOMINUS,

PINGUEM MATRI SUÆ SPOLIUM RELINQUENS.

20 OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO

ANNO 1721, DIE 17 APRILIS ÆTATIS SUÆ 87.

Blessed were the faithful.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Joseph de Félix de la Reynarde, who administered the Commandery of Espalion for approximately thirty years, he not only increased, but doubled its revenues. He was made Military Commander of the Most Christian King, he even stood out as a Captain of one of the French galleys, elected Grand Commander with general consent, he fulfilled all the obligations of a good Religious. After he was raised to the Grand Priorship of Saint-Gilles, he passed over its prioral Commandery to Frà Pierre de Félix de la Reynarde - not as his relative, but because he was serving the Common Treasury within the Receptory of his Priory, taking into consideration his merits, not the blood-lineage. Knowing that he, as an exemplary son of the Religion, was the keeper of the Order's goods, not its owner, he left behind a rich bequest to his Order. He fell asleep in the Lord in the year 1721, on the seventeenth day of April, at the age of 87.



## 108 - Jean François Chevestre de Cintray

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOHANNI FRANCISCO CHEVESTRE DE CINTRAY,  
SACRI JEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS BAJULIVO, CENSUSQUE DE PUILAUBRAN  
VENERANDAE PRIORATUS FRANCIAE COMMENDATARIO,  
5 QUI, POSTQUAM TRIREMIS DUCEM EGERIT,  
AD CLEMENTEM PONTIFICEM XI AB HOC SACRO COETU MISSUS  
UT AB ILLO SUBSIDIUM IMPETRARET  
IN TURCICAM CLASSEM, HANC INSULAM INVADERE MINITANTEM,  
HUIUSMODI LEGATIONEM FELICITER PERFECIT,  
10 POSTEAQUE, AD SUMMI BELLICARUM NAVIUM MODERATORIS  
CULMEN PER SINGULOS HUIUSMODI MILITIAE GRADUS ASCENDIT,  
BISQUE VENETAE CLASSI AD PELOPONNESUM INTERFUIT,  
PRIMUM PRO-ADMIRATI MUNERE FUNGENS,  
DEINDE GENERALIS SANCTAE ECCLESIAE  
15 LOCUMTENENS DECLARATUS,  
QUA IN EXPEDITIONE CUNCTIS AUXILIARIBUS IMPERAVIT,  
TOTQUE NAVIGATIONIBUS LAUDE EXPLETIS  
ET CONSPICUO IN OMNI ORA, SIBI NOMINE COMPARATO,  
VENERANDAE NAVIUM CONGREGATIONI PRAEFECTUS EST.  
20 OBIIT X CALENDAS OCTOBRIS, ANNO AERAE VULGATAE MDCCXXI.  
BAJULIVUS FRATER JACOBUS FRANCISCUS CHAMBRAIJ,  
SUPREMUS BELLICARUM NAVIUM MODERATOR, AMICO OPTIMO POSUIT  
MENSE MARTIO ANNI MDCCXXXV.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Jean François Chevestre de Cintray, Bailiff of the Sacred Jerusalemite Order, Commendator of the property of Puilaubran of the Venerable Priory of France, who, on his appointment as a galley Captain, was sent to Pope Clemens XI by this Sacred Assembly in order to obtain his support against the Turkish fleet which was threatening to invade this island. He successfully concluded this embassy, and afterwards he ascended through each and every officer's rank of this Militia to Supreme Commodore of the sailing ships, and twice joined the Venetian fleet near the Peloponnese, at first performing the office of Vice-Admiral, then declared Lieutenant General of the Sacred Church, in an expedition where he commanded all the auxiliary troops. After completing so many sea voyages with merit, famous at every shore, with a solid reputation, he was made President over the Venerable Commission of Sailing Ships. He died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September, in the Year of the Common Era 1721. Bailiff Frà Jacques François Chambray, Lieutenant General of the sailing ships, placed this slab for his best friend in the month of March of the year 1735.

**1 - Marc'Antonio Zondadari**  
DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATRI MARCO ANTONIO ZONDADARIO SENENSI, MAGNO MAGISTRO,  
EX FILIA FRATRIS ALEXANDRI VII PONTIFICIS MAXIMI PROGENITO, GEMINA  
APVD SVMMVM PONTIFICEM LEGATIONE, CLASSISQVE TOTIVS  
5 PRAEFECTVRA DIFFICILLIMIS TEMPORIBVS FVNCTO,  
SVMMIS EVROPAE PRINCIPIBVS PROBATISSIMO,  
CHRISTIANAE ET MILITARIS DISCIPLINAE VINDICI, RE  
NAVALI PLVRIMVM AVCTA, INSVLAQVE NOVIS MVNIMENTIS  
INSTRVCTA, DE SVIS EQVITIBVS OPTIME MERITO, PIO,  
10 HOSPITALI, MAGNANIMO, FRATER THOMAS DEL BENE, PISARVM  
PRIOR, SVI AMANTISSIMO, EIVS PECVNIA MONVMENTVM POSVIT.  
OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXXIII, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXIII, MAGNI MAGISTRI III.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Marc'Antonio Zondadari of Siena, Grand Master, born to the daughter of Pope Alexander VII's brother, holding, in the most difficult of times, the twin task of an embassy to the Pope and the Captain-Generalship of the entire fleet, obtaining the utmost approval of Europe's Sovereigns as the defender of Christian and military discipline, abundantly equipping the naval force and providing the island with new fortifications, meritorious, affectionate, hospitable and nobly regardful towards his Knights. Frà Tommaso del Bene, Prior of Pisa, erected this monument with Zondadari's own money, for his dearest friend, who died in the Year of the Lord 1722, at the age of 63, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of his Grand Magistracy.

**35 - Ottavio Tancredi**

HIC JACET ILLUSTRISSIMUS DOMINUS FRATER OCTAVIUS TANCREDI,  
PATRITIUS SENENSIS ET MAGNUS MESSANÆ PRIOR,  
NATALIUM FULGORE, VITÆ INNOCENTIA, LIBERALITATE, PRUDENTIA CONSPICUUS,  
IN ADMINISTRANDIS TERRA MARIQUE SUPRA VIGINTI SUI ORDINIS MUNERIBUS,  
5 ETIAM EMINENTISSIMI TUNC MAGNI MAGISTRI DE PERELLOS LOCUMTENENTIS OPTIME PROVIDUS,  
GEMINIS CLARIORIBUS LEGATIONIBUS, ALTERA APUD CHRISTIANISSIMAM MAIESTATEM,  
IN QUA REGIUM ANIMUM RECONCILIANS SUE RELIGIONI, AMOREM, PRIVILEGIA,  
ALTERA PRO SERENISSIMO MAGNO HETRURIE DUCE APUD CATHOLICAM,  
IN QUA SUI PRINCIPIS ÆQUANS EXSPECTIONEM, PAREM SIBI GLORIAM COMPARAVIT.  
10 VIR SUIS MERITIS ÆT HONORIBUS VERE MAGNUS SEMPERQUE MAJOR,  
OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO 14 MARTII 1722, ÆTATIS ANNO 87,  
COMMUNI AUCTO ÆRARIO QUADRAGINTA AUREORUM MILLIUM SPOLIO.

Here lies the Most Illustrious Don Frà Ottavio Tancredi, a nobleman from Siena and Grand Prior of Messina, illustrious for the splendour of his lineage, and for the integrity of his life, generosity, prudence in administering the offices of his Order on sea and shore for more than twenty years, and also during that period most prudently deputising for His Most Eminent Grand Master De Perellos, when he conducted two very distinct embassies, one at the Court of the Most Christian King, in which he reconciled the Royal Mind with his Religion, through his affection and privileges, and the other on behalf of the Most Illustrious Grand Duke of Tuscany at the Court of the Catholic Majesty, in which, while meeting the expectations of his Prince, he acquired for himself the glory which he deserved. A man, truly great for his merits and honours, and forever more elevated when he passed away in the Lord on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1722, at the age of 87, leaving the Common Treasury enriched with forty thousand gold pieces from his inheritance.

## 116 - Gerolamo Antonio Bagnano

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIERONYMUS ANTONIUS  
E BAGNANO, EQUES  
ILLUSTRIS FLORENTINUS,  
5 NOVARÆ COMMENDATARIUS  
AC VENERANDUS DE CREMONA BAJULIVUS,  
MILES IN UTRAQUE SPIRITUS ET CORPORIS  
MILITIA ÆQUE VALIDUS, QUARE NOBILIUM  
TYRONUM SACRÆ RELIGIONIS A SUPERIORIBUS  
10 MAGISTER ELECTUS, SUO EXEMPLO BONOS MORES  
REGULAREMQUE DISCIPLINAM PRUDENTER  
ILLOS ERUDIVIT. ETIAM, TAMQUAM PIUS PATER,  
ELEMOSINIS FREQUENTIBUS PAUPERES SUBLEVAVIT,  
QUI TANDEM EX IMPROVISO ADORTUS, IN GRAVE  
15 MORBUM INCIDIT, ATQUE ECCLESIASTICIS SACRAMENTIS  
MUNITUS, PROPE OCTOGENARIUS FELICITER  
OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO DIE IV DECEMBRIS,  
HOC ANNO MDCCXXII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Gerolamo Antonio, from the Bagnano family, an illustrious Florentine Knight, Commendator of Novara and Venerable Bailiff of Cremona, a soldier in both militias, equally steadfast in spirit and body, hence, elected by his superiors as the Master of the noble recruits of the Sacred Religion, he skilfully taught them good manners and model discipline by his example, moreover, just like a dutiful father, he supported the poor with frequent alms. In this last duty, suddenly feverish, he fell seriously ill, and as soon as he was strengthened by the Last Sacraments, he, almost an octogenarian, died happily in the Lord on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of December in this year 1722.

## 124 - Manuel de Almeida y Vasconcellos

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI EMMANUELI DE ALMEIDA DE VASCONCELLOS,  
PATRIA ET SANGUINE  
CLARO,  
5 MAGNI CRUCIS INSIGNIBUS ET CLASSIUM PRÆFECTURA  
CLARIORI,  
PIETATE, MUNIFICENTIA ET BENEFACTIS  
CLARISSIMO,  
CUI RELIGIO, PRUDENTIA ET PUBLICA FOELICITAS  
PARENTANT,  
10 NE PUBLICI DESIDERIJ ET PRIVATI AMORIS  
MONUMENTUM DESIT,  
FRATRES JOSEPH ET ANTONIUS, EX FRATRE NEPOTES AMANTISSIMI,  
POSUERE.  
OBIJT ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCXXV,  
15 ÆTATIS SUÆ LVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Manuel de Almeida y Vasconcellos, famous for his fatherland and lineage, more famous for the dignities of Grand Cross and the Captain-Generalship of the fleets, most famous for his observance, generosity and beneficence, whose reverence, prudence and public welfare are appeasing. Should the presence of a monument of public grief and personal fondness be lacking, Brothers José and Antonio, most loving nephews on his brother's side, placed this slab. He died in the Year of Salvation 1725, at the age of 57.

### 103 - Cristoforo Balbani

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI CHRISTOPHORO, MAGNO VENETIARUM  
PRIORI, EX INCLIJTA BALBANORUM  
STIRPE, CLARÆ AC LIBERÆ PATRIÆ  
5 LUCÆ, PROGENITO, QUAM PLURIMIS SUI  
ORDINIS OFFICIIS, QUEM ARDENTI  
ZELO PROSEQUEBATUR, LAUDABILITER  
FUNCTO, EFFUSA IN PAUPERES  
CARITATE CONSPICUO, PRUDENTIA  
10 EXIMIO, PIETATE, MUNIFICENTIA  
ALIISQUE VIRTUTIBUS, VENERABILIS  
SENECTUTIS ORNAMENTIS DITATO,  
FRANCISCUS BALBANI, NON TAM  
NOMINIS ET SANGUINIS QUAM  
15 AMORIS ET BENEFICENTIÆ LEGIBUS  
DEVINCTUS, IN PERENNE GRATI  
ANIMI TESTIMONIUM PRÆSENS,  
MONUMENTUM POSUIT ANNO  
DOMINI 1728. OBIIT DIE 21 MENSIS  
20 MARTII 1725,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 90.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Cristoforo, Grand Prior of the Venetian estates, progeny from the illustrious Balbani family and of the famous and free fatherland Lucca, performing admirably as many offices of his Order as possible, which he pursued with a burning passion. Notable for his charity, flowing towards the poor, extraordinary for his prudence, observance, generosity and other virtues, he was enriched with the distinction of venerable old age. Francesco Balbani, not so much bound by the ties of name and kinship as those of affection and kindness, placed in person this slab as an everlasting testimony of grateful memory, in the Year of the Lord 1728. He passed away on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of March 1725, at the age of 90.

## 57 - Felice de Lando

SPECULUM JUSTITIÆ

SOL SAPIENTIÆ

LA MORTE È  
FIN D' UNA PRIGIONE  
OSCURA.

5

NEC SANGUINI PARCIT,  
SUÆVO SANGUINE LÆTA.

10

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER FÆLIX COMES DE LANDO PLACENTINUS,  
CLARIORIS ITALIÆ SANGUINIS,  
MAGNUS BARULI PRIOR,  
HUMANÆ VITÆ FLUCTIBUS CONSTANTER VICTIS,  
ANNORUM OCTUAGINTA QUINQUE PONDERE FATIGATUS,  
VIRTUTUM CHRISTIANI MILITIS PRÆMIA CONSEQUITURUS.  
DIE III MARTII MDCCXXVI, IN DOMINO REQUIEVIT.

15

EQUES FRATER FERDINANDUS ROSSERMINI, JURIS UTRIUSQUE DOCTOR, FRATER  
MICHÆL ANGELUS PAGNINI, HOC MONUMENTUM IN GRATI  
ANIMI SIGUM POSUERE.

Mirror of Justice

Sun of wisdom

Death is the end of a dark prison.

Death does not even spare my kindred  
for my sweet Swabian blood.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Felice, Count of Lando, of Piacenza, from quite a famous consanguinity of Italy, Grand Prior of Barletta, consistently overcame the tides of human life, although burdened by the weight of eighty-five years, he still would pursue the reward of the virtues of a Christian soldier. He rested in the Lord on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of March 1726. Chevalier Frà Ferdinando Rossermini, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, and Frà Michelangelo Pagnini, placed this slab as a proof of grateful memory.

## 68 - Charles de la Marche de Parnac

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
RELIGIOSIS CINERIBUS  
FRATRIS CAROLI DE LA MARCHE DE PARNAC,  
MORUM CANDORE INCLITI, COMMENDATITIJ DE MAISSONNISE,  
5 SUMMI MILITLÆ HIEROSOLIJMITANE POLEMARCHI  
CONCLAVIS 19 JUNIJ ANNI 1722 HABITI, QUO AD MAGISTERIJ  
SUPREMUM APICEM EMINENTISSIMUS FRATER DOMINUS ANTONIUS MANOEL DE VILHENA  
EVECTUS FUIT PRÆSIDIS INTEGERRIMI,  
EIDEMQUE OPTIMO PRINCIPI  
10 QUOAD VIXIT PIE INVIOLATEQUE ADDICTI.  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 78, DIE UNDECIMA NOVEMBRIS,  
ANNO SALUTIS 1726, E VIVIS EXCESSIT.  
AD PERENNEM SUI IN VIRUM HUNC  
OBSEQUIJ MEMORIAM POSUIT  
15 FRATER JOANNES ALEXIUS DE BOISLINARS DE MARGOU,  
CONSANGUINEUS,  
EQUES VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ARVERNÆ.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the blessed remains of Frà Charles de la Marche de Parnac, illustrious for the splendour of his character, Commendator of Maissonnise, a most impeccable chairman of the secret ballot meeting, held on the 19th of June of the year 1722, to choose the highest leader of the Jerusalemite Militia in which the Most Eminent Frà Don Antonio Manoel de Vilhena was promoted to the highest summit of Magistracy, and as long as he lived he was piously and inviolably devoted to the same Supreme Prince. He withdrew from life at the age of 78, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of November in the Year of Salvation 1726. Frà Jean-Alexis de Boislinars de Margou, a relative, Knight of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne, placed this slab to the everlasting memory of being in this man's retinue.

## 233 - Innozenz von Dietrichstein

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

HIC IACET

INNOCENTIUS, COMES DE DIETRICHSTEIN, E PRINCIPIBUS SANCTO ROMANO IMPERIO,  
5 A PONTIFICE INNOCENTIO XI ET AB AUGUSTA ELEONORA  
DE SACRO FONTE IN BAPTISMO LEVATUS,  
MILITAVIT CHRISTO, MILITAVIT ET CÆSARI  
AC SUB UTROQUE PRO CATHOLICA FIDE PUGNAVIT  
IN BELLICA REBELLIONE PANNONIÆ. AB HÆRETICIS CAPTUS,  
10 DUORUM ANNORUM SUSTINUIT CARCEREM. NON TIMUIT MORTEM.  
IN LIBERTATE RESTITUTUS, HIEROSOLIMITANÆ RELIGIONI,  
CUI DEDERAT NOMEN DEDIT ET OPERAS,  
PLURISQUE MORIENS RELIQUIT PROVENTUS.  
LICET PENSIONIBUS NEQUE COMMENDIS ADHUC PROVISUS FUISSET,  
15 IN MUNERE AUDITORIS RATIONUM, CESSIT E VITA  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXVII, DIE VII IDUS FEBRUARI.  
VIXIT ITAQUE INNOCENTIUS, AD POPULI DESIDERIUM PARUM,  
AD RES GESTAS MULTUM, AD FORTUNÆ VICISSITUDINES PLURI.  
AD OPERAM, VERO CLARITATEM  
20 ÆTERNUM VIVIT.

The Senate and the Roman People.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Innozenz, Earl of Dietrichstein, from the Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, raised in baptism at the Holy Font by Pope Innocent XI and the August Eleonora, served as soldier, both for Christ and the Emperor, and under their command fought for the Catholic Faith in the rebellion war of Hungary; captured by heretics, he suffered an imprisonment of two years. He did not fear Death. When he was restored to his freedom, he enrolled and rendered his services to the Jerusalemite Religion, and when he died, he left behind considerable wealth, although he had thus far taken care of annual payments, and not of commanderies, in his duty of auditor of estates' revenues. He departed from this life in the Year of the Lord 1727, on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of February. And thus Innozenz lived not long enough, for he left regret for his absence in the people, but long enough to achieve, more than enough to experience the changes of fortune. He will live forever according to his works and reputation.



## 22 - Gaspare Gori Mancini

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI GASPARI GORI MANCINI,  
PATRITIO SENENSI,  
INSULÆ MELITÆ ET GAULOS ANTISTITI,  
5 PRUDENTIA, PIETATE  
AC MULTIFARIA ERUDITIONE ORNATISSIMO,  
QUI,  
QUUM AD SANCTAM SEDEM SE CONTULISSET,  
UT QUÆDAM JURA SUA TUERETUR,  
10 ILLINC REVERTENS, FUNESTO MORBO CORREPTUS,  
OBIIT AUGUSTÆ, SICILÆ OPIDI,  
XVII KALENDAS SEXTILES ANNI CI-I-CCXXVII,  
UBI TUMULATUS EST IN SEPULCRO PECUNIA PUBLICA. PRÆDICATOR  
COMMENDATARIUS FRATER JOHANNES FRANCISCUS GORI,  
15 EJUS EX FRATRE NEPOS,  
RECUPERATO ILLIUS CORDE ATQUE HEIC CONDITO,  
MONUMENTUM HOC PROPRIO ÆRE POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Gaspare Gori Mancini, a Sienese nobleman, Bishop of the islands of Malta and Gozo, admirably endowed with prudence, observance and manifold learning, who, when he had taken himself to the Holy See in order to uphold certain of his rights, on his return, was seized by a terminal illness and died at the town of Agosta, Sicily, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1727, where he was buried in a tomb, at public expense. A preacher, Commendator Frà Giovanni Francesco Gori, a nephew on his brother's side, after he had recovered the other's heart, buried it here, and placed this slab at his own expense.

## 34 - Carlo Francesco Doria

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER CAROLUS FRANCISCUS AB AURIA,  
EX DYNASTIS DEL MARO AUGUSTÆ TAURINORUM,  
CREMONÆ BAJULIVUS.  
CÆTERA NEC QUÆRAS,  
5 NAM VANÆ GLORIÆ CONTEMPTOR,  
EJUS TANTUM NOMEN  
SARCOPHAGO INSCRIBI  
SUPREMIS TABULIS JUSSIT.  
OBIIT DIE 23 MENSIS DECEMBRIS, ANNO SALUTIS 1727,  
10 ETATIS VERO 68.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Carlo Francesco Doria, from the lineage of Del Maro of Venerable Turin, Bailiff of Cremona. Do not search for more, for he, a despiser of vainglory, had ordered only his name to be inscribed on the uppermost slab of this slab. He died on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of December of the Year of Salvation 1727, at the age of 68.

## 71 - Juan Manoel de Vilhena

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC HUMANAS DEPOSUIT EXUVIAS  
FRATER DOMINUS JOANNES MANOEL DE VILHENA  
ATAVIS EDITUS REGIBUS,  
5 QUI VITÆ SPATIO INTER MUNIA RELIGIONIS EMENSO,  
QUIPPE TRIERARCHUS,  
POSTEA COMMENDATARIUS DE ROSOS CANCELLARIUS,  
AC DEMUM BAIULIVUS AGONIS ELECTUS,  
10 ULTIMAM DIEM EGIT XVII KALENDAS DECEMBRIS MDCCXXVIII,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXX.  
DESIDERIUM SUI MAGNUM RELIQUIT,  
QUI SUMMA URBANITATE PLACIDUS ET INTEGER VIXIT.  
QUID PLURA?  
15 GERMANUS EMINENTISSIMI PRINCIPIS ET MAGNI MAGISTRI  
DOMINI ANTONII MANOEL DE VILHENA,  
QUI CARISSIMO FRATRI MORIENTI  
BENIGNUS ET PIUS ADFUIT  
ET, FATO FUNCTO,  
20 MOERENS HOC MEMORIÆ MONUMENTUM  
POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Frà Don Juan Manoel de Vilhena, committed his human remains to this place, progeny of kings as forefathers, he who spent a lifetime in the duties of his Religion, was elected Captain of a galley, afterwards Commendator Chancellor of Rosas, and at length Bailiff of Agon, finished his last day on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1728, at the age of 70. He left behind great regret of his absence, who, calm and sound, lived with highest courtesy. What else? He was the brother of the Most Eminent Prince and Grand Master Don Antonio Manoel de Vilhena who, kind and dutiful, was near to his most beloved brother on his deathbed, and after destiny had arrived, placed in mourning this slab to his memory.

## 45 - Romeo Fardella

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ILLUSTRISSIMUS DOMINUS  
FRATER DON ROMEOUS FARDELLA,  
PRIOR SANCTI STEPHANI,  
5 HOC IN TUMULO QUIESCIT.  
NOLI ALIUD DE EO QUÆRERE, VIATOR,  
NIHIL ENIM POST MORTEM DE SE SCIRI VOLUIT,  
GENEROSUS GLORIÆ CONTEMPTOR,  
PRÆTER NOMEN,  
10 QUOD TAMEN SCIVISSE SAT EST.  
ILLUM DEUS DREPANO CONCESSIT  
ANNO MDCXXXVIII,  
RELIGIONI HIEROSOLYMITANO  
ANNO MDCLI,  
15 COELO  
ANNO MDCCXXVIII, DIE VI JULII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
The Most Illustrious Lord, Frà Don Romeo Fardella, Prior of Santo Stefano, is resting in this tomb. Do not look for anything else about him, passer-by, namely this noble despiser of glory wished nothing to be known about him after death besides his name, which, however, is enough to have known. God gave him admittance to life in Trapani in the year 1638, to the Jerusalemite Religion in the year 1651, to Heaven in the year 1728, on the sixth day of July.

### 36 - Gaspar de Figuera

VENIT HORA EJUS,  
VENIET ET TUA.  
DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINUS GASPAR DE FIGUERA HOC TEGITUR MARMORE.  
5 HONORIS QUÆRIS TITULOS, NULLOS HABET.  
FUIT AMPOSTÆ CASTELLANUS, NON EST.  
QUÆRE VIRTUTES, HAC TAMEN LEGE UT IMITERIS,  
HAS, NIMIRUM OPES MORS AUFERRE NON POTEST, HAS LICET ÆTERNUM POSSIDERE  
OMNES IN EO. REPERIES QUÆ HIEROSOLYMITANUM EQUITEM DECENT,  
10 PRÆSERTIM VERO EXIMIUM SUI ORDINIS AMOREM LEGUMQUE OBSERVANTIAM.  
OBIIT DIE 24 OCTOBRIS ANNO 1729, ÆTATIS 76.  
EQUES DOMINUS VINCENTIUS DE FIGUERA, PATRUO AMANTISSIMO,  
SEPULCHRI HONOREM QUEM IPSE SIBI NEGARAT, AD MCERENS INVITO DETULIT.

His hour has come,  
and yours will come.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Don Gaspar de Figuera is covered by this marble. You are seeking his titles of honour, he has none. He was the Castellan of Amposta, now he is no longer. Look for his virtues, better still, read so that you may emulate them, without doubt Death cannot carry away these strengths, all of which ought to be preserved in him forever. You will discover which are the ones suitable for a Jerusalemite Knight, especially the extraordinary love for one's Order and the observance of its laws. He died on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of October in the year 1729, at the age of 76. Chevalier Don Vincente de Figuera, in almost unbearable grief, bestowed upon his most beloved uncle the honour of a slab, which he had denied for himself.

### 107 - Octave de Gallèan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS OCTAVIJ DE GALLEAN, PATRITIJ NICÆNI,  
MAGNI PRIORATUS TOLOSÆ COENOBIAARCHÆ  
ET SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS VALENTIÆ AD RHODANUM  
5 COMMENDATARIJ,  
QUI, NON MINUS ANIMI CANDORE  
QUAM GENERIS SPLENDORE ILLUSTRIS,  
OLIM  
MELITENSI FORO CUM DIGNITATE PRÆFUIT  
10 ET IN INSULA GAULO RECTORIS MUNIS  
CUM LAUDE EXERCUIT,  
HEIC CINERES QUIESCUNT.  
ANIMA VERO UT IN PRINCIPIO SUO QUIESCAT.  
ORA, QUISQUIS HÆC LEGIS.  
15 VIXIT ANNOS LXXXVIII, MENSES IX, DIES XVIII.  
OBIIT XVI CALENDAS NOVEMBRIS ANNO MDCCXXX.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are resting the remains of Octave de Gallèan, a nobleman from Nice, Abbot of the Grand Priory of Toulouse and Commendator of the property of the Sacred Order at Valence sur le Rhône, who, illustrious for the splendour of his character not less than the lustre of his ancestry, once presided with dignity over the Maltese Court of Justice and exercised with merit the office of Governor on the island of Gozo. May his soul repose as in its conception. Pray, whoever is reading this. He lived for 88 years, 9 months and 18 days. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October, in the year 1730.

## 10 - Charles de Vignes Parizot

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER CAROLUS DE VIGNES PARIZOT,  
EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI VALETTÆ PRONEPOS,  
SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS DE SAINT FELIX  
5 COMENDATARIUS,  
QUI, VARIIS MUNERIBUS FUNCTUS,  
RECEPTOREM TOLOSÆ ET MAGNI COMENDATarii  
LOCUMTENENTEM EGIT,  
DEIN, MAGNI COMENDATarii DIGNITATEM  
10 CONSEQUITUS EST.  
MORTIS HAUD IMMÉMOR, LOCUM SIBI  
VIVENS POSUIT,  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS 1730,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 63.  
15 OBIIT DIE 12 APRILIS 1731.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Charles de Vignes Parizot, great-nephew of the Most Eminent Grand Master De Valette, voted the Holy Order's Commendator of the estate of Saint-Félix, who, after administering various offices, became Receptor at Toulouse and deputy of the Grand Commander, then obtained the office of Grand Commander itself. Not heedless of death, he placed while still alive his grave in the Year of Redemption 1730, at the age of 63. He died on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of April 1731.

## 72 - Thomas de Fougasse la Bastie

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EN TIBI VIATOR EGREGIUM  
HIEROSOLIMITANI ORDINIS ALUMNUM,  
FRATREM THOMAM DE FOUGASSE LA BASTIE,  
5 OMNI VIRTUTUM GENERE CONSPICUUM,  
PRÆSERTIM VERO EXIMIA IN  
PAUPERES MISERICORDIA, QUAM  
TAMEN CUM RELIGIONIS SUÆ  
RATIONIBUS ITA TEMPERAVIT,  
10 UT IN ILLOS QUIDEM INGENTEM  
PECUNIARUM VIM EFFUDERIT,  
HUIC VERO AD QUINQUAGINTA  
AUREORUM MILLIA, NULLA SIBI  
PARTE RETENTA, RESERVAVERIT.  
15 PUBLICI ÆRARIJ PROCURATORES, NE  
TANTÆ BENEFICENTIÆ MEMORIA  
UNQUAM INTERIRET, HOC ILLI  
MONUMENTUM DECREVERUNT.  
OBIIT EJUSDEM ÆRARIJ PRÆFECTUS  
20 DIE 15 MARTII 1735, ANNOS NATUS 86.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Lo! passer-by, the eminent disciple of the Jerusalemite Order, Frà Thomas de Fougasse la Bastie, illustrious for all kinds of virtues, though especially by his exceptional compassion towards the poor, which he combined in such a way with the purveyance of food of the Religion, that he truly poured forth a huge quantity of commodities to them, for which he had reserved nearly fifty thousand gold pieces, and by no means did he retain anything for himself. The Procurators of the Public Treasury, should the memory of such great a kindness ever perish, determined to set up this slab for him. He died as the Treasurer of the aforesaid Treasury on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of March 1733, 86 years of age.

## 91 - René du Pré

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI RENATO DUPRÈ, MAGNO COMMENDATARIO AC TOLOSÆ PRIORI,  
EMINENTISSIMI CARDINALIS DUPRÈ CONSANGUINEO,  
5 VIRO SINGULARI MENTIS SAGACITATE,  
FORTITUDINE PECTORIS,  
ANIMIQUE PIETATE PRÆDITO,  
COMMENDATARIJ FRATRES BALTHASAR ET RENATUS DE GRAS PREVILLE,  
AMANTISSIMI EJUSDEM PRONEPOTES,  
10 COMMENDÆ DE GARIDECH  
ALIORUNQUE PLURIMUM IN IPSOS OFFICIORUM  
HAUD IMMEMORES,  
PROMERITUM SEPULCHRI HONOREM  
ÆRE PROPRIO IMPERTIVERE.  
OBIIT KALENDIS JUNIJ ANNO 1733, ÆTATIS SUÆ 90, MENSES 2, DIES 21.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà René du Pré, Grand Commander and Prior of Toulouse, a relative of His Eminency Cardinal Du Pré, an incomparable man, gifted with presence of mind, valiant disposition, and piety of soul. He died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June in the year 1733, at the age of 90 years, 2 months and 21 days. The Commendators Frati Balthazar and René de Gras Preville, his most beloved great-nephews, by no means forgetful of the Commandery of Garidech and of the host of other courtesies shown to them, bestowed on him, at their own expense, the deserved honour of this sepulchral.

## 274 - Wolfgang Philipp Guttenberg

PATER DE GUTTENBERG

MATER DE GUTTENBERG

FRATER WOLFFGANGUS PHILIPPUS,  
LIBER BARO DE ET A GUTTENBERG,  
SANCTI IOANNIS ORDINIS HYEROSOLYMITANI BAIULIVUS BRANDENBURGENSIS,  
5 PRÆCEPTOR COMMENDARUM KLEINERDTLINGÆ, BRUCHSALIJ  
ET CRON WEISSENBOURG FUIT, ET TU NON ERIS.  
OBIIT DIE IV DECEMBRIS MDCCXXXIII.

FUMUS, HUMUS SUMUS, ET CINIS EST NOSTRA ULTIMA FINIS.

AVA PATER DE VÆRDENAV

AVA MATER D ELTZ

Father Von Guttenberg

Mother Von Guttenberg

Frà Wolffgang Philipp, Baron from and of Guttenberg, Bailiff of the Jerusalemite Order of Saint John at Brandenburg was, and you will not be, the Receptor of the Commanderries of Kleinerddlingen, Bruchsal and Wissenbourg. He died on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of December 1733.

We are but smoke and soil, and ashes are our final end

Grandfather Von Waerdenau

Grandmother Von Eltz

## 31 - Didaco Velez de Guevara

POTIUS MORUI QUAM FÆDARI.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HEIC QUIESCENT CINERES  
FRATRIS DOMINI DIDACI VELEZ DE GUEVARA,  
5 LORÆ BAJULIVI, CHIROGÆ COMMENDATarii  
QUI,  
POSTQUAM TRIREMIS DUCEM EGIT  
VARIOSQUE SACRÆ ORDINIS CENSUS  
TUM JURE, CUM MERITO FUIT CONSEQUUTUS,  
10 PER STATOS GRADUS  
AD MAGNI CANCELLarii DIGNITATEM EVECTUS EST,  
EQUES GENERIS SPLENDORE, OPUM COPIA,  
ACRI PRÆSENTIQUE ANIMO SINGULARIS.  
OBIIT IDIBUS JULIIS, ANNO ÆRÆ VULGATÆ MDCCXXXIV,  
15 ÆTATIS ANNOS LXXVII, MENSES XI, DIES XIII.

Sooner die than to be disgraced

To God, Supreme and Almighty. Here are laying at rest the remains of Frà Don Didaco Velez de Guevara, Bailiff of Lora, Commendator of Quiroga who, after he had commanded a galley, and obtained manifold properties of the Holy Order not only by right, but also by merit, by regular progress was promoted to the rank of Great Chancellor. A Knight extraordinary in magnificence of his birth, abundance of wealth, keen and sharp mind. He died on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July in the Year of the Common Era 1734, at the age of 77 years, 11 months and 13 days.

### 13 - Félix de Grimaldi

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC JACET FOULIX DE GRIMALDI,  
MAGNUS SANCTI AEGIDII PRIOR,  
QUI, NOBILITATIS, INGENII AC VIRTUTIS  
5 DECUS ET NORMAM  
ADOLESCENS TOTO HAUSIT PECTORE,  
ALUIT ET EXTULIT,  
VIR, NON MINUS DEO QUAM REGI MILITANS,  
TURMAS VERBO, EXEMPLO E VITIIS ABSTRACTAS,  
10 TANTO IN PRÆLIIS FORTIORES EFFECIT,  
QUANTO COELESTIS GLORIAE SECURIORES,  
SENEX ORATIONIS ASSIDUITATE, CHARITATE LONGANIMITATIS,  
SACRO HIEROSOLYMITANO ORDINI LONGUM PRAELUXIT,  
AMORIS DIVINI IGNE AESTUANS, COELO PRAELUSIT  
15 DEMUM AETERNITATI INSERENDUS,  
SAECULUM SI NON CLAUSIT OMNINO,  
AT MERITIS MAJOR QUAM ANNIS  
SUPERAVIT.  
OBIIT ANNO MDCCXXXIV, DIE IV DECEMBRIS, AETATIS SUAE XCIV.  
20 HOC GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM POSUIT  
FRATER PAULUS ALPHERAN DE BUSSAN,  
EPISCOPUS MELITENSIS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Félix de Grimaldi, Grand Prior of Saint-Gilles, who, while growing up, imbibed with his whole heart, nourished and exalted the grace and standard of nobility, character and strength. As a man, fighting as much for God as for the King, he turned his troops from their errors by his word and example, to make them so much braver in battles, as they were sure of Heavenly Glory. As an old man, for a long time he shone brightly onto the Sacred Order of Jerusalem with the constant presence of his prayer, the warmth of his patience, and burning with passion of Divine Love. He prepared himself for Heaven, to assume immortality at last. Even if he did not entirely conclude a century, one may say that still he outlived it, as he was more advanced in merits than in years. He died on the fourth day of December in the year 1734, at the age of 94. Frà Paul Alpheran De Bussan, Bishop of Malta, placed this as a monument of grateful memory.



## 24 - Melchior Alpheran de Bussan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI MELCHIORI ALPHERAN DE BUSSAN,  
AQUIENSI SEXTIENSI,  
INSIGNIS FRATRIS HONORATI NEPOTI,  
5 ALUMNO AC ÆMULO  
HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS CLERI, ATQUE ECCLESiarUM  
GENERALI PRIORI,  
LITERIS CUM SACRIS TUM PROFANIS  
LUCULENTER INSTRUCTO,  
10 ERGA INOPES, OPPRESSOS, IMBECILLES LARGE MUNIFICO,  
DE HAC BASILICA OPTIME MERITO,  
CUJUS VITA  
ECCLESIASTICORUM NORMA, INDISCIPLINATORUM CENSURA,  
PIORUM OPERUM PALAESTRA,  
15 FRATER PAULUS, EPISCOPUS MELITENSIS, PATRUO MERITISSIMO POSUIT.  
OBIIT ANNO ÆRÆ VULGATÆ MDCCXXXIV, IDIBUS DECEMBRIS,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ OCTUAGENARIO MAJOR,  
PRIORATUS XXI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Melchior Alpheran de Bussan of Aix-en-Provence, a respected nephew of a distinguished brother, pupil and emulator of the Clergy of the Order of Jerusalem, and Prior General of the Conventual Church, excellently educated not only in sacred but also in secular literature, exceedingly charitable to the destitute, the oppressed and the weak, most meritorious regarding this basilica, whose life was the standard of Christian clergy, the censor of the licentious, the school of pious works. Frà Paul, Bishop of Malta, placed this slab for his most meritorious paternal uncle. He died in the year of the Common Era 1734, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, at an age of more than 80, performing his Priorship for 21 years.

## 389 - Giovanni Andrea Pellerano

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOHANNI ANDRÆ PELLERANO,  
NATO IN OPIDO MACTORIO,  
VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ITALIÆ ET PRIORATUS MESSANÆ  
5 PRESBYTERO CONVENTUALI,  
SANCTÆ MARIÆ A GRATIIS COMMENDATARIO  
QUI,  
PER SINGULOS HUIUS TEMPLI MUNERUM GRADUS  
AD PPO-PRIORIS DIGNITATEM MERITO EVECTUS,  
10 EAQUE TRIBUS PROPE MENSIBUS RITE FUNCTUS,  
OBIIT VII IDUS MARTIAS ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCXXXV,  
ÆTATIS ANNO XXXXI, DIES XXI.  
FRATER ONUPHRIUS PELLERANUS,  
SACRÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIÆ ARMIGER,  
15 FRATRI KARISSIMO MOERENS POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Giovanni Andrea Pellerano, born in the village of Mactorio, Conventual Priest of the Venerable Tongue of Italy and the Priory of Messina, Commendator of Santa Maria delle Grazie who, through every single stage of duties of his Church was raised to the dignity of Vice-Prior by his merit, and which dignity he performed with due observance for nearly three months. He died on the 9<sup>th</sup> of March in the Year of Our Salvation 1735, at the age of 41 years and 21 days. Frà Onufrio Pellerano, Squire of the Sacred Jerusalemite Militia, placed, while in mourning, this slab for his most beloved brother.

## 279 - Leopold Ignatz von Sauer Ankerstein

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC QUIESCUNT CINERES  
FRATRIS LEOPOLDI IGNATII, COMITIS DE SAVER ANXESTEIN,  
ORTI EX ANTIQUISSIMA DUCATUS CARNIOLÆ GENTE,  
5 SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS EBERIFURT COMMENDATarii  
QUI, EXPLETIS MILITARIS TIROCINII EXPEDITIONIBUS,  
IN PANNONIAM SESE CONTULIT,  
UBI PER QUATUOR LUSTRA IN TURCAS  
CÆSARIS PEDITATUS DUCEM EGIT,  
10 DEIN MAGNI PRIORATUS BOEMLÆ RECEPTORIS  
MUNUS CUM DIGNITATE SUSTINUIT,  
HUC AUTEM REVERSUS,  
VENERANDÆ CONGREGATIONIS TRIREMIUM CURATORIBUS ADSRIPTUS EST,  
POSTEA, ARMAMENTORUM CURATOR,  
15 FUMORUM COMMENDATOR, CONSERVATOR CONVENTUALIS  
AC TANDEM VENERANDI MAGNI BAJULIVI LOCUMTENENS AUDIVIT,  
EQUES SANE AD MAJORA EXTOLLENDUS  
NISI PRÆCOCI FATO FUISSET SUBLATUS,  
RELICTO SUI MAGNO DESIDERIO  
20 ANNO ÆRÆ VULGATÆ MDCCXXXVI, ÆTATIS LXIII.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are resting in peace the remains of Frà Leopold Ignaz, Count Sauer von und zu Ankenstein, descending from the very ancient family of Duchy of Carniola, Commendator of the Sacred Order's estate of Eberfurth who, after he had fulfilled the expeditions of his military apprenticeship, went to Hungary, where he commanded the Imperial Infantry against the Turks for twenty years, afterwards he held, with dignity, the post of Receptor of the Grand Priory of Bohemia. On his return here, he was appointed among the Curators of the Venerable Commission of galleys, thereafter Governor of the Arsenals, Commander of the Artillery, Conventual Conservator and, his last duty, was praised when deputising for the Venerable Grand Bailiff. By all means a Knight worthy to rise to higher positions, if he had not succumbed to a premature fate, leaving behind great regret for his absence in the Year of the Common Era, 1736, at the age of 63.

## 277 - Hermann de Beveren

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI ERMANNO, LIBERO BARONI BEVEREN,  
JEROSOLYMITANO EQUITI MAGNÆ CRUCIS,  
SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS TOBEL COMMENDATARIO,  
5 EX MAGNO ALEMANNIÆ BAJULIVO,  
DACIÆ PRIORI  
QUI,  
CÆSARIS MILITIÆ ADDICTUS,  
LOTHARINGIÆ LEGIONIS TRIBUNUM EGIT,  
10 ARMORUMQUE PRÆFECTURAM CUM DIGNITATE SUSTINUIT,  
PRUDENTIA, MORUM CANDORE, INDOLIS SUAVITATE  
OMNIUM UBIQUE ANIMIS SIBI DEVINCTIS,  
OBIIT RELICTO SUMMO SUI DESIDERIO  
15 ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCXXXVI, VII KALENDAS FEBRUARIJ,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Hermann, Baron de Beveren, Jerusalemite Knight Grand Cross, Commendator of the Sacred Order's estate of Tobel, on account of his position as Grand Bailiff of Germany, Prior of Dacia who, assigned to the Emperor's Militia, was Tribune of the Legion of Lothringen and held with dignity the command over the troops. He bound closely to himself the hearts of everyone everywhere with his prudence, kindness of character, appeal of his innate qualities. He died in the Year of Salvation 1736, on 26<sup>th</sup> January, at the age of 67, leaving behind the greatest regret for his absence.

## 37 - Melchior Álvaro Pereira Pinto Coutineo

REQUIESCAT IN DOMINO.  
  
DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IN HOC SARCOPHAGO QUIESCUNT OSSA FRATRIS MELCHIORIS  
ALVARI PEREIRA PINTO COUTINEO, MAGNI LESÆ BAJULIVI  
5 ET SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS POJARES COMMENDATARIJ, CUJUS  
ENCOMIA HEIC NE EXPECTES QUID IPSE LAUDABILIS  
ESSE MALUERIT QUAM LAUDARI PRO DEBITIS, IGITUR  
LAUDIBUS EI PRECES PERSOLVE, UT HUMANAM FUGIENTI  
GLORIAM COELESTEM TRIBUAT AETERNAE AUTOR VITÆ.  
10 OBIIT DIE XI MARTIJ MDCCXXXVI.

May he rest in the Lord

To God, Supreme and Almighty

In this stone coffin are resting the bones of Frà Melchior Álvaro Pereira Pinto Coutineo, Grand Bailiff of Leça and Commendator of the property of the Sacred Order at Pojares. Do not expect his praises here, because he preferred to be praiseworthy himself rather than to be praised for his duties. Therefore, offer prayers to him with praises, so that the Creator of eternal life may grant him Heavenly glory, as he hastened away from earthly glory. He died on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of May 1736.

## 217 - Antonio Manoel de Vilhena

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET MAGNUS MAGISTER FRATER DOMINUS ANTONIUS MANCIEL DE VILHENA,  
REGIA E STIRPE ORTUS  
QUI, AD SUPREMUM MAGISTERII CULMEN OB VIRTUTEM EVECTUS,  
5 MAGIS NATUS QUAM ELECTUS PRINCEPS VIDERETUR,  
VIX SUSCEPTO IMPERII GUBERNACULO,  
ARCEM SUI NOMINIS CONDIDIT,  
VERE PATER PAUPERUM, XENODOCHIA FUNDAVIT,  
MIRA MENTIS FORTITUDINE PRÆDITUS,  
10 VEL MAGNA COGITABAT, VEL EXEQUEBATUR.  
MEMENTO, VIATOR,  
QUOD UBI GRESSUM IN HIS INSULIS SISTES,  
PIETATIS EJUS, MUNIFICENTIÆ, SECURITATIS, AMENITATIS MONIMENTA  
IBI INVENIES.  
15 IN ACERRIMIS ULTIMI MORBI CRUCIATIBUS,  
SUMMA EJUS RELIGIO AC PATIENTIA EMICUERE.  
OBIIT PRIDIE IDUS DECEMBRIS ANNI MDCCXXXVI,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXIII, MAGISTERII VERO XV.

Here lies Grand Master Frà Don Antonio Manoel de Vilhena, descending from royal lineage who, exalted to the highest summit of the Magistracy on account of his virtue, seemed to be born a Prince rather than elected as one. Shortly after he had taken up the helm of supreme power, founded a bulwark, named after himself, and, truly a father of the poor, he established almshouses, endowed with an admirable determination of his mind, was either reflecting on or accomplishing great enterprises. Remember, passer-by, that wherever you will set foot on these islands, thereupon you will discover monuments of his observance, munificence, security and pleasantness. In the most piercing torment of a terminal illness, his superior devotion and patience sparkled forth. He died on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December of the year 1736, at the age of 73 years, of which the last 15 at the Magistracy.

## 79 - Annibale Vicomercati

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC  
MORTALES QUIESCENT EXUVIÆ  
HIJEROSOLIMITANI EQUITIS  
5 FRATRIS ANNIBALIS VICOMERCATI,  
MAGNI MESSANÆ PRIORIS  
QUI  
UT MORIENS VIVAT  
VIVENS  
10 HOC MORTIS MONUMENTUM  
SIBI CONDIT  
ANNO MDCCXXXVI.  
OBIIT XVI KALENDAS JANUARIII MDCCXXXVII,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXX.  
15

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here shall lie at rest the mortal remains of the Jerusalemite Knight, Frà Annibale Vicomercati, Grand Prior of Messina, who, while dying in order to live, set up this monument of death for himself while alive in the year 1736. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of December 1736, at the age of 80.

## 51 - Isnardo de San Martino

IN ARMIS IURA

SANS DES PARTIR x 5

5 DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI ISNARDO A SANCTO MARTINO,  
MAGNO QUONDAM PISARUM  
AC LOMBARDIÆ PRIORI,  
CÆTERISQUE QUAM PLURIMIS  
SUÆ STIRPIS ÆQUITIBUS,  
RHODIJS AC MELITENSIBUS.  
10 DOMINUS CAROLUS AMADEUS BAPTISTA,  
A SANCTO MARTINO, RIVAROLII MARCHIO,  
PRO REX SARDINIÆ & CORSICÆ,  
IN PERPETUUM BONÆ MEMORIÆ ANIMI MONUMENTUM  
POSUIT ANNO MDCCXXXVII.

By oath under arms

Without leaving

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Isnardo de San Martino, the former Grand Prior of Pisa and Lombardy, and to as many as possible other Knights of his family, Rhodiots and Maltese. Don Carlo Amadeo Battista de San Martino, Marquis of Rivaroli, Viceroy of Sardinia and Corsica, placed this slab to the everlasting happy memory of his soul in the year 1737.

## 69 - Roberto Solaro

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VITÆ ME RAPIENS ET TEMPORI,  
VENTO ET CASUI  
FOELIX ME RAPUIT ÆTERNITAS.

5 MORS  
EXCIPIT CORPUS  
RESTITUENDUM VITE,  
PIETAS  
ADIUVET ANIMAM  
10 EMITTENDAM COELO.

HIC JACET  
FRATER ROBERTUS SOLARIUS,  
MAGNUS LOMBARDIÆ PRIOR,  
QUI VITÆ NATUS ET TEMPORI,  
15 LABORAVIT ÆTERNITATI.  
VIXIT HIEROSOLYMITANÆ RELIGIONI.  
ABI, VIATOR, ET DISCE,  
VITA ET TEMPUS VENTUS SUNT,  
SOLA ÆTERNITAS STABILIS EST,  
20 SOLA RELIGIO FACIT ESSE BEATOS.

OBIIT ANNO ÆRÆ VULGATÆ MDCCXXXVII, III IDUS JANUARIJ,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXXV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Reaping me from my life and time,  
fortunate eternity carried me off with the wind and to my death.

Death excludes restoring the body to life,  
may piety help to send the soul up to Heaven.

Here lies Frà Roberto Solaro, Grand Prior of Lombardy, who, born for a life and a time, obtained eternity by his works. He lived for the Jerusalemite Religion. Leave, and learn, passer-by, life and time are volatile, only eternity is steady, and devotion only brings about their blessing.

He died in the Year of the Common Era 1737, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January, at the age of 85.

### 386 - José Contreras y Villaroel

SISTE VIATOR, ET CAVE NE SPLENDOREM NATA-  
LIVM AC DIGNITATVM GLORIAM IN CINERE  
QVÆRAS, MORTALITATIS ENIM EXVVÆ SVNT,  
ET VMBRA QVEM VERO FACINORVMQVE CLARITAS  
5 VITÆQVE PROBITAS DECORAVIT, QVÆRE QVEM  
SVI ORDINIS PRIMORVM MVNERVM PRVDENTIA,  
ET INTEGRITATE ADMINISTRATARVM COLLATIO  
AVXIT, ÆMVLARE QVEM VIVENTEM PIETAS, CHARITAS  
MATVRA MERITA MAGNUM REDDIDERE, VENERARE  
10 ILLVSTREM FRATREM DOMINVM IOSEPH CONTRERAS ET VILLAROEL, ALCOLII  
COMMENDATARIVM, NOVEM MVNIARIVM SANCTI SEPVLCHRI, PO-  
STREMO LORE BAJVLIVVM, QVI OCTOGENARIO  
MAJOR IVSTVS MORTEM ASPEXIT,  
DIE J0 APRILIS J737.

Stop, passer-by, and beware, in case you are seeking splendour of birth and glory of dignities in this grave, for these are just the remains of his mortality, and cast your shadow upon him. The renown of his accomplishments and the righteousness of his life decorated him, whereby his discretion in the execution of principal duties of his Order and the collation of duties, administered with integrity, were praised. Emulate him whose observance, charity and mature merits rendered great while alive, venerate the Illustrious Frà Don José Contreras y Villaroel, Commendator of Alcolea, Bailiff of Santo Sepulcro, finally of Lora who, a just man in his eighties, faced death on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of April 1737.



## 25 - Francesco San Martino de Ramondetto

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI SANCTI MARTINI DE RAMONDETTO,  
E PRINCIPIBUS PARDI,  
PRIORIS BAYULIVATUS SANCTÆ EUPHEMIÆ,  
5 COMENDATARIJ COMENDÆ MONTIS SARCHIJ ET LAURI,  
HIC CUBANT OSSA  
EX PRÆCLARIS TANTI VIRI EXUVIJS.  
RERUM INCONSTANTIAM DISCITE, MORTALES,  
MISERAMQUE VESTRAM CONDITIONEM PERPENDITE.  
10 HEU IMPLACABBILE MORTIS FATUM,  
CUI VIVO  
NEC GLORIA NEC NOMEN NEC OPES DEFECERE,  
OMNIA NUNC MORTUO  
TENUISSIMI VAPORIS IN MODUM EVANUERE,  
15 ET RESURRECTURO SOLUM SUPERFUIT  
SEPULCRUM,  
QUOD SIBI FIERI CURAVIT MORIENS  
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXXIII,  
DIE XXIX MENSIS APRILIS MDCCXXXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are laying the bones from the noble relics of such great a man, Frà Francesco San Martino de Ramondetto, of the Sovereigns of Pardi, Prior of the Bailiwick of Sant'Eufemia, Commendator of the Commandery of Montesarchio and Lauria. Learn about the fickleness of things, you mortals, and carefully weigh your unfortunate condition. Alas, relentless fate of Death, whom neither glory nor reputation nor wealth failed while alive, now everything vanished like extremely fine vapour on his death, and after his resurrection, only his grave remains which he had arranged to be made on his deathbed, at the age of 84 years, on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of April 1737.

## 14 - Fabrizio Maria Visconti

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI FABRITIO MARLÆ VICECOMITI,  
VENUSINI BAJULIVATUS PRIORI,  
COMMENDATORI EQUITI NICLÆ, AD PALEAM  
5 COMMEMORANDAM  
MEDIOLANUM  
5 NATALES CLARISSIMOS,  
HIEROSOLYMITANUS ORDO  
PRÆCLARA MUNERA,  
PIETAS USQUE AB INFANTIA CONSTANTER CULTA  
RELIGIOSOS MORES,  
10 MORS DENIQUE  
IMMORTALITATEM DEDIT VI KALENDAS AUGUSTI,  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXXVIII,  
ÆTATIS VERO SVÆ LXXXIV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Fabrizio Maria Visconti, Prior of the Bailiwick of Venosa, Knight Commendator of Nice, Milan, mindful of chaff, delivered most illustrious lineages, the Order of Jerusalem consigned noble duties, Piety, which never left his side since childhood, cultivated his pious morals, finally, Death surrendered him to immortality on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July in the Year of the Lord 1738, at the respectable age of 84.

## 39 - Francesco Maria Ferretti

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VIATOR,  
QUACUNQUE DUCERIS, VEL GLORIA VEL GLORIA, OPINIONE,  
HUIUSCE OMNIOM VIRTUTUM ET HONORUM COMPENDIO  
5 ACIEM FIGITOR.  
VIR ILLE  
QUI, A TENERIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITLÆ DATO NOMINE,  
MAGNUS ANGLIÆ PRIOR BAIULIVATUS SANCTÆ EUPHEMIÆ EGIT EXIMIUS,  
SUB VII PONTIFICIUM AUSPICIIS SEXAGENA STIPENDIA,  
10 CLASSIS PRÆFECTUS EMERITUS  
BIS, SEPTEM CUM CRISTIANI NOMINIS HOSTE  
COLLATIS SIGNIS MANUS CONSERVIT,  
ARCIS URBANÆ CUBERNATOR GENERALIS,  
PROVENTUBUS QUOS INDE AMPLISSIMOS COLLEGIT  
15 IN PAUPERES SUIQUE ORDINIS SUMPTUS SANCTE EROGATIS,  
TANDEM DEO SOLI VICTURUS,  
HEIC SE RECEPIT,  
ANNUM AGENS QUINTUM SUPRA LXXX.  
FRATER FRANCISCUS MARIA FERRETTI ANCONITANUS,  
20 ANIMA QUO DELAPSA FUERAT REDEUNTE,  
CINERES ET OSSA HOC SUB LAPIDE RELIQUIT  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCXXXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, by whatever sentiment you are led, either by glory or by vainglory, keep your undivided attention affixed on this summary of all virtues and honours. This man who, enlisted from childhood in the Jerusalemite military service, administered excellently, as the Grand Prior of England, the Bailiwick of Sant'Eufemia. He had 60 years of military service under the patronage of seven Popes, twice completed his service as Captain-General of the fleet, engaged in close combat on seven occasions with the enemy of the Christian name, Governor-General of the city's citadel. He dutifully disbursed the proceeds, which he collected from the very wealthy properties to the poor and the expenses of his Order. Finally, well beyond his 85<sup>th</sup>, he betook himself here to live for God only. Frà Francesco Maria Ferretti of Ancona, his soul returning from where it had derived, left his ashes and bones underneath this stone in the year 1738.

## 282 - Claude de Simiane la Coste

SUSTENTANT LILIA TURRES

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SUB HOC MARMORE QUIESCUNT CINERES  
FRATRIS CLAUDII DE SIMIANE LA COSTT,  
PATRITII AQUISSENTIENSIS  
5 QUI, FERME AB INCUNABULIS,  
INTER EQUITES VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ PROVINCIAE COOPTATUS.  
STATO TEMPORE CONSEQUUTUS EST  
SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS DE GARIDECH ET DURBANS,  
10 ET BELLICARUM NAVIUM MINISTERIO ADDICTUS,  
ADJUTORIS MAJORIS AC SECUNDI DUCIS  
MUNERIBUS FUNCTUS EST,  
VIR PROBITATE, PRUDENTIA MORUMQUE CANDORE  
COMMENDABILIS.  
15 DECESSIT ANNO ÆRÆ VULGATÆ MDCCXXXVIII,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXV.

Their towers bear the fleur-de-lis.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Under this marble rest the remains of Frà Claude de Simiane la Coste, a nobleman from Aix-en-Provence who was almost from the cradle admitted to the company of Knights of the Venerable Tongue of Provence. He obtained, within the set period, the Sacred Order's properties of Garidech and Durbans, and, assigned to the administering of the sailing ships, performed the duties of Battalion Major and 1st Lieutenant, a man praiseworthy for his decency, prudence and pleasantness of character. He died in the Year of Salvation 1738, at the age of 65.

## 23 - Jaques Seignoret

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JACOBO SEIGNORET, ARELATENSI,  
SACRIS ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI MAGNÆ ECCLESIAE PRIORI,  
MODESTIÆ HABITU, MORUM SUAVITATE,  
5 PRUDENTIA, DOCTRINA, RELIGIONE  
LARGISSIME CUMULATO,  
ASSIDUO SACERDOTALI MINISTERIO,  
ÆQUALI PER TOT ANNOS  
ADMIRANDÆ VITÆ TENORE,  
10 OMNIUM AMORE PRÆMERITO,  
DECUSSUM  
POSTERIS MEROREM  
SIBI  
NON MORITURAM RELIQUIT MEMORIAM,  
15 IV IDUS APRILIS,  
CICIDCCXXXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Jaques Seignoret of Arles, Prior of the Conventual Church of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, very abundantly bestowed with a disposition of modesty and pleasantness of character for so many years wisdom, instruction and reverence through his unwavering priestly duties, with an uninterrupted career for the appreciation of life, deserved very much the affection of everyone. To wrest mourning from posterity, he left an imperishable memorial to himself, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1738.

### 33 - Bertrand de Moretton Chabrillan

HIC EXPECTANS IN NOVISSIMA TUBA  
RESURGERE INCORRUPTUS UT INDUAT  
INCORRUPTIONEM, ET VIVAT CUM DEO  
IN ÆTERNUM.

5 DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VENERABILIS BAJULIVUS FRATER BERTRANDUS DE MORETTON CHABRILLAN,  
OB EGREGIAM INDOLIS STRENUITATEM IN DUCEM  
ELECTUS AD BIENNIUM UNIUS EX CLASSE TRIREMIS  
10 SUÆ SANCTÆ RELIGIONIS DIE XVI OCTOBRIS, MDCXCIV, EO LAUDABILITER  
EXPLETO DE BONO REGIMINE, CUM APUD OMNES UNO ORE  
EXTOLLERETUR, DIGNUS APPARUIT UT, DIE XJ FEBRUARII MDCXCVII,  
AD ALIUD BIENNIUM CONFIRMARETUR, SUB EMINENTISSIMO POSTEA  
FRATRE DOMINO ANTONIO MANOEL, MAGNO MAGISTRO, EQUORUM PRINCIPIS NOBILE  
15 IN MAGISTERIUM PRIMO CONSTITUTUS, DEIN INTER DOMINOS  
MAGNÆ CRUCIS EST COOPTATUS, COMMENDARUM TANDEM  
DE SALES ET MONTSEGNS, SANCTI PAULI DE ROMANS ET DE BUGNETS  
COMMENDATOR, ET IN ALVERNÆ SUA VENERANDA LINGUA MARESCALLI  
VICES, BELLICE QUOQUE AC MUNITIONUM CONSULTATIONIS  
CONSPICUA SOLERTIA COMMISSARIUM GERENS,  
20 RELIGIOSE VITA EXCIDIT DIE XI NOVEMBRIS ANNI MDCCXXXVIII,  
ET IN GRATI ANIMI MONIMENTUM QUI BENEFICIA AB EO  
RECEPIT, LAPIDEM ISTUM FIERI CURAVIT.

While waiting here for the last sound of the trumpet  
to be resurrected uncorrupted, in order to assume incorruptibility  
and to live with God in eternity.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The Venerable Bailiff Frà Bertrand de Moretton Chabrillan, on account of the excellent and tireless quality of his nature, was chosen Captain of a galley of his Holy Religion's fleet for two years on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of October 1694, after that had been fulfilled praiseworthy on account of his brave command, unanimously lauded by everyone, he appeared suitable to be confirmed on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of February 1697 for another two years. Following, under the Most Eminent Frà Don Antoine Manoel, Grand Master, he was appointed first to the Magistral Office of this Noble Prince of Knights, then was admitted to the company of the Nobles of the Grand Cross, and in his last office, Commendator of the Commanderies of Salles and Montsegny, Saint-Paul lès Romans and Bugnets, while deputising with remarkable dexterity, on behalf of his Venerable Tongue of Auvergne, for the Marshal as well as for the Commissioner of War and Fortifications, he passed away piously on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November of the year 1738, and he, who received benefits from him, arranged this stone to be fashioned into a monument of grateful memory.

### 83 - Guillaume de la Salle

DEO, CREATORI ET REDEMPTORI.  
FRATER GUILIELMUS BAJULIUUS DELASALLE,  
CUI IN DOMINO MORI ERAT IN VOTIS,  
SEPULCRALEM VIVENS PARAVIT ÆDICULAM  
5 UT, IN EA TUMULATUS, IN PACE CUM DEFUNCTIS,  
IN HONORE CUM FRATRIBUS,  
ET IN SPE RESURRECTIONIS CUM ELECTIS  
REQUIESCERET.  
ANIMAM RESPICE, O JESU, BENIGNITER.  
10 OBIIT ANNO SALUTIS 1739, ÆTATIS VERO 85.

To God, Creator and Redeemer.

Frà Guillaume de la Salle, Bailiff, had prayed to die in the Lord, to this end he prepared this tomb during his life so that, once he was interred, he could rest in peace with the dead, in honour with his brothers and in the hope of resurrection with the chosen ones. Oh Jesus, regard his soul kindly. He died in the Year of Salvation 1739, at the age of 85.

### 29 - Charles Augustin de Robins Barbantane

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI CAROLO AUGUSTINO  
DE ROBINS BARBANTANE,  
PATRITIO AVENIONENSI,  
5 SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS DE CAP FRANCOIS  
COMMENDATARIO,  
IN EQUITIS ANGLIÆ LINGUÆ PRIMATIS LOCUM  
SUFFECTO,  
VITA FUNCTO ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCXXXIX,  
10 V IDUS APRILES, ÆTATIS VERO LXVII,  
MAGNUS COMMENDATARIUS FRATER PAULUS ANTONIUS  
ET COMMENDATARIUS FRATER JOSEPH DE BARBANTANE,  
GERMANO BENE MERENTI  
AC DESIDERATISSIMO,  
15 PROPRVS INPENDVS POSUERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Charles Augustin de Robins Barbantane, a nobleman of Avignon, Commendator of the possessions of the Sacred Order at Cap François, proxy of the aristocratic Knights of the English Tongue. He died in the Year of Our Redemption 1739, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April, at an age of 67. Grand Commander Frà Paul Antoine and Commendator Frà Joseph de Barbantane, placed this slab at their own expense for their meritorious and dearly missed brother.

## 26 - Luis Francisco Velarde y Cespedes

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI SANCTI MARTINI DE RAMONDETTO,  
E PRINCIPIBUS PARDI,  
PRIORIS BAYULIVATUS SANCTÆ EUPHEMIÆ,  
5 COMENDATARIJ COMENDÆ MONTIS SARCHIJ ET LAURI,  
HIC CUBANT OSSA  
EX PRÆCLARIS TANTI VIRI EXUVIJS.  
RERUM INCONSTANTIAM DISCITE, MORTALES,  
MISERAMQUE VESTRAM CONDITIONEM PERPENDITE.  
10 HEU IMPLACABBILE MORTIS FATUM,  
CUI VIVO  
NEC GLORIA NEC NOMEN NEC OPES DEFECERE,  
OMNIA NUNC MORTUO  
TENUISSIMI VAPORIS IN MODUM EVANUERE,  
15 ET RESURRECTURO SOLUM SUPERFUIT  
SEPULCRUM,  
QUOD SIBI FIERI CURAVIT MORIENS  
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXXIII,  
DIE XXIX MENSIS APRILIS MDCCXXXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Don Luis Francisco Velarde y Cespedes, born on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of September in the year 1659, and was, on the same day six years later, accepted among the Knights of Jerusalem. He held sway over a galley and obtained a double Commandery, the one of Tosina by right of tradition, the other of Pazos de Arrenteiro by privilege of Magistral Grace, he adorned, furnished, enriched each with many distinctions, money and gifts. At first the Great Chancellor's deputy, afterwards fulfilling also the function itself, and when elected to the rank of Bailiff of Novillas he bequeathed his entire wealth to the Common Treasury, finally, heedful of his mortality, he placed this slab for himself in the year 1736 while still alive. He died as the Bailiff of Lora on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of August 1739.

## 27 - Tommaso del Bene

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI THOMAE, JULII FILIO, DEL BENE,  
PATRICIO FLORENTINO,  
EQUITI ET MAGNO PISARUM PRIORI  
5 JEROSOLYMITANO,  
PRIMARIIS HONORIBUS  
IN MAGNORUM ETRURIAE DUCUM AULA  
PERFUNCTO,  
10 PROBITATIS PRUDENTIAEQUE LAUDEM  
APUD DIVERSOS PRINCIPES  
CONSEQUUTO,  
CAROLO VI AUGUSTO A SANCTIORIBUS CONSILIIIS  
PIETATE, JUSTITIA, BENEFICENTIA  
EFFUSA, IN PAUPERES LIBERALITATE  
15 LONGE CLARISSIMO,  
VENERANDI PROCURATORES COMMUNIS AERARII  
OB COLLATAS IN NOBILISSIMUM ORDINEM OPES.  
BENEMERENTI MONUMENTUM POSUERE ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCXXXX.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Tommaso del Bene, son of Giulio, a Florentine nobleman, Knight of Jerusalem and Grand Prior of Pisa. He fulfilled first class posts in the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, gained praise for his honesty and discretion among the different Sovereigns, greatly appreciated by Charles VI Augustus for his superior counsels, his observance, righteousness, freely imparted kindness and generosity towards the poor. The Venerable Procurators of the Common Treasury, on account of the wealth collected for the most noble Order, placed this slab for a meritorious man in the Year of Redemption 1740.

## 185 - Raimondo Despuig

FRATER DOMINUS RAYMUNDUS DESPUIG,  
REVERENDISSIMUS HONORISSIMUS MAGNUS MAGISTER

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SACRIS CINERIBUS FRATRIS DOMINI RAYMUNDI DESPUIG  
QUI,

EX PRÆCLARA BALEARICA GENTE EXORTUS,  
INCLYTÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITÆ NOMEN DEDIT,  
VARIJSQUE MUNERIBUS, PRÆCERTIM LEGATIONE  
AD SICILÆ PRO-REGEM CUM LAUDE FUNCTUS,  
POSTREMO CREATUS SUMMUS ARCHITRICLINUS

AC UNIVERSÆ MILITÆ PRÆFECTUS,  
PERQUE ID TEMPUS TERTIO MAGNI MAGISTRI VICES GESSIT,  
AUCTISQUE IN DIES MERITIS,

IN MAGNUM MAGISTRUM OMNIUM EQUITUM SUFFRAGIIS  
VEL IPSO PRÆDECESSORE SUO VIVENTE ELECTUS,

XVII KALENDAS JANUARIII CIIIOCCXXXVII  
DIGNAM RELIGIOSO PRINCIPE VITAM TRADUXIT,  
NOVUMQUE ADEO CONSPICUÆ DIGNITATI SPLENDOREM  
VIRTUTIBUS DEFERENS SUIS,

EXEMPLO MAGIS QUAM IMPERIO EMINUIT,  
CONCIONEM SINGULIS MENSIBUS IN HOC TEMPLO FACIENDAM  
ACCERSITO EXTERO ORATORE CENSUQUE COLLATO INSTITUIT,  
MAIORIS ARÆ ARGENTEUM AUXIT ORNATUM,

HANC AUTEM MARMOREO TEGMINE CONDECORARI CURAVIT,  
MULTISQUE ALIJS MUNIFICENTIÆ AC PIETATIS MONUMENTIS  
HIC ALIBIQUE RELICTIS,

OBIIT XVIII KALENDAS FEBRUARIII CIIIOCCXXXI, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXI.

Frà Don Raimondo Despuig,  
Most Reverend and Most Honourable Grand Master

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the blessed remains of Frà Don Raimondo Despuig who, originating from a very famous family of the Balearic Islands, enrolled in the glorious Jerusalemite Militia, and performed various duties with praise, especially as an envoy to the Viceroy of Sicily, finally appointed as the Chief Steward and Commander of the entire Militia. Throughout that period, deputising for the Grand Master for the third time, his merits increasing day after day, he was chosen by the votes of all Knights as Grand Master, one may even say when his predecessor was still alive. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 1736 he set forth his life publicly, suitable for a Religious Prince. He added new lustre to this illustrious dignity by his virtues, and stood out by example rather than by authority. Every month he organised a Mass to be held in this church, inviting a foreign preacher and collecting alms. He increased the silver decorations of the main altars and also arranged this altar to be carefully decorated with marble, and also leaving behind many other monuments of his generosity and piety here and elsewhere. He died on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1741, at the age of 71.



## 242 - Nicolao Maria Frisari

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
NICOLAUS MARIA FRISARI, PATRICIUS SCALENSIS,  
COMMENDATARIUS SURRENTINUS,  
HEIC INTER MAGNAE CRUCIS EQUITES  
5 PECULIARI MAGNI MAGISTRI PRIVILEGIO SITUS EST,  
UT  
TANTI GRADUS HONORIS,  
QUEM VIVO VIRTUS PROMERUIT,  
MORS IMPORTUNA PRAERIPUIT,  
10 MORTUO SALTEM DEFERRETUR.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXIII, MENSES II, DIES XIII,  
FATO CONCESSIT ANNO CI-CCXLII.  
JOSEPH FRISARI, SCORRANENTIUM DUX ET,  
EQUES MICHAEL FRISARI, EX FRATRE NEPOTES,  
15 NE FACTI ABOLLERET GRATIA  
NEU VIRI DEPERIRET MEMORIA,  
TESTEM POSTERIS LAPIDEM POSUERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Nicolao Maria Frisari, a nobleman from Scalea, Commendator of Sorrento, was placed here among the Knights Grand Cross by the personal privilege of the Grand Master, in order to award posthumously this degree of such a great honour which his virtue deserved when he was alive but untimely Death had snatched away. He lived for 63 years, 2 months and 13 days, he yielded to fate in the year 1742. Giuseppe Frisari, Count of Scorrano, and Chevalier Michele Frisari, nephews on his brother's side, should the gratitude for his works be obliterated or the memory of this man be lost, placed this stone as a witness for posterity.

## 395 - Andrea de Giovanni

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS ANDREAS DE IOANNE E MARCHIONIBVS SALVTY,  
SANCTÆ MARLÆ DE SALIGE A FOSSANO COMMENDATARIVS  
ATQVE BAJVLIVATVS SANCTI STEPHANI PRIOR,  
5 NEC NON SACRI MAJESTATIS CAROLI VTRIVSQVE SICILIE REGIS  
APVD SACRAM RELIGIONEM MINISTER  
QVI, PLVRA PIETATIS OPERA  
PLVRIBVS DIEBVS SINGVLORVM MENSIVM INSTITVIT  
SACRVMQVE HOC ORATORIVM MIRIFICE ORNAVIT,  
10 AVVNCOLO DE SE BENEMERITO  
IN GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIUM HANC VRNAM EREXIT  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALVTIS 1742.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the salvation of Frà Andrea de Giovanni, from the Marquis' side, Commendator of Santa Maria del Salice at Fossano and Prior of the Bailiwick of Santo Stefano, and also the representative at the Sacred Religion for His Majesty Charles, King of the Two Sicilies, who established numerous works of piety on several days of every single month, and wonderfully embellished this Sacred Oratory, erected this slab in testimony of his grateful memory for his maternal uncle, meritorious to himself, in the Year of Salvation 1742.

## 171 - Juan de Garzes y Pueyo

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SISTE VIATOR ITER MODICUM LEGE LUGE. JOANNIS  
OSSA SUB HOC GELIDO MARMORE CLAUSA,  
CLARUS AB ARAGONA GARZES ET STIRPE PUEYO,  
5 SED MERITIS LONGE CLARIOR ILLE SUIS,  
CUI FUIT ADSRIPTUS MAGNA VIRTUTE DECORUS,  
ORDINIS IMPLEVIT MUNERA PRIMA SACRI,  
LUSTRIS QUINQUE REGENS, COMMUNIS JURA THESAURI  
MIRA AUXIT CURA, DEXTERITATE NOVA,  
10 INDE SENESCALLUS DESPUIG REGNANTE CREATUS,  
EXTITIT AC MAGNÆ DIGNUS HONORE CRUCIS.  
QUIN, IPSO GRAVITER MAGNO INFIRMANTE MAGISTRO,  
ALTA MAGISTERII FRÆNA REGENDA SUBIT,  
SIC VISUS SUPPLERE VICES, MAGIS ESSET UT ANCEPS  
15 JUSTITLÆ ZELANS, AN PIETATIS AMANS  
HEU, NIMIUM CELERI MORBI PERCUSSUS AB ICTU,  
ECCE, PIE, SANCTE, QUOMODO VIXIT, OBIT.  
SED QUID? JAM MELITÆ POPULUS GAVISUS ET ORDO,  
NUNC TANTO GAUDENT ASTRA SUPERNA BONO.  
20 OBIIT DIE XIV MENSIS MAII ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS  
MDCCXLII, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXIII.

HOC LACRYMANS POSUIT MONUMENTUM GRATUS AMICUS  
UT CELSUM MEMORENT SÆCULA FUTURA VIRUM.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, stop your journey for a moment, read, mourn. Under this ice-cold marble are lying the bones of Juan. He was famous for his Aragonian lineage of Garzes and Pueyo, but by far more famous for his merits on grounds of which he, adorned with great virtue, was enrolled. He fulfilled the foremost duties of the Sacred Order, and during his period in office, spanning five lustra, he improved the performance of the Common Treasury through his remarkable administration, his readiness for extraordinary tasks. Thenceforth, he was made Steward by Despuig, when he was Sovereign, showing himself meritorious indeed of the honour of Grand Cross. In fact, when the Grand Master himself was seriously indisposed, he succeeded in holding high the reins of the Magistracy, and he seemed to satisfy the locum tenens in such a way that it remained doubtful whether he was a greater observer of righteousness or a lover of his duty. Alas, struck by the too sudden onslaught of an illness, behold, he died just as piously and justly as he lived. What else? Until now the populace of Malta and his Order rejoiced in him, now lofty Heaven rejoices in so great an asset. He died on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of May, in the Year of Our Redemption 1742, at the age of 63. A grateful friend placed, while lamenting, this slab for future generations to remember this prominent man.

## 85 - Domingo Pajo de Abreu y Lima

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VENERANDO BAJULIVO DOMINCO PAJO DE ABREU ET LIMA  
LUSITANO,  
QUI, POST EGREGIE NAVATAM OPERAM IN TRIREMI  
5 DUCTANDA,  
ARCI COTONERÆ AD AVERTENDAS TURCARUM MINAS  
PRÆFECTUS DICTUS EST,  
VIRO ANIMI MAGNITUDINE, ET MORUM SUAVIDATE  
CLARISSIMO,  
10 BELLICI CONSILII ET REI MONETARLÆ PER MULTOS ANNOS  
PRÆSIDI.  
OBIIT 8 JUNII ANNO 1742, VIXIT ANNOS 73, MENSES 2, DIES 11.  
FRATER DOMINUS CONSALVUS ET FRATER DOMINUS ANTONIUS DE ABREU,  
TRIBUNUS CLASSIS MELITENSIS,  
15 EQUITES HYEROSOLIMITANI, FRATRIS FILII,  
GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM  
POSUERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the Venerable Bailiff, Domingo Pajo de Abreu e Lima, a Portuguese, who, after he brilliantly commanded a galley, was made Prefect of the Cottonera stronghold in order to ward off the Turkish threat, a man famous for the magnitude of his mind and the pleasantness of his character, presiding for many years over the War Council and Monetary Affairs. He died on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June in the year 1742. He lived for 73 years, 2 months and 11 days. Frà Don Gonsalvo, and Frà Don Antonio de Abreu, Officer of the Maltese fleet, Jerusalemite Knights, sons of his brother, placed this as a monument of grateful memory.

## 231 - Annibale Maria Losa

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI ANNIBALI MARLÆ LOSÆ,  
EX ANTIQUISSIMA TAURENSI GENTE ORTO,  
EQUITI EGREGIÆ INDOLIS,  
5 VERÆ PIETATIS, SPECTATAE VIRTUTIS,  
ANIMI CANDORE MORUMQUE COMITATE,  
OMNIBUS CHARO  
QUI, INVALIDORUM XENODOCHIO PRÆFECTUS,  
MIRA IN EGENOS AC IMBECILLES CARITATE ENITUIT,  
10 AD MAJORA ORDINIS SUI MUNERA PROMOVENDUS  
SI DIUTIUS VIXISSET,  
SED QUUM TRIREMIUM REI ŒCONOMICÆ PRÆSESSET,  
PRIMA NAVIGATIONE VIX PERACTA  
VEHEMENTI MORBO CORRIPTUS, BIDUOQUE ABSUMPTUS,  
15 AD COELUM MAGIS EVOLARE QUAM MORI VISUS EST  
X IDUS JULII MDCCXXXII, ÆTATIS ANNOS XXX,  
COMMENDATARIUS FRATER CÆSAR NICOLAUS,  
IN PEDEMONTIO PRO SACRO HIEROSOLYMITANO ORDINE RECEPTOR,  
FRATRI DESIDERATISSIMO MOERENS POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To Frà Annibale Maria Losa, descending from a very old family of Turin, a Knight of extraordinary genius, true observance, esteemed virtue, dear to everyone for the purity of his mind and courteousness of his character who, as the Governor of the Invalids Hospital, shone forth with admirable charity towards the needy and the weak, and would have advanced to higher duties of his Order had he lived longer; nonetheless, when he was in charge of the galleys' resources, he had hardly completed his first expedition when he became infected by a virulent disease, which consumed him in two days, he seemed to fly up to Heaven rather than to die, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1742, at 30 years of age. Commendator Frà Cesare Nicolao, Receptor on behalf of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem in Piemonte, placed this slab in tears for his dearly missed brother.

## 269 - Ferdinand von Stadel

FRATRI FERDINANDO, LIBERO BARONI DE STADL, VENERANDI PRIORATUS BOEMIAE  
EQUITI AC BAJULIVO, AMPLISSIMO PERANTIQUI GENERIS SPLENDORE,  
FLORENTI INGENIO, LINGUARUM PERITIA, ERUDITIONE SPECTATISSIMO,  
LITERARUM MECOENATI INTER ACADEMICOS HEREOS ACCLAMATO  
5 QUI, MULTIS MUNERIBUS PRAECLARE GESTIS, PRUDENTIAE, AEQUITATIS,  
CETERARUMQUE PRAESTANTIS ANIMI VIRTUTUM ARGUMENTA PRAEBUIT,  
QUUM EGERIT UNIUS EX TRIREMIBUS PRO-PRAETOREM, EARUNDEM  
REI OECONOMICAЕ CURATOREM, PRAETORIAE TRIREMIS PRAEFECTUM,  
RATIONUM COMMUNIS AERARII INSPECTOREM, XVI VIRUM ELIGENDO  
10 MAGNO MAGISTRO ANNO MDCCXX, XXIV VIRUM PRO ANGLIAE SUFFRAGIIS  
IN ALTERA ELECTIONE, POST BIENNIUM FACTA, XXIV VIRUM SECUNDO  
ET ITERUM PRO ALEMANNIA IN ELECTIONIBUS MDCCXXXVI ET MDCCXLI,  
MAGNI MAGISTRI MANOEL STABULI PRAEFECTUM, EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI FAUSTE REGNANTIS  
ARCHITRICLINUM ET GENERALEM CAMPESTRIS MILITIAE PRAEFECTUM,  
15 NECNON CAROLI VI CAESARIS ET MARIAE THERESIAE, REGINAE  
HUNGARIAE ET BOEMIAE, IN HAC INSULA MINISTRATOREM,  
TANDEM, NON MINORI SUO QUAM TOTIUS ORDINIS FATO DECESSIT.  
FRATER PHILIPPUS WILHELMUS, SACRI ROMANI IMPERII COMES DE NESSELRODE ET IN REICHENSTEIN  
MAGNUS ALEMANNIAE PRIOR ET SACRI ROMANI IMPERII PRINCEPS IN HEITERSHEIM, AMICO  
BENEMERENTI MONUMENTUM POSUIT.  
20 OBIIT ANNO REPARATAE SALUTIS MDCCXLIII, IV CALENDAS JANUARIJ, ÆTATIS LXI.

For Frà Ferdinand, Baron von Stadel, Knight and Bailiff of the Venerable Priory of Bohemia, most distinguished by the splendour of his ancient blood-lineage, most esteemed for his shining nature, proficiency of languages, erudition, acclaimed as a Maecenas of Literature among the academic celebrities who, on discharging splendidly numerous duties, showed proof of his prudence, equity and other virtues of his superior mind when he assumed the Captaincy of one of the galleys, the Proveditor of economic affairs of the same, the Captaincy of the Flagship, the Purveyor of victuals of the Common Treasury, elector in the Conclave of Sixteen for electing the Grand Master in the year 1720, elector of the Conclave of Twenty-four voting for England in another election, held after a period of two years, for the second and following times elector in the Conclave of Twenty-four voting for Germany in the elections of 1736 and 1741. He became the Master Equerry of Grand Master Manoel, Steward of this providentially ruling Most Eminent Grand Master and Field Marshal, and was also the representative of Emperor Charles VI and Queen Marie-Theresa of Hungary and Bohemia in this island. Finally, he yielded no less to his own personal fate, as much as to the whole Order's. Frà Philip Wilhelm, Count von Nesselrode of the Holy Roman Empire, Grand Prior of Germany in Reichenstein and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in Heitersheim, placed this slab for his meritorious friend, who died in the Year of Salvation 1742, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of December, at the age of 61.

## 268 - Franz Anton von Schönau

P. H. S. E. P.  
FRATER FRANCISCVS ANTONIVS,  
LIBER DYNASTA DE SCHONAW DE SCHWRSTATT,  
BRANDENBVRGI BAJVLIVVS,  
5 KLAINER TTTLINGHEN, VILLINGHEN  
AC TOBEL COMMENDATOR,  
DVX PRÆTORIS TRIREMIS, CLASSIS PRÆFECTVS,  
COMITE DE THVN  
PRÆFECTVS MILITVM STATIONARIORVM,  
10 PRÆFECTVS ÆRARII,  
QVO IN MAGISTRATV DECESSIT  
TERTIO IDVS IANVARII MDCCXLIII,  
PIETATE ET HVMANITATE  
OMNIBVS CARVS.

P. H. S. E. P.

Frà Franz Anton, Baron from the Dynasty of Schönau of Schwörstadt, Bailiff of Brandenburg, Commendator of Kleinerdingen, Villingen and Tobel, Captain of the Flagship, Captain-General of the fleet, Commander of the Garrisoned Troops with the Count of Thun, Governor of the Treasury, in which office he died on the 11<sup>th</sup> of January 1743, treasured by everyone for his Christian love and spiritual consolation.

## 139 - Francesco Saverio Azzoni

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MORTALIBUS EXUVIIS  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI XAVERII AZZONI, NOBILISSIMI SENENSIS,  
SACRI ORDINIS CENSUS QUEM VOCANT A SANCTO JOHANNE  
5 DE LONGARA COMMENDATARI, I  
QUI UTRIUSQUE NOSOCOMII TRIREMIUM ATQUE NAVALIS  
REI OECONOMICÆ SEDULO PRÆFUIT,  
NEC NON MAGNI MAGISTRI ZONDODARII  
EXCUBIARUM PRÆFECTURAM SUSTINUIT  
10 AC MAGNI ETRURLÆ DUCIS IN HAC INSULA MINISTER  
CREATUS EST.  
TANTOQUE VIRTUTUM SPLENDORE ENITUIT  
UT CHRISTIANI EQUITIS EXEMPLAR ESSE POTUERIT,  
LICETQUE MULTAS IN PAUPERES PECUNIAS EFFUDERIT  
15 NIHIL SECIOUS PLURA AUREORUM MILLIA  
COMMUNI ÆRARIO RELIQUIT,  
CUJUS MAGIS QUAM SUO SUORUMQUE EMOLUMENTO  
TUM VIVENS, CUM MORIENS CONSULUIT.  
OBIIT XII KALENDAS APRILIS MDCCXLIII, ÆTATIS LXVII.  
20 VENERANDI ÆRARII CURATORES GRATI ANIMI ERGO POSUERE.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the mortal remains of Frà Francesco Saverio Azzoni, a most noble man from Siena, Commendator of the property of the Sacred Order which they refer to as San Giovanni of Longara, who was meticulously in charge of the economic affairs of both the dockyard of the galleys and of the sailing ships, and also held the Captaincy over the guards of Grand Master Zondadari and was made the representative for the Grand Duke of Tuscany on this island. He shone forth with so great a splendour of gallantry that he was able to fit the exemplar of a Christian Knight, although he lavishly gave much money to the poor, he nevertheless bequeathed more thousands of gold pieces to the Common Treasury, of which he took better care, while living in his life's ebbing, than of his own effects and those of his relatives. He died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1743, at the age of 67. Therefore, the Venerable Curators of the Treasury placed this as a monument of grateful memory.

## 152 - René Robert de Marbeuf

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI RENATO ROBERTO DE MARBEUF,  
PRÆCLARIS ORTO NATALIBUS KALENDIS FEBRUARII 1673,  
MAGNI PRIORATUS AQUITANLÆ  
5 ET VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ FRANCLÆ EQUITI HIEROSOLIMITANO,  
PRIMUM COMMENDÆ DE MAULEON,  
PRO QUA DEIN AB EMINENTISSIMO REGNANTE MAGNO MAGISTRO EMANUELE PINTO  
CENSU DE LA FEUILLEE DONATO,  
DE SACRA MILITIA OPTIME MERITO,  
10 OMNIBUS FERE MUNERIBUS PERFUNCTO,  
ET CRURE GLORIOSE AMISSO,  
QUI,  
IN MAGNI HOSPITALARIJ DIGNITATEM EVECTUS,  
HOSPITALITATIS MERITIS ESSET LARGISSIME CUMULATUS,  
15 NISI INVIDA MORS 17 JULIJ ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS 1743 RAPUISSET,  
COMMENDATOR FRATER BERNARDINUS DE MARBEUF,  
PATRUO MERITISSIMO EX ANIMO MOERENS,  
POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà René Robert de Marbeuf, descending from noble parentage on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1673, Jerusalemite Knight of the Grand Priory of Aquitaine and the Venerable Tongue of France, at first bestowed with the Commandery of Mauléon, thereafter, instead of this, with the estate of La Feuilée by the reigning Grand Master, His Eminency Emmanuel Pinto; most meritorious with regard to the Sacred Militia, performed excellently just about all his duties and gloriously lost a leg who, raised to the dignity of Grand Hospitaller could have increased his merits of the Hospitality in abundance if envious Death had not snatched him away on the 17<sup>th</sup> of July, in the year 1743 since the Delivery by the Virgin. Commendator Frà Bernard de Marbeuf placed this slab, while grieving from deep inside, for his most meritorious paternal uncle.



## 241 - Joseph Mottet

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SACRÆ JOSEPHI MOTTET EXUVIÆ,  
QUAS NICÆA TERRIS DEDIT,  
MELITA LITERIS EXCOLUIT,  
5 ROMA UTRIVSQUE JURIS LAUREA AC PROTONOTARII APOSTOLICI TITULO ORNAVIT,  
RELIGIO HIEROSOLYMITANA HONORIBUS DISTINXIT,  
MARMOREO HUIC SUBJACENT TEGUMENTO.  
CÆTERA SI QUÆRIS, FAMAM CONSULE  
IN PROVIDUM SUI PRIOREM  
10 SANCTI JOANNIS DE BAGNIERES, ECCLESIA  
LÆTO SUSCEPIT AUSPICIO  
IN VIGILEM PATRONUM,  
NOBILITAS EQUITUM ET ORDINIS ÆRARIUM  
FAUSTO ASSUMPSEUNT EVENTU  
15 IN PROBATUM AUDITOREM,  
TRES ULTRA FELICITER REGNANTEM PRINCIPES  
MATURO ELEGERE CONSILIO  
IN SUUM DENIQUE CIVEM.  
DIVINA ADOPTAVIT CLEMENTIA  
20 XIII KALENDAS DECEMBRIS, ANNO SALUTIS MDCCXLIII, ÆTATIS LXIII.  
HONORATUS, COMMENDATOR DE VALDROME AC ALEXANDER,  
SUI TUM SANGUINE TUM RELIGIONE FRATRES,  
HOC GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM  
INCIDI DEMANDARUNT.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

The blessed remains of Joseph Mottet, which Nice brought into the world, Malta honoured in its records, Rome conferred with a degree in both Civil and Canon Law and the title of Apostolic Protonotary, the Jerusalemite Religion distinguished with honours, are lying beneath this marble cover. If you are looking for the rest, consult his reputation as the provident Prior of St Jean de Bagnères; the Church maintained him in its willing patronage as its ecclesiastical advocate, the Equestrian Notables and the Order's Treasury received with fortunate consequence as their excellent auditor. In addition, when he was successfully supporting three Princes with his guidance they chose him for his mature counsel, and then as their fellow-burgess. Divine Mercy received him on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November in the Year of Salvation 1743, at the age of 63. Honoré, Commendator of Valdrome and Alexander, his brothers, by blood and religion, ordered this to be engraved as a monument of grateful memory.

## 16 - Vincent Sauveur de Gaillard

ETERNÆ MEMORIÆ SACRI ILLUSTRISSIMI DOMINI FRATRIS VINCENTII SALVATORIS DE GAILLARD,  
MAGISTRI SANCTI EGIDII PRIORATUS ET SANCTI JOANNIS AQUENSIS COMMENDÆ, NON  
MINUS AFFINI QUAM PROPRIA NOBILITATE PRÆCLARIS,  
QUI, GERMANIS TRIBUS IMMATURO FATO SUBLATIS,  
5 NEMPE ENIM JOANNES BAPTISTA ET JOANNES AUGUSTINUS IN INSULA CRETÆ,  
TERTIUS VERO JOSEPHUS, TRIREMIS SANCTÆ MARIÆ PATRONUS, UNIUSQUE  
E SEXDECIM LEGIONIBUS TRIBUNUS, IN CORONENSI  
OBSIDIONE INTERIERANT; PIAS, ILLORUM  
VICES, UT EXPLERAT UNUS SUPERSTES,  
10 SESE TOTUM SACRÆ MILITIÆ DEVOVID, VERE SUI  
STUDIOSUS, RELIGIOSÆ OBSERVANTIÆ EXEMPLAR.  
FUIT ET OCTOGENARIO MAJOR. OBIIT AQUIS  
SEXTIJS 5 IDUS JANUARIJ 1745.

To the eternal memory of the Sacred, Most Illustrious Don Frà Vincent Sauveur de Gaillard, Master of the Priory of Saint-Gilles and of the Commandery of Bagnères, famous, not less by affinity than by his own birth, who, when three brothers had been carried off by an untimely destiny, whereby Jean Batiste and Jean Augustine had died on the island of Crete, the third one however, Joseph, Captain of the galley '*Santa Maria*' and Commander of one of the sixteen legions, had died in the siege of Corone. After he, the only surviving one, had completed his spiritual dues, devoted himself instead of them entirely to the Sacred Military Service, truly conscientious, an exemplary of religious observance. He was also more than eighty years of age. He died in Aix-en-Provence on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January 1745.

## 50 - Jean Charles de Romieu

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
BAJULIVO FRATRI JOHANNI CAROLO DE ROMIEU,  
SACRIS ORDINIS CENSUUM DE SANCTO FELIX ET DE BURGAUD  
COMMENDATARIO,  
QUI TORMENTIS BELLICIS AC NAVALI PRÆFUIT,  
5 EXCUBIARUM COHORTIS A MAGNO MAGISTRO PERELLOS INSTITUTE  
IMPERATOR CREATUS EST,  
MAGNI MAGISTRI MANOEL PALATIJ PRÆFECTUM EGIT,  
PLERAQUE ALIA ORDINIS SUI MUNERA OBIVIT.  
VIR ANIMI DOTIBUS, MUNIFICENTIA IN EGENOS  
10 ET AMICORUM CULTURA COMMENDABILIS,  
DECESSIT XIX CALENDAS APRILIS MDCCXLV,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXII, RELIGIONIS LIX.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Bailiff Frà Jean Charles de Romieu, Commendator of the estates of the Sacred Order at Saint-Félix and Le Burgaud, who was put in charge of the military and naval artillery and was made Commander-in-Chief of the vigilant corps established by Grand Master Perellos. He became the Great Chamberlain of the Palace of Grand Master Manoel, and undertook a good many other offices of his Order. A man praiseworthy for the gifts of his mind, generosity toward the poor and appreciation of friends. He died on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1745, at the age of 72, a Religious for the last 59 years.

## 96 - Paul Antoine de Robins Barbantane

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
SISTE, VIATOR,  
ET DOLORIBUS LACRYMAS ADHIBE.  
HIC JACET  
5 ILLUSTRISSIMUS FRATER PAULUS ANTONIUS DE ROBINS BARBANTANE,  
MAGNUS PRIOR THOLOSÆ,  
NATALIUM SPLENDORE SAT CLARUS  
BONITATE, GENEROSITATE JAM CLARIOR,  
SUÆ RELIGIONI  
10 OB PLURA MUNERA AB EO PROVIDE GESTA  
ACCEPTISSIMUS,  
SUIS FRATRIBUS  
JAM MAGNUS COMMENDATOR  
AC ÆQUITATIS ZELOTES  
15 ET PACIS AMATOR.  
PROPRIIS SUMPTIBUS SUÆ VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ COMMENSALIBUS  
TRANQUILLITATEM LIBENTER AC LIBERALITER RESTITUIT.  
MAXIME GRATUS,  
PLENUS TANDEM DIEBUS AC MERITIS,  
20 DIEM CLAUSIT EXTREMUM V NONAS MARTII ANNI MDCCXLVI,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXVII.  
JUSTISSIMOS IN OPTIMI FRATRIS JACTURA  
MOERORES SUOS DISSIMULARE TAM NOLENS QUAM NESCIENS,  
COMMENDATOR FRATER JOSEPH DE ROBINS BARBANTANE  
25 ÆRE PROPRIO POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Stop, passer-by, and devote your tears to sorrow. Here lies the Most Illustrious Frà Paul Antoine de Robins Barbantane, Grand Prior of Toulouse, sufficiently famous by the splendour of his birth, but more famous by his moral excellence and generosity, most dear to his Religion, on account of numerous duties which he carefully carried out, by now Grand Commander of his Fraternity and envious guardian of fairness and a lover of peace. He restored, at his own expense, gladly and graciously, tranquillity to the table-companions of his Venerable Tongue. Most beloved, finally, full of days and merits, he concluded his last day on the 3rd of March of the year 1746, at the age of 77. Commendator Frà Joseph de Robins Barbantane, at the loss of his most noble brother, neither willing nor knowing how to suppress his most justified mourning, placed this slab from his own purse.

## 15 - Joseph de Béon du Casaus

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
PRÆCLARA DE STIRPE BEON CASAUSQUE JOSEPHI  
OSSA SUB HOC GELIDO MARMORE CLAUSA JACENT.  
MILITLÆ SACRE ADSCRIPTUS VIRTUTE DECORUS,  
5 PLURA DEDIT DIGNI VERAQUE SIGNA VIRI,  
COMMENDAS HABUIT BINAS, CAPUT INDE SUPREMUM  
EST PRIME LINGUÆ VISUS ET ESSE SUÆ.  
SED PROH LUGENDUM FATUM PERCUSSUS AB ICTU  
PRÆCIPITI, VITAM PERDIDIT ATQUE GRADUM.  
10 OBIIT DIE 15 MARTII, ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS 1746, ÆTATIS SUÆ 64.  
FRATER PAULUS ANTONIUS DE VIGUIER, PALATII EXCUBIARUM  
PRÆFECTUS MAGNUS, CURIE CASTELLANLÆ PRÆSES, ET  
TORMENTORUM BELLICORUM COMMENDATOR, DEFUNCTO  
AMICO ET BENEFACTORI INTER LACRIMAS,  
15 HOC MONUMENTUM, PROPRIO ÆRE,  
PONENDUM CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The noble bones of Joseph, progeny of Béon du Casaus, are lying confined under this ice cold marble. After he was enrolled into the Sacred Military Service, he, decorated with valour, gave a superior and genuine display of the attributes of a distinguished gentleman, entrusted with an estate on two occasions, thence, as the Pilier, he took care of the most important Tongue, but alas, woeful fate, struck by a sudden blow he lost his life and likewise his position. He died on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of March, in the Year of Redemption 1746, at the age of 64. Frà Paul Antoine De Viguiier, Grand Prefect of the Watchtowers, President of the Court of the Castellania, Commander of the Artillery, in tears, arranged to place this slab for his deceased friend and benefactor, at his own expense.

## 64 - Giuseppe de Majo

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
VIXI UT VIVIS,  
MORIERIS UT MORTUS SUM,  
SIC VITA TRUDITUR.  
5 TERRA MATER ABSUMIT  
QUÆ PEPERIT,  
PARIT QUÆ ABSUMIT,  
SIC OMNIA DEVORAT ÆTAS.  
VITAM MORITURAM COGITA  
10 UT MORTEM SEQUI  
VALEAS VITALEM,  
O VIATOR.  
FRATER DOMINUS JOSEPH DE MAJO,  
EQUES VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ITALIÆ,  
15 HIC OSSA RELIQUI,  
NOVAM VITAM INCHOAVI  
DIE 27 MAIJ 1747.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

I lived, as you are living, you will die, as I have died, thus life is hurried on. Mother Earth takes away what she has brought forth, she brings forth what she takes away, thus time consumes everything. Oh passer-by, acknowledge that life will die as death is following, may you have the strength to be long-lived. I, Frà Don Giuseppe de Majo, Knight of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, left my bones here behind, I have started a new life on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of May 1747.

### 73 - Rodriguez Miraval y Spinola

PATER MIRAVAL

MATER ESPINOLA

FRATRIS DOMINI RODERICI MIRAVAL ET SPINOLA, EX COMITIBUS DE VILLAFUENTE.

QUISQUIS HIC NOMEN LEGIS,

SPECTATISSIMUM EQUITEM AGNOSCE,

QUI, COPULATIS BINÆ FAMILIÆ IRRADIATUS FULGORIBUS

NON TAM ACCEPIT QUAM DEDIT SPLENDOREM.

IPSE, BAJULIVATU NOVEN VILLARUM, DEIN SANCTI SEPULCHRI,

TANDEM LORÆ DECORATUS,

IPSIS DIGNIOR DIGNITATIBUS EXTITIT.

IN RE BELLICA STRENUISSIMUS BELLATOR,

A PHILIPPO V, HISPANIARUM REGE, ADHIBITUS,

TERRA MARIQUE

NUSQUAM FERRO PARGENS, FERRUM NUMQUAM TIMUIT.

ANIMI ROBORE TIMENDUS IPSE, CONSILIO ÆSTIMANDUS,

PRINCIPUM GRATIAM MERITUS, NON AFFECTATOR GRATIÆ,

AMOREM OMNIUM ASSECUTUS, NULLIUS FUIT ASSENTATOR.

PROPTIAM UBIQUE NACTUS FORTUNAM,

FORTUNAS OMNES AD ALIENÆ INOPIÆ CONTULIT MEDELAM

EO USQUE UT FELICEM SE CREDERET,

CUM LÆTOS VIDERET ÆGENOS, FELICISSIMUM CUM FECISSET.

7 SUPRA 80 ANNIS NATURÆ VIXIT,

HONORE DIVES, VIRTUTE DITIOR, UT GLORIÆ ETERNUM VIVERET.

OBIIT DIE 23 JUNII ANNO 1747.

NE TAMEN, EXINCTUS, TOT DECORUM RADIOS EXTINGUERET,

FRATER DOMINUS JOSEPH DE AUNON ET HERRERA,

NEPOS SUPERSTES, AMANTISSIMUS VILLELÆ COMMENDATARIUS,

IN HOC MONUMENTO SUA PECUNIA CONSTRUCTO COLLEGIT.

AVA PATER PAVON LOEATON

AVA MATER MORALES

Father Miraval

Mother Espinola

You, whoever read this name of Frà Don Rodriguez Miraval y Spinola, from the Nobles of Villafuerte, acknowledge a most respected Knight, who, although illuminated by the joint glory of two families, not so much received as provided splendour. He was graced with the Bailiwick of Novillas, afterwards of Santo Sepulcro, his last one that of Lora, standing out with more dignity than the dignities themselves. A most vigorous warrior, consulted on matters of war on land and sea by King Philip V of Spain, on no occasion spared his sword and never feared a sword. Although cognisant of his powerful mind, he was esteemed for his counsel, although merited by the gratitude of Princes, he was not one to strive to obtain gratitude, although he received everyone's approval, he was nobody's instrument. Meeting with a favourable fortune everywhere, he brought together all fortunes for the care of other people's needs, to such an extent that he regarded himself blessed when he saw the poor grateful, when he had made one most happy. He lived seven years beyond the 80 years given by nature, rich in honour, richer in virtue, so that he might live eternally for glory. He died on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of June in the year 1747. Should he, notwithstanding his death, extinguish so many rays of his splendour, Frà Don José de Auñón y Herrera, surviving cousin, most beloved Commendator of Villel, collected those rays in this monument, arranged at his own expense.

Grandfather Pavon Loeaton

Grandmother Morales

## 28 - Pierre d'Albertas de Saint-Mayme

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ILLUSTRES SACRI HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS COMMILITONES,  
DISCITE AB HOC UNO  
QUIDQUID VOS OMNES AEMULARI DECERET.  
5 COMMENDATOR FRATER PETRUS D'ALBERTAS SAINT MAYME,  
BAIULIVATUS DE MANUSIVE DOMINIUM  
AB ALIIS DIU ACriterque DISCEPTATUM,  
PONTIFICIA ADEPTUS SENTENTIA  
SOLO HONORIS TITULO CONTENTUS,  
10 INTEGRIS BAIULIVATUS EMOLUMENTIS  
VENERANDAM PROVINCE DITAVIT LINGUAM,  
MIRANDUM SANE MUNIFICENTIAE EXEMPLUM,  
NUNQUAM ANTEACTIS VISUM,  
FUTURIS FORSAN VIVENDUM SAECULES,  
15 MAGNI TANDEM COMMENDATORI SELECTA DIGNITATE.  
VI KALENDAS DECEMBRIS MDCCXLVIII.  
VIRTUTE COMITE, DUCE PRUDENTIA.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Illustrious comrades-in-arms of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, learn from this one whatever is suitable for you all to emulate. Commendator Frère Pierre d'Albertas de Saint-Mayme, acquired, by a pontifical decision, the eminent domain of the Bailiwick of Manosque, long and fiercely disputed by others, content only with his title of honour, he enriched the Venerable Tongue of Provence with the entire income of the Bailiwick, a truly admirable example of generosity which never seemed to have occurred before but perhaps is worthy to be remembered. In his last office he was promoted to the dignity of Grand Commander. Dated 26<sup>th</sup> November 1748. A brave soldier, a prudent leader.

## 20 - Giovanni Antonio, Lorenzo and Antonio de Ildaris

JOHANNI ANTONIO DE ILDARIS,  
HIEROSOLYMITANO SACRI ROMANI IMPERII COMITI,  
MAGNÆ CRUCIS EQUITI COMMENDATARIO,  
E PERVETUSTA GENTE BUTUNTI PATRICIA,  
5 QUI,  
INGENIO AD QUÆCUMQUE ADPLICUERIT INPEDITIORA NEGOTIA EXPEDIUNDA  
VERSATILI PRÆDITUS,  
MANDATA A CAROLO VI  
AD LIGURES ET MAGNUM HETRURLÆ DUCEM LEGATIONE  
10 OPTUME DEFUNCTUS,  
SENATOR COLLATERALIS CONSILI NEAPOLITANI RENUNCIATUS,  
POSTREMO  
IN INTIMUM IMPERII CONSILIUM LECTUS,  
DUM  
15 CREATAM HANC SIBI PROVINCIAM FIDE PRUDENTERQUE EXANTHLARET,  
VITA EXCESSIT VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ,  
ÆRÆ VULGATÆ ANNO CI-I-XLIX, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXVII,  
LAURENTIUS ET ANTONIUS DE ILDARIS, SACRI ROMANI IMPERII COMITES,  
ET HIEROSOLYMITANI EQUITES COMMENDATarii,  
20 EX FRATRE NEPOTES,  
TUMULUM HUNC  
PATRUO AMATISSIMO HONORARIUM ET SIBI SEPULCRUM POSUERE  
UT  
IN EO LAPIDE ÆTERNI ILLIUS NOMINIS EXCITARETUR MEMORIA,  
25 SUB QUO SUÆ AMBORUM CONDERENTOR EXVULÆ.

QUORUM ALTER FRATER LAURENTIUS, COMES AB ILDARIS,  
DUM REI MARITIMÆ IMPERIUM EXERCERET  
CLARUS DOTIBUS EXIMIIS, OBIIT X KALENDAS JULIJ MDCCLXXII.  
ALTER FRATER ANTONIUS, MAGNUS CAPUÆ PRIOR,  
30 SINGULARI PRUDENTIA ET MODERATIONE SPECTATISSIMUS,  
VITA PIE HONESTISSIMEQUE AD TERTIUM SUPRA OCTOGESIMUM  
ANNUM PRODUCTA, DECESSIT V IDUS AUGUSTI ANNI MDCCLXXXIII.  
EQUES CÆSAR, COMES ILDARIS, AMANTISSIMIS, EX FRATRE NEPOS,  
PATRUIS BENEMERENTIBUS HEIC IN PACE DEPOSITIS  
35 MONUMENTUM PONENDUM CURAVIT.

For Giovanni Antonio de Ildaris, Jerusalemite Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Knight Commendator Grand Cross, nobleman of the very ancient clan of Bitonto, who, gifted with a disposition for the execution of whatever complex matter he applied himself to: He fulfilled most satisfactorily an embassy mandated to the Piedmont and the Grand Duke of Tuscany by Charles VI, he reported to him as an adjunct Senator of the Neapolitan Council, afterwards, while he was totally fulfilling his commitment to this official duty created for him, loyally and discreetly, he was elected to the innermost council of the Empire. He died in Vienna, Austria, in the year of the Common Era 1749, at the age of 77. Lorenzo and Antonio de Ildaris, Counts of the Holy Roman Empire and Knights Commendator of Jerusalem, nephews on his brother's side, placed this as an honorary slab for their most beloved uncle and also as a sepulchre for themselves in order to incite the memory of that everlasting name on this stone, under which the remains of both would be laid.

One of whom, Frà Lorenzo, Count of Ildaris, while he was exercising his maritime command, with renown and excellent qualities, died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1772, while the other, Frà Antonio, Grand Prior of Capua, most respected for his singular foresight and moderation, whose life prolonged beyond his 83<sup>rd</sup> year, dutifully and most honourably, died on the 9th of August 1783. Chevalier Cesare, Count of Ildaris, nephew on their brother's side, arranged to place this slab for his most beloved and meritorious uncles, laid here to rest in peace.



### 394 - Alexander de Loubert Martainville

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
NE INHONORATUM, CALCATOR, RELINQUAS LAPIDEM  
POSITUM  
IN HUJUSCE TEMPLI ORNAMENTUM ET AD PLÆ  
5 JUVAMEN ANIMÆ  
FRATRIS ALEXANDRI DE LOUBERT MARTAINVILLE,  
IN GALLIA NATI,  
PER SOLITOS HIEROSOLIMITANÆ NAVALIS MILITIÆ GRADUS,  
AD INCLITUM BELLICÆ NAVIS REGIMEN OLIM EVECTI,  
10 VARIJS NEC NON CIVILIBUS INSIGNITI MUNIJS  
DUPLICEM MODERANTIS COMMENDAM,  
QUIQUE DEMUM IN PATRIA  
INEUNTE SEXAGESIMO QUINTO ÆTATIS ANNO,  
CURRENTE DECIMA OCTAVA MENSIS JUNIJ DIE  
15 ANNI MDCCXLIX  
FELICITER DECESSIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Do not leave without reward of your prayer, when you tread upon this slab, placed in this temple as a monument, and without coming to the succour of the pious soul of Frà Alexander de Loubert Martainville. Born in France, and once, after he had passed through the usual ranks of the Jerusalemite Naval Militia, he was promoted to the glorious Captaincy of a sailing-ship, and also distinguished with various civil duties, governing a twofold commandery. Finally at home in France, at the beginning of his 65<sup>th</sup> year, during the course of day of the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the month of June of the year 1749, he died happily.

### 12 - Octave de Gallèan

FRATER OCTAVIUS GALLEANUS NICIENSIS,  
EMENSA FELICITER IN TURCAS CURSIONE,  
DUM PATRUI TOLOSÆ PRIORIS VICES GERERET  
AD RECEPTORIS MUNIA, AC BAJULIVATUS FASTIGIUM  
5 PRÆVIAN VIRTUTUM CORONAM EVECTUS EST,  
CRESCENTIBUS INDE SUPRA ANNOS MERITIS,  
DIGNITATES INFRA MERITA CREVERE,  
TYRONUM MAGISTERIUM PROBITATE,  
SORORUM SUI ORDINIS TUTELAM VIRTUTE,  
10 MAGNI COMMENDATarii GRADUM IUSTITIA,  
PRÆGRANDEM SANCTI ÆGIDII PRIORATUM PRÆMIO,  
IN VENERANDÆ PROVINCIÆ CÆTU ADEPTUS, CINERI SEPULCRUM, TROPHÆUM NOMINI,  
POSTERITATI MONUMENTUM,  
ADHUC VIVENS, OCTOGENARIO MAJOR,  
15 EREXIT.  
OBIIT DIE VII APRILIS ANNO MDCCL.  
ITEM, PRO FRATRE CAPPELLANO DE OBEDIENTIA, AGONIAM FUNDAVIT  
ANNO MDCCXLIX.

Frà Octave Gallèan of Nice successfully executed a charge against the Turks and when he was fulfilling the duties of Receptor on behalf of his paternal uncle, Prior at Toulouse, he was also promoted to the highest rank of this Bailiwick for his supreme crown of virtues, while his merits mentioned above were increasing over the years, his merits increased his positions mentioned below, as he obtained the post of teacher of novices by sincerity, the guardianship of the Sisters of his Order by virtue, the rank of Grand Commander by righteousness, the extremely important Priory of Saint-Gilles by reward, a seat in the assembly of the Venerable Provence, he set up, while still alive, over 80 years old, a grave for his remains, a memorial for his name, a monument for posterity. He died on the seventh day of April in the year 1750. In addition, according to the Brother Chaplain of Obedience, he first showed signs of death's agony in the year 1749.

### 237 - Francisco de Vilallonga y Caportella

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINUS FRANCISCUS DE VILLALLONGA IJ CAPORTELLA,  
MAGNUS CATALUNIE PRIOR,  
SEPULCRUM VIVENTE  
PREPARAVIT.  
OBIIT 12 AUGUSTI 1750.

5

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Frà Don Francisco de Vilallonga y Caportella, Grand Prior of Catalonia, made preparations for this sepulchre while alive. He died on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 1750.

### 380 - Emanuel Antonio de Souza e Almeijda

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MAGNO ORDINIS CANCELLARIO, PRO LEMAIDIS BAJULIVO,  
FRATRI DOMINO EMANUELLI ANTONIO DE SOUZA ET ALMEIJDA  
MARMOREAM HANC POSUIT URNAM  
INSIGNI AFFECTUS BENEFICENTIA  
VENERABILIS FRATER JOANNES PAULUS DE ARRIGA, SENESCALLUS,  
UT, QUI  
SIBI PER TOT EGREGIAS ANIMAS DOTES  
GLORIÆ PER TOT ILLUSTRES DIGNITAM GRADUS  
FELICITER VIVENS CONSULERAT,  
HABERET VEL EXANIMIS  
QVI SUÆ PROSPICERET IMMORTALITATI.  
OBIIT DIE XVII OCTOBRIS ANNO 1750, ÆTATUS LXI.

5

10

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
The Venerable Frà Juan Pablo de Arriga, Steward, placed this marble urn, moved by the celebrated beneficence of the Great Chancellor of the Order, Bailiff for Lemede, Frà Don Emanuel Antonio de Souza e Almeijda who while alive, successfully had regard for himself by means of so many excellent gifts of his mind, for glory by means of so many honourable positions of dignity, so that he, who foresaw his immortality, was cherishing death indeed. He died on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of October, in the year 1750, at the age of 61.

### 38 - José Pereyra Pinto

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS DOMINI JOSEPHI PEREYRA PINTO,  
MAGNI ORDINIS CANCELLARII,  
ET IN VENERANDO LUSITANÆ PRIORATU  
5 SACRI CENSUS DE BARRO COMENDATarii,  
SPECTATAM ADMIRARE VIRTUTEM.  
HANC UNAM HIC INHUMATAM  
TOT INTER EXINCTAS ANIMI DOTES  
IN ÆVUM VICTURAM INVENIES.  
10 LICET AB ANNO MDCCLI, DIE XI JUNII,  
PERACTIS SEPTEDECIM VITÆ LUSTRIS,  
MULTISQUE AUREORUM MILLIBUS  
COMMUNI ÆRARIO DONATIS,  
PIE RELIGIOSEQUE MORERETUR.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Admire the esteemed virtue of Frà Don José Pereyra Pinto, Great Chancellor of the Order, and Commendator of the sacred property of Barros in the Venerable Priory of Portugal. You will discover that this single virtue, left unburied here among so many vanished gifts of the mind, will survive in time. Yet, in the year 1751, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of June, after he had completed seventeen lustra of his life and had presented many thousands of gold pieces to the Common Treasury, he died piously and devoutly.

### 135 - Ludovico Bacci

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI LUDOVICO BACCI ARETINO,  
ROVIGHI ET BARBARANI IN VENETO ET  
SANCTI CASSIANI IN ROMÆ PRIORATU COMMENDATARIO,  
5 CONSILII COMPLETI PATRIBUS ADDITO, PIO IN DEUM,  
IN PAUPERES PROFUSO, SIBI PARCO, CUNCTIS PROBO,  
ORDINIS SUI STUDIOSISSIMO,  
BAYULIVUS FRATER PETRUS ROVERO DE GUARENA,  
VENUSII PRIOR,  
AMICO MÆRENS POSUIT.  
10 OBIIT IV KALENDAS AUGUSTI ANNO DOMINI MDCCLI,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Ludovico Bacci of Arezzo, Commendator of Rovigo and Barbarano in the Venetian realm and of San Cassiano in the Priory of Rome, assigned as an assistant to the Senators of General Council, dutiful towards God, generous towards the poor, frugal to himself, honest to all, most devoted to the Order. He died on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, in the Year of the Lord 1751, at the age of 72. Bailiff Frà Pietro Rovero de Guarena, Prior of Venosa, placed, while mourning, this slab for his friend.

### 230 - Pierre Jean de Coeur

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI PETRO JOANNI DE CŒUR PARISINO,  
EQUITI MAGISTRALI  
SACRI ORDINIS, CENSUS DU SAUSSOII COMMENDATARIO  
5 QUI, AB OTIO ERUDITO IN MELITAM EVOCATUS,  
TRIUM EMINENTISSIMORUM PRINCIPIUM AB EPISTOLIS,  
CONSILIORUM PARTICEPS FUIT ET ADMINISTER,  
VIR INGENII SAGACITATE, CONSILII PRUDENTIA,  
HUMANITATE, MORUM PROBITATE ET RELIGIONE  
10 COMMENDATISSIMUS,  
OBIIT TERTIO IDUS SEPTEMBRIS ANNI MDCCLI, ÆTATIS LXII,  
VENERABILIS BAIULIVUS PELOPONNESI ET REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI  
MINISTER,  
FRATER GUILLELMUS FRANCISCUS BERNART D'AVERNES  
15 DE BOCAGE,  
AMORIS PIGNUS MOERENS POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Pierre Jean de Coeur, a Parisian, Magistral Knight of the Sacred Order, Commendator of the estate of Savoy who, after he was summoned from leisure to Malta, was the Secretary of three Most Eminent Princes, taking part in council meetings, and their administrator, a man most distinguished for his sharp mind, prudent counsel, erudition, just character, and piety. He died on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September of the year 1751, at the age of 62. The Venerable Bailiff of the Peleponnese and representative of the Most Christian King, Frà Guillaume François Bernart d'Avernes de Bocage, placed this slab in tears as a token of his affection.

### 377 - Ferdinando Quintanilla y Andra

A XPICTOΣ Ω  
A MELITA SUI ORDINIS SEDE ABSENS,  
FERDINANDUS QUINTANILLA ET ANDRA, DE  
5 NOVEM VILLARUM BAJULIVUS,  
COMMENDÆ DE CUBILLAS PRECEPTOR  
ATQUE DESERTIS VANDALITLÆ LATIFUNDIIS  
NOVA UTILIQUE POPULORUM PROPAGATIONE  
DITANDIS CATHOLICI REGIS JUSSU INTENTUS,  
10 MORTIS PRÆSCIUS,  
HEIC IN MATERNA BASILICA  
NOMEN SUUM SEPULCRALI EPIGRAPHE  
INSCRIBENDUM VOLUIT.  
PRO SE PIAS CONFRATER PRECES  
15 DEPRECATUS.

During his absence from Malta, Seat of his Order, Ferdinando Quintanilla y Andra, was Bailiff of Novillas, Receptor of the Commandery of Cubellas, and he endeavoured, by order of the Catholic King, to propagate new and useful populations for enriching the large, deserted estates of Andalusia. Anticipating his death, he wished his name to be inscribed here in the Mother Basilica with a sepulchral inscription. A Brother prayed pious prayers for him.

## 54 - Alphonse Loppin

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IN COMMEMORATIONE FRATRI ALPHONSO LOPPIN,  
AURAS VITALES, NON TERRENAS EXUVIAS  
SUBSTULIT MORS,  
5 SACROS CINERES, NON PROMERITAS LAUDES  
URNA TEGIT.  
HÆC ETENIM  
ERGA HONORARIOS EMINENTISSIMI ZONDADARIJ EPHEBOS  
VIRTUTE IMBUENDOS AC LITERIS,  
10 CURAM LAUDAT SINGULAREM,  
ERGA INFIRMOS  
SUPERNIS LEVANDOS AUXILIJS  
SOLICITAM CELEBRAT VIGILANTIAM,  
ERGA EGENOS  
15 ALIENI TRIUM SERENISSIMORUM PRINCIPUM ERIS  
NEC NON ETIAM PROPRIJ  
INDEFESSAM COMMENDAT ADMINISTRATIONEM,  
ERGA DEUM  
AMOREM, PIETATEM AC RELIGIONEM  
20 IMMORTALIBUS ORNAT PRÆCONIJS.  
OBIJT PENE NONAGENARIUS  
VII KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS MDCCLI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

In commemoration of Frà Alphonse Loppin, Death preserved his breath of life, not his earthly remains. This grave hides from view his blessed remnants, not the merits he deserved, the former indeed eulogises his remarkable commitment to the instruction of the honorary pages of the Most Eminent Zondadari in virtue and literature, it celebrates his concerned assistance with Heavenly support towards comforting the sick, it points out his indefatigable administering of foreign capital of three Most Serene Princes and also even of his very own towards the poor, it honours his love, observance and reverence towards God with undying praise. He died, nearly a nonagenarian, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October 1751.

## 55 - Rutilio and Orazio Sansedoni

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
RUTILIO PATRUO SUO,  
HORATIO FRATRI,  
5 SACRAE HUIUS MILITIAE BAIJULIIVIS,  
PRAECLARIS SUAE RELIGIONIS MUNERIBUS  
FUNCTIS,  
JULIUS SANSEDONI, PATRICIUS SENENSIS,  
SANCTI JUSTINI COMMENDATOR,  
BENEMERENTIBUS,  
10 POSUIT ANNO DOMINI MDCCLII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Giulio Sansedoni, a nobleman of Siena, Commendator of San Giustino, placed this slab in the Year of the Lord 1752, for the meritorious Rutilio, his uncle, Orazio, his brother, Bailiffs of this Sacred Militia, who performed famous deeds for their Religion.

### 43 - Nicolaus von Enzberg

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
NICOLAUS LIBER BARO DE ENZBERG,  
A PATRE,  
SUPREMO MOSCORUM EXERCITUUM GENERALISSIMO,  
5 IN DUPLICI ADVERSUS TURCAS EXPEDITIONE,  
ARMIS A TENERIS INNUTRITUS,  
SUPERIORIS GERMANIÆ OLIM RECEPTOR,  
MAGNUS BAJULIVUS ALEMANNIÆ  
ET IN WILLINGEN COMMENDATARIUS,  
10 DUM ANIMI CANDORE AC MORUM COMITATE  
AVITAM GLORIAM ÆMULATUR,  
INTEMPESTA MORTE PRÆREPTUS,  
OMNIBUS SUI DESIDERIUM RELIQUIT  
ANNO MDCCLII, PRIDIE IDUS FEBRUARII, ÆTATIS LXVII.  
15 JOANNES BAPTISTA, LIBER BARO DE SCHAUVENBURG,  
IN MAGNO BAJULIVATU ET IN EADEM PER GRATIAM MAGISTERIALEM  
COMMENDA SUCCESSOR, AMICO MÆRENS POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Nikolaus, Baron of Enzberg - his father was the Commander-in-Chief of the Moschian army - was reared in arms from a tender age and he once was the Receptor of Upper Germany, Grand Bailiff of Germany and Commendator of Villingen. While emulating the ancestral glory, with integrity of mind and courteousness of character, in a twofold campaign against the Turks, he was snatched away before his time by Death, leaving behind regret for his absence to everyone in the year 1752, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February, at the age of 67. Johann Baptist, Baron of Schauenburg, his successor in the great Bailiwick and in the same Commandery by Magistral Grace, placed, while mourning, this slab for his friend.

### 259 - Ferdinando Zurita Haro y Augnon

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS DOMINI FERDINANDI ZURITA HARO ET AUGNON,  
MARCHIONE DE CAMPO REAL PROGNATI,  
IN URBE XEREZ DE LA FRONTERA IN LUCEM EDITI  
5 QUI,  
HIEROSOLYMITANIS EQUITIBUS ADSCITUS,  
VITÆ INTEGRITATE, SPECTABILIS  
INGENII SUAVITATE OMNIBUS ACCEPTUS,  
POST VARIA SUI ORDINIS MUNIA CUM LAUDE OBITA,  
10 ANNO  
ÆTATIS SUÆ XLIV, SALUTIS MDCCLII,  
KALENDIS AUGUSTI  
TERRAM COELO COMMUTAVIT,  
HIC JACENT EXUVIÆ.  
15 GERMANO FRATRI  
FRATER DOMINUS FRANCISCUS ZURITA, EIUSDEM ORDINIS EQUES,  
ÆRE SUO  
HOC MÆRENS MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lie the remains of Frà Ferdinando Zurita Haro y Augnon, descendant of the Marquis of Campo Real, born in the city of Jerez de la Frontera who, when he was admitted into the Jerusalemite Knighthood, was dear to everyone for the integrity of his life, the pleasantness of his remarkable character. After praiseworthy attending to a range of duties of his Order, he changed Earth for Heaven in the Year of Salvation 1752, at the age of 44, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August. Here lie his mortal remains. Frà Don Francesco Zurita, a Knight of the same Order, mournfully placed this slab at his own expense for his brother.

## 280 - Philipp Wilhelm von Nesselrode

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER PHILIPPUS WILHELMUS, NATUS SACRI ROMANI IMPERII COMES DE NESSELRODE,  
ET IN REICHENSTEIN MAGNUS PRIOR ALEMANIÆ,  
SACRI ROMANI IMPERII PRINCEPS IN HEITERSHEIM QUI MINORE ÆTATE  
5 SACRÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIÆ NOMEN DEDIT,  
EXPLETISQUE MILITARIS TYROCINII EXPEDITIONIBUS,  
SACRI ORDINIS CENSUM IN SCHUABISCH-HALL  
CONSEQUUTUS, RECEPTORIS MUNUS IN ALEMANIA  
INFERIORI PER OCTO ANNOS GESSIT. INDE HUC  
10 REVERSUS, PRIMUM TRIREMEM PRÆTORIAM, DEINDE  
CLASSEM TRIREMIUM REXIT, POSTEA, SUMMUM  
UTRIUSQUE CLASSIS PRÆFECTUM EGIT, AC MAGNUS  
ALEMANIÆ BAJULIVUS AUDIVIT, VENERANDIS COMMUNIS ÆRARI  
CURATORIBUS ADSCRIPTUS, REI BELLIÆ PRÆFUIT  
15 VENERANDARUM CONGREGATIONUM NAVIUM, PAUPERUM ET  
XENODOCHII IN SUBURBIO FLORIANO ERECTI  
PRÆSES CREATUS, ALIIS VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ALEMANIÆ  
MUNERIBUS FUNCTUS EST. MORTIS HAUD IMMEMOR,  
MONUMENTUM HOC SIBI VIVENS POSUIT ANNO MDCCXLVII,  
20 ÆTATIS SUÆ LXX, UT QUI LECTURUS ES, ANIMAM  
SUAM ÆTERNO CREATORI PIE COMMENDES.  
OBIIT DIE XVI JANUARI MDCCLIV.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Philipp Wilhelm, destined as the Count of Nesselrode of the Holy Roman Empire, and Grand Prior of Germany in Reichenstein, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in Heitersheim who, as a minor, enrolled in the Sacred Militia of Jerusalem. After he had completed the expeditions of his military apprenticeship, obtaining the Sacred Order's estate in Schwäbisch Hall, filled the post of Receptor in Lower Germany for eight years. On his return here, at first he was the Captain the Flagship, then the Captain-General of the fleet of galleys, afterwards, held the highest command over both fleets and was promoted to Grand Bailiff of Germany. He was incorporated with the Venerable Curators of the Common Treasury, in charge of the War Affairs of the Venerable Congregation of Sailing-Ships, made Governor for the Poor and of the almshouse built in the suburb of Florian, and performed other duties for the Venerable Tongue of Germany. By no means forgetful of Death, placed this slab for himself while alive in the year 1747, at the age of 70, so that you who will read this may piously pray to the Eternal Creator for his soul. He died on 16<sup>th</sup> day of January 1754.



## 112 - Paolo Togores y Valenzuela

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
NIGRA, QUAM CERNIS, URNA  
NOMINIS CLARITATEM AC DIGNITATUM SPLENDOREM  
NON AUDET DENIGRARE.  
5 ULTRA ENIM QUAM SATIS EST SPLENDET.  
ILLUSTRISSIMUS FRATER DOMINUS PAULUS TOGORES ET VALENZUELA ORIOLENSIS,  
MAGNI PRIUS ARAGONIÆ CONSERVATORIS VICES GERENS,  
NUNC EUBÆÆ BAJULIVUS ET COMMENDATOR ALMUNÆ ET MALLÉN,  
AB EMINENTISSIMO PRINCIPE FRATRE DOMINO RAIMUNDO DESPUIG  
10 IN MAJOREM SUI CAMERARIUM  
MAJOREMQUE EQUITII PRÆFECTUM FUIT DELECTUS.  
IN EMPOSTÆ CASTELLANIAM UNA CUM DUOBUS GERMANIS,  
FRATRE DOMINO JACOBO, MAGNI CONSERVATORIS LOCUM TENENTE ET COMMENDATORE HORTÆ,  
ET FRATRE DOMINO JOANNE, SANCTI JOANNIS HOSCÆ COMMENDATORE ADMISSUS.  
15 SPLENDORIS PLUS IMPERTIVIT QUAM SUMPSIT,  
TANDEM, VIVENS ADHUC, VIRTUTE ONUSTUS AC ANNIS,  
SIBI CONSULUIT MORITURO.  
OBIIT ANNO MDCCLV, DIE XX JULIJ, ÆTATE 81.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

This black cinerary urn, which you are seeing, does not dare to make black the renown of his name and the splendour of his positions, it certainly shines more than enough. The Most Illustrious Frà Don Paolo Togores y Valenzuela of Orihuela, previously deputising for the Grand Conservator of Aragon, at present Bailiff of Negroponte and Commendator of La Almunia and Mallén, was chosen by the Most Eminent Prince Frà Don Raimondo Despuig as his Great Chamberlain and Marshal of the Cavalry. He was received into the Castallany of Amposta together with two brothers, Frà Don Jacobo, deputising for the Grand Conservator and Commendator of Horta, and Frà Don Juan, Commendator of San Juan of Huesca. He bestowed more magnificence than he assumed, and in this last office, thus far alive and abounding in virtue and years, he looked out for his approaching death. He died in the year 1755, on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of July, at the age of 81.

## 251 - Balthassar de Raimond d'Eaux

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS BALTHASSARIS DE RAIMOND D'EAUX,  
SACRI ORDINIS CENSUUM DE COMPS ET DE LA VERNEDÉ  
5 COMMENDATARIJ MERITISSIMI,  
HIC CINERES QUIESCUNT, RURSUM VICTURI.  
ANIMI MAGNITUDE MORUMQUE SUAVITATE  
PRÆSTANTISSIMUS VIR,  
PRÆSTANTIOR QUOD, NAVIUM MINISTERIO ADDICTUS,  
10 SANCTI JOANNIS DUCIS MUNUS PER PLURES ANNOS,  
EXOSUS NEMINI, OMNIBUS CHARUS,  
SUMMA CUM LAUDE EGERIT,  
AT LONGE PRÆSTANTISSIMUS  
QUOD, SIBI CONSULENS ET ÆTERNITATI PROSPICIENS,  
15 RELIQUUM TEMPORIS DEO VIXERIT,  
DECESSIT DIE XIV MENSIS OCTOBRIS ANNI MDCCLV,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNOS LXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are resting the remains of Frà Balthassar de Raimond d'Eaux, most merited Commendator of the Sacred Order's property of Comps and La Vernede, who is about to live again. A man most supreme for the magnitude of his mind and the pleasantness of his character, superior because he, dedicated to the Commission of Sailing Ships, performed for many years, with the highest merit, the duty of Captain of the '*San Giovanni*'. hateful to none, dear to all, and by far most supreme because he, while reflecting upon himself and anticipating eternity, lived the remainder of his time for God. He died on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of October of the year 1755, at the age of 67 years.

**143 - Guillaume François Bernart d'Avernes  
and Eustache, Eustache and Gabriel Charles**

FRATER GUILLELMUS FRANCISCUS BERNART D'AVERNES,  
BAJULIVUS PELOPONESIACUS  
ET PRÆDII DE VILLERS AU LIEGE EQVES BENEFICIARIUS,  
POST EXACTAM  
5 PER XIII ET AMPLIUS ANNOS  
PUPPICÆ HOSPITALIS DOMUS PRÆFECTURAM,  
DEMANDATAM SIBI ABS REGE CHRISTIANISSIMO,  
USQUE AB ANNO MDCCXXV IN HAC INSULA  
NEGOTIORUM ADMINISTRATIONEM,  
10 TRIBUS FRATRIBUS SUAVISSIMIS  
FRATRE EUSTACHIO, MAGNO ORDINIS, QUOD VOCANT, HOSPITALARIO,  
FRATRE EUSTACHIO ALTERO, MAGNO CAMPANIE GALLICÆ PRIORE,  
FRATRE GABRIELE CAROLO, SACRÆ CLASSIS NAVARCO,  
SEPULCRO IAM RECEPTIS,  
15 QUAMVIS  
EA CONSECUTUS QUÆ IN REPUBLICA CENSENTUR AMPLISSIMA,  
NIHIL NISI SEMPITERNUM SPECTANS,  
CINERIBUS SUIS, DUM ESSET IN VIVIS,  
LOCUM APPARAVIT  
20 ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCXLVIII, ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXVIII.  
QUISQUIS ADES, PACEM ADPRECATOR  
MANIBUS PIENTISSIMIS.

OBIIT DIE V MARTII MDCCLVI, ÆTATIS ANNOS LXXXV,  
MENSES X.

Frà Guillaume François Bernart d'Avernes, Peloponnesian Bailiff and Knight-Beneficiary of the estate of Villers near Liège, had held for thirteen years and more the Governorship of the Public Hospital on this island, entrusted to him by the Most Christian King from as far back as the year 1725. He is remembered here with his three heart-warming Brothers, because they had divine vocation: Frà Eustache, the Grand Hospitaller of the Order, the other Frà Eustache, Grand Prior of Champagne, Frà Gabriel Charles, Captain-General of the Sacred Fleet, already taken to the grave. Afterwards, he pursued those matters which in the Republic are judged most esteemed, expecting nothing save immortality. He prepared, while he was among the living, a grave for their remains in the Year of Salvation 1748, at the age of 78. Whoever is present here, pray for the absolution of their most grateful departed souls.

Frà Guillaume François Bernart died on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of March 1756, at the age of 85 years and 10 months.

## 84 - Jacques François de Chambray

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
HEIC REPOSITÆ SUNT MORTALES EXUVIÆ  
FRATRIS JACOBI FRANCISCI DE CHAMBRAY,  
ORIUNDI EX ANTIQUA GENTE NORMANNA,  
5    EQUITES JEROSOLYMITANI, MAGNÆ CRUCIS, VENERANDI PRIORATUS FRANCIÆ,  
      COMMENDATARIJ SACRI ORDINIS CENSUUM  
      DE METZ, DE VIRCOURT ET DE SAINT VAUBOURG,  
      QUORUM PRIMUM ET ALTERUM EX GRATIA, UT VOCANT, MAGISTRALI,  
      CONSEQUUTUS MERITO IS EST  
10        OB VULNERA PLURIES ACCEPTA  
      EX HOSTIBUS PRÆLIO MARITIMO SUBACTIS.  
      NEMPE SINGULIS MILITIÆ NAVALIS GRADIBUS EMENSIS,  
      CLASSIS PRÆFECTI LOCUMTENENTIS GENERALIS  
      MUNUS CUM DIGNITATE ET VIRTUTE OBIVIT,  
15        RES AUTEM RELIQUAS ABS EO GESTAS PRO SACRA RELIGIONE  
      SI QUIS REQUIRAT,  
      HUIUS FASTOS, GRAMMATOPHYLACIA, MONIMENTA CONSULAT.  
      QUIDPE EAS HEIC RECENSERI IPSE NOLUIT,  
      TANTUM EXPOSCENS, UT QUISQUIS HAEC LEGERIT,  
20        DEUM OPTIMUM MAXIMUM PRO ANIMÆ SUÆ PACE EXORATUM VELIT,  
      ORTUS IDIBUS MARTIIS, ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCLXXXVII,  
      DECESSIT VI IDUS APRILEIS MDCCLVI.

Alpha    Christ    Omega

Here are restored the mortal remains of Jacques François de Chambray, descending from an ancient family in Normandy, Knight of Jerusalem, Grand Cross of the Venerable Priory of France, Commendator of the property of the Sacred Order of Metz, Vircourt and Saint-Vaubourg, of which the first and the second by Magistral Grace, as they say, obtaining the third on the merit of being wounded on various occasions by the enemy he had conquered in sea battles. After he had passed through every single officer's rank of the naval militia, he fulfilled, with dignity and virtue, the function of Lieutenant General of the entire fleet. Moreover, should anyone ask about his remaining achievements on behalf of the Sacred Religion, one could consult his almanac, the state archives, monuments. He himself did not want those to be reviewed here, only requesting that whoever might have read these, may wish to pray to God, Supreme and Almighty, for the peace of his soul. Born on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March, in the Year of Salvation 1677, he died on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April 1756.

### 382 - Juan Pablo and Francisco Riaño Orobio y Arriaga

FRANCISCI RIAÑO OROBIO ET ARRIAGA,  
OPTIMI EQUITIS IMMUTARI PEREMPTI,  
OSSA CUM MAGNI PATRUI, IOANNIS PAULI CINERIBUS,  
SACERDOS FRANCISCUS EUFRASIUS FERNANDEZ MÆRENS  
TUMULANDA CURAVIT PRIDIE NONAS AUGUSTI 1793.

5

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINUS IOANNES PAULUS DE ARRIAGA, MAGNÆ CRUCIS EQUES,  
EX VENERANDO CASTILLÆ PRIORATU,  
POSTQUAM IN VARIJS ORDINIS MUNERIBUS EXERCENDIS,  
SOLLICITUM ADHIBUISSET STUDIUM,  
PRIUS AB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO DESPUIG A SECRETIS ELECTUS,  
INDE AB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO PINTO PRO-CANCELLARIUS RENUNCIATUS,  
TANDEM SPLENDIDA ARCHITRICLINI DIGNITATE  
AC GENERALIS CAMPESTRIS MILITIÆ PRÆFECTURA  
FUIT HAUD INFRA MERITUM CONDECORATUS,  
TOT AUTEM EXIMIA INTER HONORIS INSIGNIA  
ET SIBI PRÆSENS ET MORTI  
AUGUSTAM CINERIBUS PARAVIT ÆDICULAM  
DUM SATIS AMPLAM ANIMÆ SEDEM  
A DIVINA EXPECTAT MUNIFICENTIA,  
OBIIT DIE 22 APRILIS ANNO 1756, ÆTATIS SUÆ 71.

10

15

20

The priest Francisco Eufrasio Fernandez, in mourning, arranged burial for the bones of Francisco Riaño Orobio y Arriaga, a most noble Knight, killed before his time, with the remains of his great-uncle Juan Pablo on the 4th day of August 1793.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Juan Pablo de Arriaga, Knight Grand Cross, from the Venerable Priory of Castile, after he had devoted his punctilious diligence to administering various offices of the Order, earlier chosen by the Most Eminent Grand Master Despuig as his Secretary, then announced Vice-Chancellor by the Most Eminent Grand Master Pinto. In his last office he was adorned, not at all beneath what he deserved, with the splendid dignity of Chief Steward and Field Marshal. On the contrary, surrounded by so many excellent marks of honours he prepared, both timely for himself and Death this solemn sepulchre for his remains, while hoping for a sufficiently spacious abode for his soul provided by divine munificence. He died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of April, in the year 1756, at the age of 71.

## 123 - Francisco de Souza e Menezes

IN COELIS ILLUSTRIOR

DEO MAXIMO.

QUAM CERNIS, VIATOR, URNAM

SUIS EXUVIIS MORITURUS VIVENS EFFODIENDAM CURAVIT

ILLUSTRISSIMUS DOMINUS FRATER DON FRANCISCUS DE SOUZA ET MENEZES

E COMITIBUS DE VILLAFLORE ET MAJORIBUS REGIS FIDELISSIMIS PINCERNIS,

EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI MANOEL EX SORORE NEPOS

QUI,

AVITO FULGENS SPLENDORE, INTER SANCTI HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS EQUITES COOPTATUS,

CAMPESTRIS MILITIAE MODERATOR ET PRO-PRÆFECTUS GENERALIS ELECTUS EST,

COMMENDARUM DE BARRO ET VILLACOVA A COALHEIRA COMENDATARIUS,

MOX BAJULIVUS. ARMAMENTARIJ CURAM, FORTALITIJ MANOEL REGIMEN

EJUSQUE FUNDATIONIS PRÆFECTURAM MERUIT,

DIVO FRANCISCO DE PAULA ADDICTISSIMUS,

ÆDEM IN SUO PRÆDIO AD EJUS HONOREM A FUNDAMENTIS EREXIT,

CONCINNAVIT, DITAVIT ET DEO DICAVIT.

IN HISPANIARUM APOSTOLUM ÆQUE PIUS,

UT ILLUM POST MORTEM PRÆSENTISSIMUM HABERET PATRONUM,

AD ARAM ILLI IN HOC TEMPLO PRINCIPE SACRAM

MISSAM VENERANDIS FRATRIBUS CAPITULARIS ASSEMBLÆ QUOTIDIE OFFERENDAM LEGAVIT.

OBIIT DIE IX AUGUSTI ANNO MDCCLVI, ÆTATIS LXXIV.

ABI, VIATOR, ET UT ÆTERNUM SPLENDEAT DEPRECARE.

More illustrious in Heaven

To God Almighty.

Passer-by, you are observing a grave which the Most Illustrious Lord Frà Don Francisco de Souza e Menezes, from the Counts of Villaflore and the most faithful Chamberlains of the King, a nephew on his sister's side of the Most Eminent Grand Master Manoel, arranged to excavate for his remains while alive, death looming in the distance, who, shining with ancestral splendour, admitted among the Knights of the Sacred Jerusalemite Order, was elected Field Marshal and Lieutenant General, Commendator of the Commanderies of Barros and Vila Cova à Coelheira, and soon after Bailiff, earning the Governorship of the Arsenal, the command over Fort Manoel and the supervision of its construction. He was most dedicated to the Divine Saint Francis of Paola, from foundation he built, adorned, enriched and dedicated to God a temple to his honour on his estate. Equally pious to the apostle of Spain, and in order to venerate him as his most admired patron-saint after his death, he made arrangements in his will for a Mass to be said every day at his altar in this foremost church by the Venerable Brothers of the Cathedral Chapter. He died on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of August in the year 1756, at the age of 74. On your way now, passer-by, and pray that he may shine forever.

### 132 - Martino Álvaro Pinto

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI MARTINO ALVARO PINTO LUSITANO, BAIULIVO  
LECÆ, VERÆ CRUCIS COMMENDATARIO QUI, CUM  
IN UNIUS EX TRIREMIBUS PRÆFECTURA NECNON  
5 IN CÆTERIS QUIBUS FUNCTUS EST MUNERIBUS,  
ITA SESE PRÆBUISET UT IN ORDINEM SUUM  
STUDIOSISSIMUS CUNCTIS SINGULISQUE PERHUMANUS  
ÆQUE AC PERLIBERALIS, IN EGENOS PROFUSUS, AB  
10 OMNIBUS JURE MERITO HABERETUR, INCREDIBILIBUS  
PENE PERQUAM DIUTURNI MORBI DOLORIBUS  
MIRA ANIMI TRANQUILLITATE PERLATIS, PROBATUS  
HOMINIBUS, PROBATIOR DEO, DIEM OBIIT SUPREMUM  
6 KALENDAS MARTII 1757, ETATIS ANNOS 72, MENSES 2, DIES 13.  
EMINENTISSIMUS AC REVERENDISSIMUS MAGNUS MAGISTER DOMINUS FRATER EMMANUEL PINTO,  
15 PAUPERUM LACRIJMS IMMISCENS SUAS, FRATER  
OPTIMUS OPTIMO FRATRI PERPETUI LUCTUS  
SUI TESTEM HUNC POSUIT LAPIDEM.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Martino Álvaro Pinto of Portugal, Bailiff, Commendator of Leça and of Vera Cruz, who, when he held the Captaincy of one of the galleys and also in the other duties which he performed, had shown himself therefore most zealous in each and every issue regarding his Order, very friendly and equally very generous, lavish towards the poor, so that he was held in the highest regard by everyone. He endured to the end almost incredible throes from an extremely chronic illness due to his wonderful tranquillity of mind, esteemed by men, judged by God, reached his last day on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1757, at the age of 72 years, 2 months and 13 days. The Most Eminent and Reverend Grand Master Lord Frà Emmanuel Pinto, a most noble Brother, placed, while mixing his tears with those of the poor, this slab as a witness of his everlasting grief for his noblest brother.

## 174 - Amibile de Thiange

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
FRATER AMIBILI DE THIANGE QUI, SACRIS ORDINIS CENSUS  
DE VILLAFRANCHE GRATUITA MAGNI MAGISTRI LARGITIONE  
ET DE SALLES, MONCENIE JURE SUO CONSEQUUTUS,  
5 ROMANI PONTIFICIS PRIVILEGIO BAJULIVI GRADUM  
OBTINUIT VI IDUS SEPTEMBRES ANNI MDCCXXXVII, SUPREMUM  
ORDINIS SUI MARESCALLI HONOREM ATTIGIT  
IV IDUS MAJAS ANNI MDCCXLVIII, MAGNI PRIORIS ARVERNORUM  
DIGNITATEM OCCUPAVIT VII IDUS SEPTEMBRES EIUSDEM ANNI,  
10 A STANISLAO, LOTHARINGIAE DUCE, MAGNI VENERATORIS  
MUNERE INSIGNITUS, EJUS PERSONAM SUSTINUIT  
IN NOVISSIMA ILLIUS IN POLONENSEM REGEM ELECTIONE,  
REGIISQUE HONORIBUS A CLASSE GALLICA SIBI  
DELATIS, GEDANUM RECTUS EST, CONFIDENTIAM  
15 ILLIUS ET CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS PROMERITUS,  
EXACTO CUM LAUDE VITAE CURRICULO, DECESSIT  
IN CASTELLO DE LUSAC IN AGRO BORBONIENSI IDIBUS  
MARTII ANNO REPARATAE SALUTIS MDCCCLVII, AETATIS ANNOS LXXX, MENSES XI, DIES IV.  
GEMINI FRATRES, EJUS PROPINQUI, QUORUM UTRIQUE  
20 PRIORATUS SUI CENSUM CONTULIT, GRATI ANIMI CAUSSA  
POSUERE.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

For Frà Amibile de Thiange who, after acquiring the property of the Sacred Order of Villefranche by the gracious generosity of the Grand Master and of Salles and Montsegny by his own right, obtained the rank of Bailiff by the privilege of the Roman Pontiff on 8<sup>th</sup> September of the year 1737, achieved the highest honour of Marshal of his Order on 12<sup>th</sup> May of the year 1748, gained the dignity of Grand Prior of Auvergne on 7<sup>th</sup> September of the same year. Decorated by Stanislaw, Duke of Lotharingen, for his service as a great venerator, whom he supported in his recent election as King of Poland, and after Royal Honours were conferred upon him by the French fleet, he was led straight to Gdańsk. Enjoying thus the confidence of the King of Poland and of the Most Christian King, finishing the course of his life with glory. He died in the Castle of Lusac in the territory of the Bourbons on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March in the Year of Redemption 1757, at the age of 80 years, 11 months and 4 days. Twin brothers, his relatives, who both collected an estate of his Priory, placed this slab on account of grateful memory.



## 240 - Balthasar Charles Veran

FRATRI BALTHASSARI CAROLO VERAN MELITENSI,  
ANDREÆ VERANI, ARELATENSIS, EX NOBILI STIRPE D' ESPINAUD ORTI, FILIO  
QUI, ANTIQUA FAMILIA PROGNATUS PLURIMIS CONSULIBUS ARELATE CLARA,  
FLORENTI ÆTATE IN REGIA FRANCORUM CLASSE DECENNIA STIPENDIA MERUIT,  
5 MOX SERENISSIMI COMITIS PROVINCIÆ SUPREMI GALLIÆ ADMIRATI ALTER, EX EPHEBIS  
ET CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS LUDOVICI XV PRIVILEGIO INTER GALLICI REGNI INDIGENAS ADSCRIPTUS,  
AC SACRO HIEROSOLIJMITANO ORDINI ADLECTUS AB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO MANCIEL SINGULARI BENEFICENTIA,  
VOTI ACTIVI ET PASSIVI JURE CONCESSO, MILITIS MAGISTRALIS CINGULO ORNATUS  
ET HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS MAGNUS SCUTIFER CREATUS, PER ANNOS TRIGINTA DIFFICILE MUNUS  
10 SOLLERTER FUNCTUS, REGNANTIBUS EMINENTISSIMIS MAGNIS MAGISTRIS MANUEL, DESPUIG ET PINTO,  
IISDEM AC UNIVERSO ORDINI OB SUMMAM IN EO MUNERE AGUNDO DEXTERITATEM  
ET PRUDENTIAM CUM SUAVISSIMIS MORIBUS AC MIRA IN OMNES COMITATE APPRIME CARUS,  
OBIIT ANNO ETATIS LXXI, ULTIMUS VERANÆ GENTIS REPENTINA MORTE SUBLATUS DIE 27 APRILIS ANNO 1757,  
AB OMNIBUS COLLACRIJMATUS ET IN PROXIMO SEPULCRO CUM DUOBUS PATRUIS DEPOSITUS EST  
15 VERANUS XAVERIUS CRISPO VERAN, JURIS UTRIVSQUE DOCTOR AVUNCULO BENE MERENTI, MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

For Frà Balthasar Charles Veran of Malta, son of André Veran of Arles, descending from the noble lineage of Espinaud who descended from an ancient family, well known for its many Consuls in Arles. In the prime of his youth he performed military services for a period of ten years in the Royal fleet of France, and soon after was one of two highest ranking Admirals of the Most Serene Count of Provence. On reaching manhood, he received French citizenship by the privilege of the Most Christian King Louis XV, and after his admittance to the Sacred Jerusalemite Order by the singular beneficence of the Most Eminent Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena, which included the granted right of active and passive vote, he was endowed with the regalia of a Magistral Knight and made Master Equerry of the Order of Jerusalem, for 30 years skilfully fulfilling this difficult duty during the reign of the Most Eminent Grand Masters Manoel, Despuig and Pinto. He was especially dear to the aforesaid Grand Masters and the whole Order, on account of the highest dexterity and discretion in executing that office, with his extremely pleasant character and admirable courtesy towards everyone. He, the last of the Veran family, died in his 71<sup>st</sup> year, carried away by an unexpected death on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of April of the year 1757, very much lamented by everyone, and was laid at rest in the adjacent sepulchre with two paternal uncles. Verane Xavier Crispo Veran, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, placed this slab for his meritorious uncle.

## 401 - Vincenzo Montalto

DURIORA CONCOXIT

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATRI VINCENTIO MONTALTO, SYRACUSANO EQUITI  
JEROSOLYMITANO, COMMENDÆ SANCTÆ MARLÆ MAGDALENÆ

5 AC SANCTI IOANNIS BAPTISTÆ PRIORATUS MESSANÆ

COMMENDATARIO,

PIETATE, PRUDENTIA, MORUMQUE ELEGANTIA

VIRO SATIS PRÆDITO,

QUI, POST VARIA SUI ORDINIS MUNERA

10 SUMMA CUM LAUDE OBITA,

ÆQUE STRENUI DUCIS AC RELIGIOSI OPTIMI

NOMEN SIBI COMPARAVIT

ET OBIIT SYRACUSIS IV IDUS MAIL,

ANNO MDCCLVII, ÆTATIS SUÆ LIX.

15 FRATER FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS, AREZZO COMMENDATARIUS

AMICO SUAVISSIMO

POSUIT.

He endured worse hardships

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Vincenzo Montalto from Syracuse, Jerusalemite Knight, Commendator of the Commanderies of the Messinian Priory Santa Maria Maddalena and San Giovanni Battista, a man sufficiently endowed with piety, prudence, courtesy of character who, after he had fulfilled various duties for his Order with the highest merit, justly established for himself the reputation of a tireless leader and a pre-eminent Religious. He died in Syracuse on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May in the year 1757, at the age of 69. Frà Francesco Xaviero, Commendator of Arezzo, placed this slab for his dearest friend.

## 140 - Rosalbo Cavalcanti

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATER ROSALBUS CAVALCANTI E DUCIBUS CACCURIJ,  
COMMENDATARIUM DE MORELLO ET FAVENTILÆ COMMENDATOR

5 QUI, REGNANTE MAGNO MAGISTRO MANOEL DE VILHENA,

TRIEMIS PRÆFECTURA ALIJSQUE PRIMARIJS

IN HYEROSOLYMITANO ORDINE FUNCTUS OFFICIJS,

MAGNÆ CRUCIS EST HONORE CONDECORATUS

AD SUPREMAS, DEINDE SENESCALCHI,

10 ET CAMPESTRIS MILITILÆ GENERALIS PRÆFECTI,

A MUNIFICENTISSIMO PRINCIPE EMMANUEL PINTO

EVECTUS EST DIGNITATES.

PRO UTRIUSQUE PARITER SICILLÆ REGE

IN HAC INSULA MINISTRI MUNIA EGIT,

15 QUIBUS OMNIBUS NON OBSCURE GESTIS.

HOC POSTERITATI MONUMENTUM

ET CINERIBUS SEPULCHRUM VIVENS POSUIT.

OBIIT XVIII JULII ANNO MDCCLVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Rosalbo Cavalcanti from the Dukes of Caccurio, Commendator of the Commanderies of Morello and Faenza, who, during the reign of Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena, carried out the Captaincy of a galley and other distinguished duties in the Jerusalemite Order. He was adorned with the honour of Grand Cross, and afterwards elevated to the supreme dignities of Steward and Field Marshal by the most munificent Prince Emmanuel Pinto. He conducted on behalf of the King of the Two Sicilies the duties of his representative on this island, all of which he carried out not without distinction. While alive, he placed this as a slab to posterity and as a sepulchre for his remains. He died on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July in the year 1757.

## 234 - Jérôme de Monteliu

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER HIERONYMUS DE MONTELIU,  
MAGNÆ CRUCIS DIGNISSIMUS EQUES,  
ESPULGÆ CALVÆ ET GRANGNENÆ MERITISSIMUS COMMENDATARIUS,  
5 VIX POST GRAVIORA IN SUO ORDINE SÆPE SIBI COMMISSA NEGOTIA  
ET AB EO LAUDABILITER GESTA,  
AD MAJORICÆ BAJULIVATUM SEXAGESIMO NONO SUÆ ÆTATIS ANNO  
EVECTUS,  
MORTALIS SUÆ CONDITIONIS MEMOR,  
10 HIC ANTE HANC CRUCIFIXI ARAM, DUM VIVERET  
ET TIRONUM CURAM ADHUC HABERET,  
SEPULTURÆ LOCUM SIBI DELEGIT  
UT, UBI EO AUCTORE AC A SE ATTRIBUTO ANNUO CENSU INSTITUTORE,  
SINGULIS DIEBUS FESTIS DE PRÆCEPTO MISSA POMERIDIANA  
15 AD POPULI COMMODUM CELEBRATUR,  
IBI IMMORTALIS RESURGERET.  
VIXIT ANNOS 77, OBIIT ANNO 1757, DIE 11 OCTOBRIS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Jérôme de Monteliu, most distinguished Knight Grand Cross, most merited Commendator of L'Espluga Calba and Grañena, shortly after he praiseworthy had resolved some very serious issues for the Order, as those were often entrusted to him, he was promoted to the Bailiwick of Majorca in his sixty-ninth year of age. Mindful of his mortal condition, he, while he was living and still was having the care of the recruits, here, in front of the altar of the Crucifix, arranged a place of burial for himself, where an obligatory Mass is celebrated in the afternoon of every single feast day for the blessing of the people, for which he provided, as the initiator, an annually assigned fund, in order to be resurrected as immortal. He lived for 77 years, he died in the year 1757, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of October.

## 255 - Scipione de Raimond d'Eaux

GENERIS SPLENDOREM AC HONORUM GRADUS  
NE QUÆRAS, VIATOR,  
SED QUÆ POST CINERES UNA SUPERSTES.  
ADMIRARE VIRTUTEM  
5 FRATRIS SCIPIONIS DE RAIMOND D'EAUX,  
COMMENDATORIS DE MONTSONNES ET DE MILLAUD.  
HIC POST SOLITOS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIAE GRADUS,  
AD INCLITUM BELLICARUM NAVIUM  
SANCTORUM VINCENTII ET JOANNIS REGIMEN EVECTUS,  
10 SUIS ADMIRATIONI, HOSTIBUS TERRORI FUIT,  
HORUM NAVES SUO ASPECTU FUGAVIT NON SEMEL  
MAGNAMQUE ALIGERIENSEM GAZELAM DICTAM,  
POST ACREM 22 HORARUM PUGNAM,  
OMNIUM PLAUSU VICTOR SUBEGIT.  
15 POST TOT PRÆCLARA GESTA DIRO MORBO TENTATUS,  
QUARE INVICTA PATIENTIA LONGE COMMENDABILIS,  
MORTALES HIC EXUVIAS IN ÆVUM VICTURUS  
TANDEM POSUIT DIE 23 MENSIS FEBRUARII ANNO 1758,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 78.

Passer-by, do not search for splendour of lineage and grades of official dignity, but for that which, besides one's remains, is the only thing surviving. Admire the virtue of Frà Scipione de Raimond d'Eaux, Commendator of Montsaunès and Millau who, after the customary positions of the Jerusalemite Militia, was promoted to the command of the sailing ships '*San Vincenzo*' and '*San Giovanni*'. Admired by his men, feared by the enemy, whose ships he, not just once, put to flight simply by looming up on the horizon, he brought up a so-called Algerian Grand Gazelle after a fierce battle of 22 hours, a victor with the blessing of everyone. After so many illustrious deeds, he was struck by an awful disease, hence praiseworthy by far for his unconquered endurance, finally laid down here his mortal remains to live forever on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of February in the year 1758, at the age of 78.

## 18 - Joseph Marc-Antoine de Robins Barbantane

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOSEPHO MARCO ANTONIO DE ROBINS BARBANTANE,  
EQUITI RELIGIOSISSIMO,  
COMMENDÆ DE LA TRONQUIERE COMMENDATARIO,  
5 VITÆ INTEGRITATE, SANGUINIS CLARITATE  
ATQUE ANIMI LENITATE SPECTABILI,  
QUI,  
MORUM INGENUITATEM  
CUM MUNERUM HONORE CONJUNGENS,  
10 REGNANTE EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO  
FRATRE DOMINO ANTONIO MANOEL DE VILLHENA,  
PALATII PRO-PRÆFECTUS,  
URBIS HUIUS PRÆFECTUS CREATUS EST,  
AC DIUTINA ÆDIUM PROCURATIONE FUNCTUS,  
15 MAGNÆ CURLÆ CASTELLANLÆ PRÆFUIT,  
HORREORUM ET MILITARIUM INSTRUMENTORUM  
CURAM HABUIT,  
TANDEM PRIMATUS SUI JURE MAGNI COMMENDATarii LOCUM  
PER PLURES ANNOS TENUIT,  
20 ANTIQUIOR IN CONVENTU PARVÆ CRUCIS EQUES  
VENERANDI OLIM LINGUÆ ANGLIÆ OPTIMATIS  
VICES GESSIT.  
COMMUNIS LUCTUS MONUMENTUM,  
PERPETUA CINERIBUS REQUIES.  
25 OBIIT,  
SENIO CONFECTUS, LONGO MORBO PATIENTISSIME PERLATO,  
DIE VIII JUNII, ANNO SALVTIS MDCCLVIII, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXXII.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Joseph Marc-Antoine de Robins Barbantane, a most devoted Knight, Commendator in the Commandery of Latronquière, blessed with integrity of life, an illustrious lineage, remarkable lenience of mind, who, joining the nobility of his character with his reputation for duty, Great Chamberlain of the Palace during the reign of the Most Eminent Grand Master Frà Don Antonio Manoel de Vilhena, was appointed Prefect of this city, and after he was long-lastingly engaged in the administration of churches, came in charge of the High Court of the Castellania, had the Superintendence of the logistics of granaries and military supplies. In his last office, by right of his seniority, he held for a greater number of years the post of Grand Commander, and in the Convent, as a senior Knight Small Cross, he formerly deputed for the Venerable Noble of the English Tongue. A monument of common grief, eternal rest for his remains.

Exhausted by old age, after he endured a trying illness to the end with the utmost patience, he died on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of June in the Year of Salvation 1758, at the age of 82.

## 248 - Jacobo Rull

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JACOBO RULL EX INSULIS BALEARIBUS  
QUI

MAGISTRI ET GENERALIS HUJUS SACRÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ BASILICÆ PRIORIS  
AB ANNO 1747 IN ECLESIASTICIS FUNCTIONIBUS VICES GERENS,  
5 PRUDENTIA, PIETATE, SOLLICITUDINE, VIGILANTIA, ZELO  
ADIMPLERE MINISTERIUM SATAGEBAT,  
MAJORES CONSECUTURUS HONORES  
NISI MORS INVIDA ERIPERET.  
OBIIT ANNO ÆRE VULGATÆ 1760, 6 IDUS JANUARIJ, ÆTATIS 42.  
10 FRATER DOMINUS BARTHOLOMÆUS RULL,  
EX MAGISTRO ET GENERALI PRIORE, EPISCOPUS MELITENSIS,  
NEPOTI, ALUMNO, ÆMULO MOERENS POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Jacobo Rull from the Balearic Islands, who from the year 1747 onwards deputed for the Grand Prior and the Prior-General of this Basilica of the Sacred Jerusalemite Religion in ecclesiastical offices, greatly occupied himself with perfecting his religious ministry with his prudence, observance, solicitude, vigilance and zeal. He was about to achieve greater honours, had envious Death not snatched him away. He died in the Year of the Common Era 1760, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January, at the age of 42. Frà Don Bartolomeo Rull, Bishop of Malta, formerly the Grand Prior and Prior-General, placed this slab in mourning for his nephew, protégé, emulator.

## 65 - Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux

A XPICTOC Ω  
FRATRI JOHANNI BAPTISTAE DE DURAND SARTOUS,  
EX ANTIQUA INLUSTRI GENTE GRASSENSI,  
QUI MASSILIAE TRIREMIS REGIAE DUCEM EGIT,  
5 SACRI ORDINIS CENSUM SANCTÆ LUCIAE IN PROVINCIA,  
FACTIS IN MELIUS AUGMENTIS  
IN BINIS CENSIBUS ANTEA SIBI CONLATIS,  
JURE MERITO CONSEQUUTUS,  
EX LOCUM TENENTE PRAEFECTI VENERANDAE LINGUAE PROVINCIAE  
AD AMPLISSIMAM MAGNI COMMENDATORIS DIGNITATEM  
10 EVECTUS EST.  
ANIMI CANDORE ET MORUM LENITATE OMNIBUS CARUS,  
BREVI MORBO MAGIS QUAM LONGO AEVO CONFECTUS,  
UNIVERSO EQUITUM COETUI DESIDERIUM SUI RELIQUIT  
IX CALENDAS APRILIS, ANNO AERAE VULGATAE MDCCLX,  
15 AETATIS ANNOS LXXXI, MENSES II, DIES III,  
EQUITES FRATRES JOSEPH ET JOHANNES BAPTISTA ET JACOBUS  
DE DURAND SARTOUS, EJUS EX FRATRE NEPOTES,  
GRATI ANIMI CAUSSA MOERENTES POSUERE.

Alpha Christ Omega

For Frà Jean-Baptiste de Durand Sartoux, from an old and illustrious family of Grasse who acted as the Captain of the Royal Galley in Marseilles, obtained by deserved right the property of the Holy Order of Sainte-Luce in Provence after he had accomplished increases for the better in two estates, bestowed on him before, he was raised to the highest dignity of Grand Commander after deputising for the Pilier of the Venerable Tongue of Provence. Esteemed by everybody for the purity of his heart and the compassion of his character, exhausted more by a short illness than by his long life, he left behind regret for his absence to all the company of the Knights on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, in the year of the Common Era 1760, at the age of 81 years, 2 months and 3 days. Chevaliers Frati Joseph and Jean-Baptiste and Jacques de Durand Sartoux, nephews on his brother's side, on account of grateful memory placed this slab in mourning.

## 44 - Francesco Pappalettere

PAPPALETTERE

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CINERES QUÆRIS VIATOR,  
ILLUSTRISSIMI DOMINI FRATRIS DON FRANCISCI  
5 PAPPALETTERE,  
OLIM ADMIRATI, MOX SANCTÆ EUFEMIÆ BAJULIVI,  
AC EJUSDEM BAJULIVATUS MERITISSIMI PRIORIS?  
HOC SUB MARMORE SERVAT ÆTERNITAS, UT SUA  
IMMORTALITATE IMMORTALES REDDAT.  
10 QUÆRIS LAUDES?  
UNIVERSUM HIEROSOLYMITANUM ORDINEM INTERROGA,  
OMNES UNO ORE DICUNT,  
FRANCISCUS VIR FUIT VITÆ INTEGRITATE, MORUM GRAVITATE,  
RELIGIONE IN DEUM, PIETATE IN PAUPERES CONSPICUUS,  
15 IN EXEQUENDIS MUNIIS SUÆ RELIGIONIS, NECNON IN AD-  
MINISTRANDIS ET AUGENDIS ILLIUS BONIS DILIGENTISSIMUS.  
QUÆRIS PRÆCLARA GESTA?  
PUBLICAM CONSULE FAMAM.  
QUÆRIS ANIMAM?  
20 INCLYTA AVIS NOBILISSIMIS DOMUS, PAPPALETTERE  
GENTILITIUM,  
AD ASTRA TULIT  
DIE 14 MAII 1761,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ 92.

Pappalettere

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, are you searching for the remains of the Most Illustrious Lord, Frà Don Francesco Pappalettere, previously Admiral, soon after Bailiff of Sant'Eufemia and most meritorious Prior of the same Bailiwick? Beneath this marble eternity is on its guard to make him immortal with its immortality. Are you searching for his praises? Ask the whole Order of Jerusalem, everybody is unanimous, Francesco was a man remarkable for his integrity of life, dignity of character, belief in God, Christian compassion toward the poor, extremely diligent in fulfilling the duties of his Religion to the end, and indeed in administering and enlarging its wealth. Are you searching for his very famous achievements? Consult his public reputation. Are you searching for his soul? The illustrious house of his most noble ancestors carried him, a noble Pappalettere, to Heaven on the fourteenth day of May 1761, at the age of 92.



## 101 - Henri de Martins Champoléon

BONNE LES DIGUILEES  
BERANGER  
ORSIERES

CHABESTAN

MARTIN BEAUREPAIRE  
GOMBERT  
RAMBAUD

5  
HIC JACET HENRICUS DE MARTIN DE CHAMPOLEON,  
DELPHINAS, NOBILISSIMA AVORUM  
SERIE SPECTABILIS, EQUES MELITENSIS  
ET IN EQUITATU GALLICO ORDINARIUS,  
10 QUID REGI, QUID RELIGIONI DEBEBAT  
STRENUE SOLVIT, MIRA BENIGNITATE  
MULTOS SIBI COMPARAVIT AMICOS,  
LONGIORE VITA, MORTE LENIORE DIGNUS,  
OBIIT DIE TERTIA SEPTEMBRIS,  
15 ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXI, ÆTATIS SVÆ XXXX.  
SUB HOC MONUMENTO  
QUOD ALIIS PARAVERAT,  
IPSE QUIESCIT

Bonne les Diguilees  
Beranger  
Orsieres

Chabestan

Martin Beaurepaire  
Gombert  
Rambaud

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Here lies Henri de Martins Champoléon, Dauphins, admirable for the most noble chain of ancestors, Knight of Malta and Officer in the French Cavalry, promptly settled his dues to the King, to the Order; with his extraordinary kindness he made himself many friends. Worthy of a longer life, a gentler death, he died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of September in the Year of Salvation 1761, at the age of 40. He rests under this slab, which he had prepared for others.

## 110 - Giovanni Francesco Ganucci

A XPICTOC Ω  
IOANNES FRANCISCUS GANUCCI, PATRICIUS FLORENTINUS,  
EQUES HIEROSOLYMITANUS, HIC DORMIT IN PACE  
5 QUI,  
POSTQUAM LEGITTIMUM TEMPUS EXPLEVIT  
IN MARITIMIS EXPEDITIONIBUS EGREGIE OBEUNDIS,  
ET MAGNAM SUI EXPECTATIONEM  
ORDINI ET PATRIÆ FECERAT,  
10 IMMATURA MORTE PRÆREPTUS PRIDIE IDUS FEBRUARIAS ANNI DOMINI  
MDCCLXIV.  
VIXIT ANNOS XXVII, MENSES VII, DIES PLUS MINUS XII.  
HYACINTUS GANUCCI ET MARIA MAGDALENA CANCELLIERI  
FILIO PIENTISSIMO,  
15 CLARISSIMO VIRO, MONUMENTUM HOC PONENDUM CURAVERE.

Alpha Christ Omega

Giovanni Francesco Ganucci, a Florentine nobleman, Knight of Jerusalem, rests here in peace, who, after he had gone through the statutorily required period, in meeting the standard of excellence in maritime expeditions and had indeed met with the great expectations of the Order and of the Fatherland, was snatched away by an untimely death on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February of the Year of the Lord 1764. He lived for 27 years, 7 months and more or less 12 days. Giacinto Ganucci and Maria Maddalena Cancellieri arranged this slab to be placed for their most pious son, a most illustrious man.

## 75 - José Ballestero y la Torre

FRATER DON JOSEPH BALLESTERO IJ LA TORRE,  
EX CASTELLANIA EMPOSTÆ,  
PLURIBUS SUI ORDINIS MUNERIBUS COMMENDATUS,  
EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI ET PRINCIPIS FRATRIS DOMINI EMMANUELIS PINTO  
5 RECEPTOR SUPRA DECENNIO RENUNCIATUS,  
BAJULIVI AD HONORES DIGITATE DECORATUS,  
MAGNI CONSERVATORIS VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ARAGONIÆ  
LOCUMTENENS ELECTUS,  
PIETATE IN SUPEROS, COMITATE IN HOMINES,  
10 MUNIFICENTIA IN PAUPERES  
OMNIBUS EXEMPLO PRÆSTANS,  
OBIIT VI CALENDAS NOVEMBRIS ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS,  
MDCCLXIV, ÆTATIS SUÆ SEXAGESIMO QUINTO,  
MENSE QUARTO, DIE QUARTA.

Frà Don José Ballestero y la Torre, from the Castellany of Amposta, entrusted with numerous duties of his Order, chosen, for over a decade, as the Receptor of the Most Eminent Grand Master and Prince Frà Don Emmanuel Pinto, graced with the rank of Honorary Bailiff, elected as the deputy of the Great Conservator of the Venerable Tongue of Aragon, while standing out as an example to everybody with his respect toward the higher powers, courtesy toward men, charitable towards the poor. He died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October in the Year of Redemption 1764, in the 65<sup>th</sup> year of his lifetime, on the 4<sup>th</sup> month, on the 4<sup>th</sup> day.

## 4a- Dominique Agricole de Baroncelli de Javon

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINICUS AGRICOLA DE BARONCELLI DE IAVON  
HIC IACET.  
PLURES SEMPER NUMERAVIT  
5 AMICOS ET ALIENOS NUMQUAM EX VARIIS  
QUIBUS FUNCTUS EST MUNERIBUS,  
EGIT IMITANDA NAVIUM RELIGIONIS  
PRÆFECTUS, FORTITUDINE CLARUIT,  
A VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ PROVINCIÆ DUCE LEGENDUS,  
QUANTA ENITUIT INTEGRITATE,  
10 LONGIORI VITA DIGNUS.  
OBIIT ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXIV, DIE XXXV MENSIS MAIJ,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LIX.  
HOC TANQUAM PRISCÆ VIRTUTIS IMAGINEM,  
VIATOR, ASPICE MONUMENTUM  
15 QUOD, GRAVI CONFUSI DOLORE  
ET MEMORIA BENEFICIORUM IMPULSI,  
DICAVERE NOSTRI NUMERI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Dominique Agricole de Baroncelli de Javon. He always counted evermore friends and never strangers throughout the various duties which he fulfilled. He was a Captain-General of his Religion's ships, whereby he was famous for his valour, franchised by the Prior of the Venerable Tongue of Provence, as much as he stood out by his integrity he was worthy of a much longer life. He died in the Year of Salvation 1764, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of the month of May at the age of 59. Passer-by, behold this monument because it is the image of pristine virtue, which our ranks, distressed by weighty sorrow and urged by the memory of his benefactions, have dedicated.

### 5a - Anna Carlo de Luderti

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO.  
FR(ATER) ANNA CAROLUS DE LUDERTI  
COMMENDARARUM [-----] COMMENDATARIUS,  
MAGNI HOSPITALITarii MUNUS GERENS OLIM,  
5 TRIREMIS REGIMEN, INFIRMORUM CURAM,  
[-----] SIBI IN ORDINE COMMISSA MUNERA  
TUM ZELO, TUM PIETATE, TUM SEDULITATE  
[-----] OB ANIMI RECTITUDINEM,  
MORUM COMITATEM  
10 ET VERAM IN AMICOS BENEVOLENTIAM.  
OMNIBUS APPRIME CARUS,  
HOC MORIENS CINERIBUS  
MONUMENTUM RELIQUIT.  
OBIIT XIII JUNIJ, MDCCLXIV,  
15 ÆTAT(IS) LXX

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Anna Carlo de Luderti, Commendator of the Trusteeships of Des Epaun and Mauleon, once held the office of Grand Hospitaller, the control of a galley, the care of the sick, and was entrusted with many other duties within the Order which he thoroughly performed, sometimes with zeal, sometimes with a sense of duty, sometimes with painstaking attention on account of the rectitude of his mind, the courtesy of his disposition and the true benevolence towards his friends. Extremely dear to all, and on his deathbed he left behind this monument for his remains. He died on 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1764, at the age of 70.

### 113 - Sigismondo Piccolomini

FRATER SIGISMUNDUS PICCOLOMINI,  
PRAECLARISSIMUS PATRICIUS SENENSIS,  
HIEROSOLIMYTANO ORDINI A PRIMA ADOLESCENTIA  
USQUE AD EXTREMUM AETATIS SUAE ANNUM  
SE DEVOVIT.  
5 TRIREMIUM CLASSE PER BIENNIUM MARITIMIS EXPEDITIONIBUS  
IN PELOPONNENSI BELLO CONTRA TURCAS  
STRENUE MILITAVIT.  
OPTIME MERITUS, PRAECEPTORIAM LAMOTTA OBTINUIT.  
PLURIBUS MUNERIBUS LAUDABILITER FUNCTUS,  
10 PRIORATU BARULI DECORATUS,  
PRAECEPTORIAE REDITUS PRAE CAETERIS ADAUXIT,  
PRIORATUM IN PRISTINUM RESTITUENDUM CURAVIT,  
MULIERUM NOSOCOMIO SUMMA CARITATE PRÆFUIT,  
ILLUDQUE DONIS LOCUPLETAVIT.  
15 AMORE ET LARGITATE ERGA ORDINEM NULLI SECUNDUS,  
HIC REQUIESCIT.  
OBIIT VIII IDUS MARTIAS, ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXV,  
AETATIS SUAE LXXXVII.

Frà Sigismondo Piccolomini, a very distinguished nobleman from Siena, devoted himself from early manhood up to the very last day of his life to the Jerusalemite Order. He served tirelessly as a soldier for two years on the fleet of galleys in maritime expeditions in the Peloponnesian War against the Turks. Most meritorious, he obtained the Receptory of Motola, and praiseworthily discharged a multitude of duties, he was graced with the Priory of Barletta, increasing significantly the revenue of its Receptory when compared to others, saw to the restoration of the Priory to its former glory, was in charge, most charitable, of the women's infirmary and enriched it with donations. He, second to none for his love and generosity towards his Order, rests here. He died on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March in the Year of Salvation 1765, at the age of 87.

### 177 - Joseph de Fassion de Sainte-Jay

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOSEPHO FASSION DE SAINTE-JAY,  
ALVERNO JEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS EQUITI,  
COMMENDÆ D'AULOIS PRÆCEPTORI,  
5 VIRO  
SANGUINE, MORIBUS LITERISQUE INLUSTRI  
QUI,  
MARESCALLI VICE PAUPERUM INFIRMARIÆ CURA  
ALIISQUE BELLI ET PACIS MUNERIBUS  
10 EGREGIE PERFUNCTUS,  
OCTOGENARIUS SUI DESIDERIUM RELIQUIT  
VI APRILIS CIOÐCCLXV.  
FRATER CAROLUS PETRUS DE SAINT POL HECOURT,  
EJUSDEM ORDINIS EQUES,  
15 COMMENDÆ DE COULOMIERS PRÆCEPTOR,  
IN PERPETUUM DIUITINÆ AMICITIÆ ARGUMENTUM  
AMICORUM OPTIMO  
LIBENS MOERENSQUE POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Joseph de Fassion de Sainte-Jay, Auvergnian Knight of the Jerusalemite Order, Receptor of the Commandery in Aulois, a man illustrious for his blood-lineage, his character and his learning who, punctiliously discharging, as the Marshal's deputy, the concerns of the infirmary of the poor and other duties in war and peace, left behind, as an octogenarian, regret for his absence on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1765. Frà Charles Pierre de Saint Pol Hecourt, Knight of the aforesaid Order, Receptor of the Commandery at Coulomiers, readily placed this slab in mourning, as an everlasting proof of their long lasting friendship, to the best one of his friends.

### 249 - Christophe Constans

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CHRISTOPHORUS CONSTANS, AQUIS SEXTIIS ORTUS,  
SACRI ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI IN VENERANDAM LINGUAM PROVINCIAE ADLECTUS,  
ANIMI CANDORE MORUMQUE INNOCENTIA  
5 PRAECLARUS,  
HIC QUIESCIT IN PACE  
QUI,  
PRO ANTISTITIS HUIUS BASILICAE  
AD SACRA PERAGENDA LABORIOSO MUNERE  
10 SUMMA RELIGIONE SUMMAQUE ASSIDUITATE  
ET VIGILANTIA SEPTENNIO FUNCTUS,  
SACRIQUE ORDINIS CENSUM DE VALDROME CONSEQUITUS  
AC ALTERUM NARBONAE VIX NACTUS,  
ANNUM AGENS LVI PIE DECESSIT  
15 SEPTIMO IDUS NOVEMBRIS,  
ANNO REPARATAE SALUTIS MDCCLXV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Christophe Constans, born in Aix-en-Provence, admitted into the Venerable Tongue of Provence of the Sacred Jerusalemite Order, very famous for the integrity of his mind and innocence of character, rests here in peace, who, in order to celebrate Mass on behalf of the Bishops of this basilica, fulfilled a laborious duty with the highest reverence, and with minute attention and vigilance over a period of seven years; he acquired the property of the Sacred Order of Valdrome and, with difficulty, obtained another, that of Narbonne. He died piously in his 56<sup>th</sup> year, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November in the Year of Our Salvation 1765.

## 76 - Jacques de Loyac de La Bachellerie

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
LOYACI VITAM ET MORTEM VIS SCIRE, VIATOR?  
CLARUS EQUUS ATAVIS CLARUS EQUUS MERITIS.  
NON TENEBRIS DAMNAVIT OPES, SED LARGIOR IMBRE,  
5 SOLARI INNUMEROS SUEVERAT ILLE INOPES.  
OMNIA NON DIXI. QUIS ENIM QUEAT? ULTIMA DICAM  
FACTA QUIBUS VITAM PERDIDIT ET MERUIT.  
DUM LANGUENTUM ARTUS FOVET IPSE, ÆGRISQUE MEDETUR,  
CONTRAXIT MORBI SEMEN ET INTERIIT.  
10 MORS BONA FELICEM REDDIT, SED ET HUNC BONA VITA,  
FELIX QUI VIXIT TAM BENE ET OCCUBUIT.  
NOBILIS JACOBUS DE LOYACH DE LA BACHELLERIE  
VITAM CLAUSIT DECIMO SEXTO KALENDAS DECEMBRIS  
ANNI MDCCLXV. VIXERAT ANNOS XXVI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Passer-by, do you wish to know about the life and death of Loyac? He was a Knight famous for his ancient lineage, a Knight famous for his merits. He did not condemn his wealth to obscurity, but more replenishing than rain, he had grown accustomed to nurturing the countless needy. I have not revealed everything, for who could? I shall speak about his final achievements, by which he lost his life and deserved another. While he was applying dressings to patients' limbs and nursing the ill, he contracted a disease and died. A good death makes one blessed, but a good life also, happy is he who has lived and died so well. The noble Jacques de Loyac de la Bachellerie finished his life on the 16<sup>th</sup> of November of the year 1765. He had lived just for 26 years.

## 201 - Jean Louis de Guerin de Tencin

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
BAJULIVUS FRATER JOANNES LUDOVICUS  
DE GUERIN DE TENCIN,  
SANCTÆ EULALIÆ COMMENDATORIÆ  
5 MAGISTRALISQUE COMMENDATORIÆ PISCENÆ  
COMMENDATARIUS  
QUI SUSCEPTAM TRIREMUM PRÆFECTURAM  
FORTITUDINE,  
LEGATIONEM IN URBE  
10 CONSILIO,  
VITAM OMNEM  
STUDIO IN ORDINE SUI UTILITATEM  
ILLUSTRAVIT.  
DIEM SUUM OBIIT VI KALENDAS JUNII  
15 ANNI MDCCLXVI.  
MONUMENTUM POSUIT QUI IN CINERIBUS AMICI  
AMICITIAM COLIT.  
COMMENDATOR FRATER PAULE ANTOINE DE VIGUIER.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Bailiff Frà Jean Louis de Guerin de Tencin, Commandator of the Commandery of Sainte-Eulalie and the Magistral Commandery of Piscena who embellished his received Captain-Generalship of the galleys with his strength, an embassy in Rome with his counsel, a whole life with his devotion, for the advantage of the Order. He died on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May of the year 1766. He, who cherishes friendship in the remains of his friend, placed this slab. Commandator Frà Paule Antoine de Viguiet.

## 254 - José Almeyda

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET  
FRATER DOMINUS IOSEPH AB ALMEYDA PORTUGAL,  
E MARCHIONIBUS AB ALORNA,  
5 COMMENDÆ ALGOZO ADMINISTRATOR  
QUI EGREGIIS ANIMI DOTIBUS, OMNES  
BENEFICIIS QUAM PLURIMOS SIBI DEVINXIT.  
ORDINIS SUI STUDIOSISSIMUS,  
OPEROSA MUNIA SÆPISSIME OBIVIT  
10 SUMMA CUM LAUDE,  
TENAX RECTI, CERTUS AMICUS,  
OFFICIOSUS, HOSPES  
IN PAUPERES PROFUSUS,  
HORUM IN SINU  
15 CÆLESTES THESAUROS CONDIDIT,  
QUORUM ET MÆROR ET LUCTUS  
ÆRE PERENNIVS EXEGIT MONUMENTUM.  
FATO CESSIT VII IDUS IUNII,  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXVI, ÆTATIS SUÆ LII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
Here lies Frà Don José Almeyda, from Portugal, from the Marquisses of Alorna, Administrator of the Commandery of Algozo who, with his excellent gifts of the mind, his benefices, endeared himself to everybody, or at least as many as possible. Most devoted to his Order, most often engaged, with the highest merit, in painstaking duties, holding fast to what is morally right, a faithful friend, ready to serve, as a generous host to the poor he placed celestial treasures in their fold, both whose sorrow and grief completed a memorial more perpetual than bronze. He yielded to fate on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June, in the year of the Lord 1766, at the age of 52.

## 238 - Lucio Crescimani

VENERABILI FRATRI LUCIO CRESCIMANI,  
TRIREMIS OLIM DUCI,  
COMENDÆ CAMPI MAGISTRALIS SANCTI JOANNIS A POLIZZI  
ET ALTERIUS  
5 SANCTÆ MARLÆ A SALICE DE FOSSANO COMENDATARIO,  
MAGNI ADMIRATUS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITLÆ  
DIGNITATEM OCCUPANTI,  
CÆLO SATIS MATURO,  
REPENTINA MORTE DEFUNCTO  
10 III IDUS SEPTEMBRIS MDCCLXVI,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXIX ET MENSIS,  
SVI PROPRII EXEQUTOR,  
AMICO DESIDERATISSIMO,  
SEPULCRALEM HUNC LAPIDEM  
15 DEVOTA MEMORIA POSUIT.

To the Venerable Frà Lucio Crescimani, once a Captain of a galley, Commendator of the Commandery of the Magistral estate of San Giovanni in Polizzi, and of another, Santa Maria del Salice in Fossano, holding the rank of Grand Admiral of the Jerusalemite Militia, who, sufficiently prepared for Heaven, died a sudden death on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1766, at the age of 79 years and one month. The executor of his personal properties placed this sepulchral slab for his dearly missed friend, in devout memory.

## 252 - Eustache Médéric Audoard

HIC JACET  
FRATER EUSTACHIUS MEDERICUS AUDOARD MELITENSIS,  
INTER CAPPELLANOS CONVENTUALES  
VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ PROVINCIÆ COOPTATUS,  
5 MORUM HONESTATE PRÆCLARUS  
QUI, SACRARUM TURRIUM CURA  
SUPERQUE FACES DIVINIS  
ADMINISTRANDAS ALTARIBUS PRÆFECTURA  
SIBI DEMANDATIS,  
10 OPTIME PER BIENNIIUM  
HAC IN MAJORI CONVENTUS ECCLESIA EXERCITIS,  
AD SACRI ORDINIS NOSOCOMII  
PRÆSBITERORUMQUE IN ILLO EGRIS INSERVIENTUM  
PRIORATUM EVECTUS,  
15 ATQUE AD DECENNIIUM USQUE CONFIRMATUS,  
IN TANTÆ PIETATIS OFFICIO  
A PLURIES CONTRACTO CONTAGIO NON PERTERRITUS.  
LOETHALIORE DEMUM FEBRE CORREPTUS,  
20 VITAM PRIUS QUAM LABOREM,  
VERA CARITATIS VICTIMA,  
OMNIUM MOERORE DEPOSUIT  
QUARTO NONAS NOVEMBRIS MDCCLXVI, ÆTATIS XXXIX.  
DILECTO FILIO PARENTES BENEMERITI,  
PROFUSIS LACRIMIS, MONUMENTUM POSUERE.

Here lies Frà Eustache Médéric Audoard of Malta, admitted to the company of Conventual Chaplains of the Venerable Tongue of Provence, celebrated for his sincere nature who, after he was made the keeper of the sacred vestry and additionally the candle-keeper of the sacred altars, administered these duties during two years to the best of his abilities, here in the Conventual Church of the Convent. He was promoted to the Priory of the Sacred Order's Infirmary and its Clergy who are devoted to the sick in that place, besides, he was re-appointed in this duty for up to ten years, absolutely not discouraged by regular infections he had contracted in the course of duty of such Christian love. Finally, to everyone's grief, he was swept away by a deadly attack of fever and gave up his life sooner than his work on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1766, at the age of 39, a victim of his very own charity. His meritorious parents placed this slab for their dear son overwhelmed by tears.

325 - Jacques Armand and Nicolas de Vachon Belmont

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER JACOBUS ARMANDUS  
DE VACHON BELMONT,  
COMMENDARUM ARELATENSIS  
5 ET MASSILIENSIS PRÆFECTUS,  
TRIEMIS DUX ELECTUS ANNO MDCCXVI, IN PASSAVENTI  
PUGNA PARI CONSILIO AC FORTITUDINE HOSTIUM  
VIRES AFFLIXIT. QUÆSTOR DESIGNATUS IN PRIORATU  
SANCTI ÆGIDI, PUBLICAM REM TRES ANNOS INDEFESSUS  
10 PROMOVIT. TUM POSTEA AD MAGNI COMMENDATORIS  
AC TANDEM MAGNI PRIORIS TOLOSANI AMPLISSIMOS  
HONORES ERECTUS, CLARIUS VIRTUTIBUS QUAM  
DIGNITATUM ORNAMENTIS EMICUIT. DE ORDINE  
SUO NON MEDIOCRI MUNIFICENTIA BENEMERITUS,  
15 PAUPERTATIS SOLATIUM, AMICORUM DELICIE, CANDORIS  
ET INTEGRITATIS EXEMPLAR, AQUIS SECTIS NATURÆ  
CONCESSIT TERTIO IDUS NOVEMBRIS ANNO MDCCLXVI.  
QUOD AMANTISSIMI PATRUI MEMORIÆ DICAT ET CONSECRAT  
BAJULUS VICTOR NICOLAUS DE VACHON BELMONT  
20 QUI, MAIORIBUS SUI ORDINIS DIGNITATIBUS  
HONESTE FUNCTUS, VIRTUTUM SPLENDORE  
ET MORUM URBANITATE PRÆSTANTIOR  
MERITIS CLARISSIMIS, MELITÆ FATO CESSIT  
20 AUGUSTII ANNO 1807

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Jacques Armand de Vachon Belmont, Prefect of the Commanderies of Arles and Marseilles, elected Captain of a galley in the year 1716, brought down the forces of the enemy in the battle of Passavento with equal strategy and valour. As an indefatigable Treasurer assigned to the Priory of St Gilles, he advanced the Republic for three years. Later on, after he was raised to the highest honours of Grand Commander and his last office, that of Grand Prior of Toulouse, shone forth more brightly by his virtues than by the distinctions of his offices. He, meritorious of his Order for his not inconsiderable generosity, a consolation for poverty, the delight of friends, an example of purity and integrity, died a natural death in Aix-en-Provence on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November in the year 1766. Bailiff Victor Nicolas de Vachon Belmont, who performed honourably the more distinguished offices of his Order, more outstanding for the splendour of his virtues and the sophistication of his character than for his most famous achievements, yielded to fate in Malta on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August in the year 1807. He dedicated and consecrated this slab to the memory of his most beloved uncle.



#### 4 - Joseph Charles de Tressemanes Chastueil

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC QUIESCUNT CINERES FRATRIS JOSEPHI CAROLI DE TRESSEMANES CHASTEVIL,  
COMMENDÆ AQUI SEXTIANÆ PREFECTUS, QUI SUMMA CUM LAUDE PUBLICAM  
REM

5 IN PRIORATU SANCTI EGIDII TRACTAVIT, TUM POSTEA  
PRÆSES LINGUÆ PROVINCIÆ DESIGNATUS,  
EXIMIAS, QUIBUS EMINEBAT, DOTES UBERIUS EXPLICUIT,  
VIR DIGNUS, OB SINCERUM QUO FERVEBAT IN OMNES STUDIUM,  
ANIMI CANDOREM ET GENEROSITATEM ATQUE ETIAM  
10 CONSILII INTEGRITATEM,  
QUI APUD SUOS ET EXTEROS ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ COMMENDETUR.  
QUISQUIS ES VIATOR DUM FRACTA TOT VIRTUTIS  
ORNAMENTA CERNIS FORTIS, COMPESCE LACRYMAS  
ET EADEM IN TE RESTITUERE AUDE.  
15 OBIIT VIGESIMA SECUNDA DIE DECEMBRIS ANNI MDCCLXVI,  
DUM ANNOS ABSOLVERET LXV, MENSES VIII, DIES VII. HOCCE MONUMENTUM  
EQUITES JOSEPH CAROLUS RAIMUNDUS ET ÆMILIANUS  
DE TRESSEMANES CHASTEVIL, EJUS EX FRATRE NEPOTES AMANTISSIMI,  
SIGNUM AMORIS ET PIETATIS IN PATRUM POSUERE.

20 PATENS AMICIS

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are lying at rest the remains of Frà Joseph Charles de Tressemanes Chastueil, Prefect of the Commandery of Aix-en-Provence, who, with the highest merit, took care of the affairs of the Republic in the Priory of Saint-Gilles, while afterwards he was appointed as the Pilier of the Tongue of Provence, in which functions he was outstanding, he deployed his extraordinary talents profusely a distinguished man on account of his sincere compassion for everyone, which he observed with fervour, on account of the purity of his heart and his nobility, and also the integrity of his advice, so that he is immortalized among his peers and outsiders into everlasting memory. Whoever you are, passer-by, as you are observing thoughtfully, still alive, so many shattered distinctions of virtue, hold back your tears and dare to recast them in yourself. He died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of December of the year 1766, completing 65 years, 8 months and 7 days. The Chevaliers Joseph Charles Raymond and Émile de Tressemanes Chastueil, most beloved nephews on his brother's side, placed this as a proof of love and respect for their uncle.

Open for friends...

## 250 - Alex de Binet de Montifroy

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
JACET SUB HOC MARMORE  
FRATER ALEXIUS DE BINET DE MONTIFROY,  
EQUES VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ FRANCLÆ  
5 ET IN PRIORATU AQUITANLÆ COMMENDATARIUS  
QUI, NOBILISSIMÆ HYEROSOLYMITANÆ RELIGIONI ADSCITUS,  
SEMPER SE NOBILITER GESSIT  
DUM LEGES SEMPER LAUDABILITER PERSOLVIT,  
ANNIS PLURIBUS SACRI HOSPITALIS PRÆFECTUS  
10 AC TRIREMIUM CONGREGATIONIS COMISSARIUS,  
CHARACTERISTICA HÆC ORDINIS OFFICIA  
ZELO, PRUDENTIA, INTEGRITATE COMPLEVIT.  
FUIT OMNIBUS GRATUS, OMNES HONESTATE DEVINXIT,  
ETSI NIHIL EGIT EX GRATIA, NEC NISI JURA SERVAVIT,  
15 SOLI DEO PLACERE STUDUIT,  
CUI SICUT RELIGIOSE VIXIT ÆQUE PIE DECESSIT  
DIE XXVIII FEBRUARII ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXVII, ÆTATIS LVI.  
EQUES JOSEPH LUDOVICUS DE BINET DE JASON, NEPOS,  
IN AMORIS TESSERAM HOC APPONI CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Under this marble lies Frà Alex de Binet de Montifroy, Knight of the Venerable Tongue of France and Commendator in the Priory of Aquitaine who, after he was admitted into the Noblest Jerusalemite Religion, always conducted himself nobly, while following its Laws in an exemplary manner, for several years Governor of the Sacred Hospital and Commissioner of the Commission of Galleys, fulfilled these typical duties of the Order with zeal, discretion and integrity. He was dear to everyone, obliged everyone with his honesty, and yet he gave nothing out of favour, not unless it served a justifiable cause, as his only desire was to please God, for whom in the same manner as he devotedly lived, died piously on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of February, in the Year of the Lord 1767, at the age of 56. Chevalier Joseph Louis de Binet de Jason, a nephew, arranged for this slab to be placed as a token of his affection.

## 208 - José de Duenas y Vereterra

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER DOMINUS JOSEPH DE DUENAS ET VERETERRA,  
SANCTI SEPULCHRI E TAURO BAJULIVUS, QUIRIGÆ ET CUBILLAS  
COMMENDATARIUS, ARCIS PENARDIJENSIS IN MAGNO  
5 CASTELLÆ PRIORATU PRÆFECTUS, IN MELITÆ  
HISPANIARUM ET UTRIUSQUE SICILLÆ REGUM  
MINISTER, ANNO 1734 AB HIEROSOLEMITANA  
RELIGIONE PRIMO LEGATUS, ET ITERUM ANNO 1753  
AD UTRIUSQUE SICILLÆ REGEM OB GRAVIORA  
10 IPSIUS RELIGIONIS NEGOTIA EXTRA ORDINEM ORATOR,  
MAGNO MAGISTRO A SECRETIS PRO HISPANIA MULTIS  
FORTITER PRUDENTERQUE GESTIS ANIMI CANDORE,  
EGREGIA IN SUUM ORDINEM VOLUNTATE, PAUPERUM  
PER SINGULOS MENSES LARGE EFFUSEQUE  
15 SUBLEVANDORUM STUDIO, EXIMIUS AD EXTREMUM  
USQUE OBITUS SUI DIEM 4 NONAS MARTIAS  
ANNO 1767, ÆTATIS 77.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Don José de Duenas y Vereterra, Baillif of Santo Sepulcro at Toro, Commendator of Quiroga and Cubellas, Prefect of the stronghold of Peñarroya in the Grand Priory of Castile, in Malta, the Representative of the Kings of Spain and the Two Sicilies, envoy, first, in the year 1734, sent by the Jerusalemite Religion, and, for the second time, in the year 1753, as the ambassador extraordinary for very serious affairs of the Religion itself to King of the Two Sicilies, the Grand Master's Secretary for Spain, administered valiantly and prudently many matters with integrity of mind, excellent disposition towards his Order, and determination to help the poor, lavishly and vastly, every single month. An excellent man to the end, up to the day of his death, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, in the year 1767, at the age of 77.

## 253 - Giovanni Provana

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOSEPHO PROVANA,  
EX COMITIBUS COLENJ IN PEDOMONTIO,  
EQUITI HIEROSOLYMITANO, PROPRIIS NON MINUS QUAM AVITIS  
5 LAUDIBUS ILLUSTRIS,  
INDOLIS PRÆSTANTIA OMNIBUS GRATO,  
SUPREMIS ORDINIS SUA ÆTATE MODERATORIBUS  
MAXIME ACCEPTO,  
EX MAGNI MAGISTRI MANCÆL MUNIFICENTIA  
10 PONTADERÆ CENSU LARGITO,  
VARIIS SUÆ RELIGIONI MUNERIBUS SEDULE FUNCTO  
AC AB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO PINTO PALATII PRÆFECTURA  
DECORATO.  
OBIIT V IDUS NOVEMBRIS MDCCLXVII,  
15 ÆTATIS ANNOS LXIV, MENSES II,  
MONUMENTUM POSUIT  
QUI IN CINERIBUS AMICI AMICITIAM COLIT,  
FRATER PAULUS ANTONIUS DE VIGUIER,  
COMMENDÆ DE MAUSONNES COMMENDATARIUS.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Giovanni Provana, from the Counts of Collegno in the Piedmont, a Jerusalemite Knight, illustrious for his very own not less than for his ancestral merits, everyone's favourite for the pre-eminence of his innate qualities, most dear to the Supreme Masters of the Order in his time, to whom the property of Pontadera was bestowed out of Grand Master Manoel's generosity. He diligently performed a range of duties for his Religion and was honoured by His Eminence, the Grand Master Pinto with the Prefecture of the Palace. He died on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1767, at the age of 64 years and 2 months. Frà Paul Antoine de Viguier, Commendator of the Commandery of Mausonnes, who is cherishing his friendship in the remains of his friend, placed this slab.

## 127 - Bartolomeo Tommasi di Cortona

MORS ULTRA  
NON DOMINABITUR  
  
A XPICTOΩ  
5 BAIULIVUS FRATER BARTHOLOMAEUS, NICOLAI FILIUS, THOMASIVS,  
DOMO CORTONA, URBIS SUAE PATRICIVS,  
HEIC SITVS EST.  
SACRAM EQUITVM HIEROSOLYMITANORVM MILITIAM PROFESSVS,  
EJVSQVE AB ANNO MDCCVIII SERVITIO ADDICTVS,  
10 TERRA MARIQVE DONEC VIXIT,  
OFFICIUM SVVM SVMMA FIDE PRÆSTITIT.  
VIXIT ANNIS LXXIX, MENSES VI, DIES XVIII.  
DEPOSITVS IN PACE CHRISTI DIE XXI MENSIS APRILIS ANNI MDCCLXVIII,  
MORTIS MEMOR,  
HUNC SIBI VIVENS TITVLVM POSVIT.

Death will not reign beyond

Alpha Christ Omega

Here Bailiff Frà Bartolomeo Tommasi, son of Nicolao, of the house of Cortona, a nobleman of his city, is wasting away. Admitted to the Sacred Militia of the Jerusalemite Knights, and from the year 1708 onwards he was dedicated to its service, fulfilling, as long as he lived, his duties on land and sea with the utmost faith. He lived for 79 years, 6 months and 18 days. He, entrusted to Christ's peace on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of April of the year 1768, had placed this inscription, mindful of death, for himself while still alive.

### 56 - Fabrizio Franzone

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MATURUS ANNIS, SED CÆLO MATURIOR,  
HUC TANDEM REQUIESCIT  
FRATER DOMINUS FABRICIUS FRANCONUS,  
5       GENERE, VIRTUTE, NOMINE CLARISSIMUS  
          QUI,  
          TRIREMIS ALIQUANDO DUX,  
          INFIDELI NON SEMEL GENTE SUBACTA,  
          PRO RELIGIONE TRIUMPHAVIT.  
10       INDE  
          SUPREMAM MARIS PRÆFECTURAM  
          ASSEQUUTUS,  
          AMPLISSIMAM DIGNITATEM PARI MUNIFICENTIA  
          DECORAVIT,  
15       DEMUM  
          INSIGNEM SANCTI STEPHANI PRIORATUS  
          DIU GERENS ANTISTITEM,  
          MERITIS PLENUS ET HONORIBUS AUCTUS.  
          DIEM CLAUSIT EXTREMUM VII IDUS MAI,  
20       ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXVII, ÆTATIS LXXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here rests, at last, Frà Don Fabrizio Franzone, ripe in years, now riper for Heaven, most illustrious by noble birth, virtue and repute, who formerly as the Captain of a galley, conquered not only once the Infidels and triumphed on behalf of his Religion. He thereupon obtained the supreme command of the seas, adorning this most honourable position with equal generosity. Finally, while acting for a long time as the outstanding Bailiff of the Priory of Santo Stefano, he, full of merits and honours, was exalted. He ended his last day on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May, in the Year of the Lord 1768, at the age of 77.

### 3 - François Joachim du Saix de Chervé

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI JOACHIMI DE SAIX DE CHERVE,  
EQUITIS VENERABILIS LINGUÆ ARVERNÆ  
AC MAGNI MARESCALLI VICE FUNCTI,  
5       HIC CONDUNTUR EXUVIÆ,  
          CUJUS SINGULARIS MODESTIA,  
          OH, QUANTUM ELUCESCERET  
          SI MELIOR FORTUNA FAVERET.  
          VIXIT ANNOS LXXXIV MENSES IX,  
ACQUIEVIT III NONAS JANUARIJ ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCLXX.  
10       EQUES FRATER HENRICUS ANNA DE ALTOPULLO,  
          IN SUPREMUM PIETATIS OFFICIUM  
          UT PRO IPSO PROQUE SE OMNES PIE DEPRECENTUR,  
          AMICO CARISSIMO MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here are buried the remains of Frà François Joachim du Saix de Chervé, Knight of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne, Vice-Grand Marshal, whose exemplary unassuming conduct, oh, would have been so much illuminating if only a better fate had favoured him. He lived to an age of 84 years and 9 months, he died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January in the Year of Redemption 1770. Chevalier Frà Enrico Anna de Altopullo, on the superior duty of Christian beneficence, placed this slab for his dearest friend, in order that everyone might pray devotedly for him and themselves.

## 117 - Domenico Antonio Chyurlia

DEO UNI TRINO.  
FRATRI DOMINICO ANTONIO CHYURLIA,  
EXIMIA IN PAUPERES LIBERALITATE,  
SUMMO ANIMI CANDORE AC MIRA COMITATE  
5 PRÆCLARO,  
VITÆ INNOCENTIA, INGENIO AC ERUDITIONE CLARISSIMO,  
QUI,  
SINGULIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIÆ GRADIBUS SOLLERTER EMENSIS,  
TRIREMIS JAM PRIDEM DUX, MOX INTER EJUSDEM ORDINIS  
10 PROCERES COOPTATUS,  
SUPREMUS INDE THALASSIARCA,  
DEMUM INSIGNEM SANCTI STEPHANI PRIORATUM VIX NACTUS,  
QUA DECET RELIGIOSUM MILITEM CONSTANTIA ET PIETATE.  
EX VITA MIGRAVIT PRIDIE NONAS FEBRUARIAS, ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXX,  
15 ÆTATIS ANNOS LXVIII, MENSES IV, DIES XXI,  
ACERBO DIUTURNOQUE MORBO FORTITER ATQUE  
INCREDIBILI PATIENTIA TOLERATO.  
MARCHIO PASCHALIS  
ET FRATER LAURENTIUS, EQVES HIEROSOLYMITANUS, FRATRI SUAVISSIMO,  
20 COMES NICOLAUS ET EQVES FRATER VINCENTIUS, FRATRIS FILII,  
INSEPLTI DOLORIS MONUMENTUM  
PATRUO BENE MERENTI  
POSUERUNT.

To God, One Trinity.

For Frà Domenico Antonio Chyurlia, illustrious for his extraordinary generosity towards the poor, intense purity of heart and remarkable courtesy, most celebrated for his innocence of life, moral fibre and sophistication who, after he had skilfully passed through every single rank of the Jerusalemite Militia, long since Captain of a galley, next, chosen among the leading Nobles of the aforesaid Order, thence Admiral, at last, obtaining with difficulty the distinguished Priory of Santo Stefano, which place is becoming for a Religious Knight with perseverance and observance. He departed from life on the 4<sup>th</sup> of February, in the Year of the Lord 1770, at the age of 68 years, 4 months and 21 days, after he had endured bravely and with incredible patience a virulent and long lasting illness. The Marquis Pasquale and Frà Lorenzo, Knight of Jerusalem, for their most agreeable brother, the comrade-in-arms Nicola and Chevalier Frà Vincenzo, sons of Domenico's brother, for their meritorious paternal uncle, set up this cenotaph of sorrow.

## 90 - Giuseppe d'Andrea

TERRÆ  
MARIQUE

DEO UNI TRINO.  
FRATRI JOSEPHO DE ANDREA,  
PATRITIO CALATA HIERONENSI,  
5 PROBITATE, PRUDENTIA AC HUMANITATE  
PRÆSTANTI,  
INTER PROCERES MAGNÆ CRUCIS  
SACRÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIÆ  
10 COOPTATO,  
QUI, SUI ORDINIS PANORMITANA QUÆSTURA  
SOLLERTER FUNCTUS,  
CENSUM SAXO FERRATENSEM EX MAGNI MAGISTRI  
LARGITIONE ADEPTUS,  
15 ALIUMQUE JURE SUO CONSECRUTUS,  
TERTIUM BORRÆ SYRACUSARUM PROPRIIS  
SUMPTIBUS AC DILIGENTIA RECUPERAVIT,  
AUCTIS DIVITIIS MINIME COR ADJICIENS,  
SIBI PARCUS UT SUÆ RELIGIONI SERVARET,  
20 NON EXIGUAS OPES EIDEM CUMULAVIT.  
ADQUE PIAS OPERAS CONSPICUO ÆRE LEGATO,  
ANNUM AGENS LXXVI ACQUIEVIT IN PACE  
VI IDUS FEBRUARII ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS  
MDCCLXX.

On land  
and at sea

To God, One Trinity.

For Frà Giuseppe d'Andrea, a nobleman of Caltagirone, superior by his righteousness, prudence and kindness, admitted to the company of Nobles of the Grand Cross of the Sacred Jerusalemite Militia, who was expertly engaged in the Order's Treasury of Palermo, obtained the property of Sassoferrato through the Grand Master's generosity, and pursued another by his right, he restored with diligence a third one, to the north of Syracuse, at his very own expense, although he had enlarged it riches, he did not set his heart on it at all, frugal as he was, in order to set aside reserves for his Religion, gathering not a small fortune for the aforesaid Order. After he had bequeathed a substantial amount for good works, he came to rest in peace at the age of 76, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of February, in the Year of Redemption 1770.

## 78 - Jacques François Picot de Combreux

NULLUS EXTINGUIT.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATRI JACOBO FRANCISCO PICOT DE COMBREUX,  
PRIORATUS FRANCLÆ ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI BAJULIVO,

5 VIRO PROBO AC MODERATISSIMO,  
QUI, REI NAVALIS PERITIA ILLUSTRIS,  
BELLICIS SUI ORDINIS NAVIBUS

PRÆFECTUS,

CONSPICUO MUNERE PARI VIRTUTE

10 PERFUNCTUS,

OBIIT DIE III SEPTEMBRIS ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXXI,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXV, MENSES VII.

No one destroys the soul

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Jacques François Picot de Combreux, Bailiff of the Priory of France of the Order of Jerusalem, an upright and extremely modest man, who, distinguished in the understanding of naval matters, the Lieutenant General of the warships of his Order, punctiliously performed his illustrious duty, suiting his virtue. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of September in the Year of the Lord 1771, at the age of 75 years and 7 months.

## 67 - Antonio Scudero

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

FRATRI ANTONIO SCUDERO,  
ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANIS,  
MAGNO PRIORI NAVARRAE,  
PIENTISSIMO, RELIGIOSISSIMO,

5 INVICTI ANIMI NAVARCHO

EMMANUEL DE ROHAN

ET VICTOR BELMONT,

BAJULIVI ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANIS,

AMICO OPTIMO ET INCOMPARABILI

10 MOERENTES POSUERUNT.

VIXIT ANNOS LXXXI.

OBIIT III NONAS FEBRUARI

ANNI MDCCLXXI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Antonio Scudero, Grand Prior of Navarra of the Order of Jerusalem, most dutiful, most conscientiousness, the captain of an unconquerable mind. He lived for 81 years. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February of the year 1771. Emanuel de Rohan and Victor Belmont, Bailiffs of the Order of Jerusalem, placed this slab while mourning for their best and incomparable friend.



## 256 - Gregorio and Celestino Casha

QUID SI RESTITIT AUSTRO?

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
FRATRI GREGORIO CASHA MELITENSI,  
SANCTÆ HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITÆ SACERDOTI  
5                      ET PER ANNOS XLVII  
IN SUPREMO GRAMMATOPHYLACIO  
A SECRETIS,  
PRINCIPIBUS, OPTIMATIBUS, SOCIIS  
OB INCORRUPTAM FIDEM,  
10                      SUMMAM LINGUARUM  
SANCTIONUMQUE ORDINIS  
PERITIAM  
ET EX TEMPORE ACUTA RESPONSA  
NON PARUM ACCEPTO,  
15                      PIO, PRUDENTI, PERFRUGI,  
IN EGENOS LIBERALI,  
CIVIBUS FACILI ET AMICO,  
QUEM  
RELIGIOSA MORS  
20                      DIUTINIS DISTENTUM CURIS  
ÆTERNA QUIETE DONANDUM SUSCEPIT  
XVII KALENDAS MAJ ANNI CIDIÖCCLXXI,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXVI,  
FRATER COELESTINUS, JURIS UTRIUSQUE DOCTOR,  
25                      ORDINIS CONCILIO A COMMENTARIIS,  
FRATRIS FILIUS ET ALUMNUS  
MOERENS POSUIT.  
  
IDEM FRATER COELESTINUS CASHA,  
EIVSDEM ORDINIS IN CÆTU ARAGONENSI  
30                      PRIOR NAVARRÆ COOPTATUS  
ET PROCURATOR FISCALIS,  
HEIC CUM PATRUO CARISSIMO  
REQUIESCIT.  
OBIIT XVI KALENDAS MAJI MDCCLXXIX,  
35                      ÆTATIS ANNOS L, MENSES I, DIES XXVIII.

What if he resisted the south?

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

For Gregorio Casha of Malta, priest of the Sacred Militia of Jerusalem and for 47 years the Secretary at the main archives, accountable to the Princes, dignitaries, companions due to his untainted faith, his premier expertise of the Order's languages and laws, nay, not less for his immediately intelligent response, pious, prudent, praiseworthy, generous to the needy, courteous and a friend to his fellow citizens. Pious Death caught up with him when he was tortured by enduring pains, granting eternal repose on the 14<sup>th</sup> of April of the year 1771, at the age of 76. Frà Celestino, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, Commentator of the Order's Council, son of his brother and protégé, placed this slab in tears.

The same Frà Celestino Casha, elected Prior of Navarre and Fiscal Procurator in the Aragonese assembly of the aforesaid Order, rests here with his most beloved paternal uncle. He died on the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1779, at the age of 50 years, 1 month and 28 days.

## 9 - Marcello Cavaniglia

PRO FIDE

A XPICTOC Ω  
FRATRI MARCELLO CAVANIGLIA,  
5 PATRICIO NEAPOLITANO, BAIVLIVO TAVRINI,  
VITAE INTEGRITATE SEMPER OMNIBVS  
SPECTATISSIMO, PAVPERUM ET AEGRORVM  
PERAMANTI ADMINISTRO, IN CHRISTIANOS  
CAPTIVOS BENEFICENTISSIMO, BONORVMQVE  
10 COMMENDATORVM ADMINISTRATORI  
EXIMIO, VENERANDI PROCVRATORES VENERANDI COMMVNIS  
AERARI.  
EQVITVM SANCTI IOANNIS IEROSOLYMITANI, HOC  
MONVMENTVM  
15 EQVITI AEMVLANDO ORDINISQVE  
STVDIOSISSIMO PONI IVSSERVNT.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXXIX, MENSES VIII, DIES XXIIIX,  
OBIIT XVI KALENDAS MARTIAS  
ANNI CIJCCCI XXII

## For Faith

Omega

For Frà. Marcello Cavaniglia, a Neapolitan nobleman, Bailiff of Turin, always most respected by everyone for the integrity of his life, an affectionate attendant to the poor and sick, very generous towards Christian captives, and an excellent administrator of the Commendators' estates. The Venerable Procurators of the Venerable Common Treasury of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem ordered this slab to be placed for a Knight very much devoted to the Order, commendable for emulation. He lived for 79 years, 8 months, and 28 days. He died on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February of the year 1772.

## 74 - Giovanni Filippo Marucelli

DEO CREATORI ET REDEMPTORI.  
BAJULIVUS FRATER IOANNES PHILIPPUS MARUCELLI FLORENTINUS,  
PLURIBUS PRÆCLARISQUE SUI ORDINIS HONORIBUS COHONESTATUS,  
DUCTOR UNIUS TRIREMIS,  
5 MAGISTRATUI QUI NAVIUM BELLICARUM  
AC TRIREMII REGIMINI PRÆSES COOPTATUS,  
UTRIQUE CLASSI PRÆFECTUS SUMMUS,  
UNUS EX QUATUOR VIRIS REI BELLICÆ UNIVERSÆ PROCURANDE PRÆPOSITUS,  
GLORIAM IN EXIGUO MARMORE NON QUÆRENS,  
10 OSSA CINERESQUE TEGENDAS  
ADHUC VIVENS CURAVIT  
ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLV,  
OBIIT DIE 28 FEBRUARI 1772.

To God, Creator and Redeemer.

Bailiff Frà Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, a Florentine, honoured with numerous and distinguished offices of his Order, Captain of a galley, who was elected President of the Commission of Sailing Ships and the Commission of Galleys, the highest Commander of either fleet, one of the four men entrusted with the command of the entire War Council. While he did not ask for the glory on this small marble cover, still, he took care, while alive, to cover his bones and ashes in the Year of Salvation 1755. He died on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of February 1772.

## 142 - Jeronimo de Ribas Boxados

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
PRECE SODALIVM NE VACET ANIMUS,  
HUNC TUENDÆ MEMORIÆ LAPIDEM  
MAGNO JAM CATALAUNÆ PRIORI  
5 FRATRI DOMINO HIERONYMO DE RIBAS BOXADOS,  
MULTIS CLARISQUE IN ORDINEM MERITIS,  
IN CREDITIS MAXIME FIDEI SUÆ MINISTERIIS,  
BONIS OMNIBUS ACCEPTISSIMO,  
10 VENERANDUS BAJULIVUS FRATER DOMINUS ANTONIUS DE RIBAS CASTELLBELL,  
DEFUNCTI PRONEPOS,  
ÆTERNÆ SUORUM FELICITATI STUDENS,  
POSUIT DICAVITQUE  
III KALENDAS MARTII, ANNO MDCCLXXII,  
AB OBITU ANNO L.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Should his soul remain without a prayer of his fellows, this slab conserves the memory of the then Grand Prior of Catalonia Frà Don Jeronimo de Ribas Boxados, most dear to all good people for his many and illustrious services to the Order, especially in the Bailiwicks entrusted to his care. The Venerable Bailiff Frà Don Antonio de Ribas y Castellbell, great-nephew of the deceased, while striving for the eternal prosperity of his properties, placed and dedicated this slab on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1772, 50 years after his death.

## 87 - Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas d'Aups

D(EO) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO).  
FR(ATRI) JOHANNI JOSEPHO CIMONE DE BLACAS D'AUPS,  
COMMENDAE NICAËNSIS VEN(ERANDAE) LIN(GUAE) PROVINCIAE  
COMMENDATARIO,  
5 QUI,  
EXACTIS INCLYTI SUI ORDINIS OFFICIIS,  
EXPLETA OMNI LAUDE CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS  
EQUITATUS PEDITATUSQUE PRAEFECTURA,  
TANDEM, IN PIO FRATRUM COMPLEXU  
10 VITAM DARE AVENS, HUC SE RECEPIT  
ET XI KAL(ENDAS) JULIAS, A(NNO) R(EPARATAE) S(ALUTIS) CIOIOCCCLXXII,  
AETATIS LXXI,  
DECESSIT,  
VEN(ERANDUS) BAJUL(IVUS) FR(ATER) ANTON(IUS) DE BLACAS D'AUPS  
15 FRATRI GERMANO, OPTIME MERITO, M(ONUMENTUM) P(OSUIT).

To God, Supreme and Almighty

The Venerable Bailiff Frà Antoine de Blacas d'Aups, placed this slab for his most meritorious brother, Frà Jean Joseph Simon de Blacas d'Aups, Commendator of the Commandery of Nice of the Venerable Tongue of Provence, who, after he had conducted offices for his famous Order, fulfilled his Generalship of foot and horse with every praise of the Most Christian King. From this last office, earnestly desiring to die in the pious embrace of his Brethren, he retired to Malta and died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, in the Year of Redemption 1772, at the age of 71.

## 262 - Alexandre Eleonor le Metayer de la Haye

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MARMOREO SUB HOC LAPIDE CINERES ET OSSA  
RECUMBUNT FRATRIS ALEXANDRI ELEONORI  
LE METAYER DE LA HAYE LE COMTE,  
5 EX ANTIQUA ET EGREGIA GENTE NORMANNA  
ORIUNDI, VENERANDI PRIORATUS FRANCLÆ EQUITIS, DE VILLE DIEU  
LES POELES ET LE BAILLEUL COMMENDATARIIL.  
IN SUI ORDINIS TAM RELIGIOSIS QUAM  
MILITARIBUS OFFICIIS VITAM CONSUMPSIT,  
10 SACRUM HOSPITALE PER ANNOS VI  
RELIGIOSISSIME GESSIT, SANCTÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ NAVEM  
PLURIBUS ANNIS HONORIFICE DUXIT,  
OB ANIMI DOTES ET LIBERALITATEM  
DE MULTIS BENE MERITUS FUIT, CUNCTIS  
15 AMATUS, ÆSTIMATUS, DESIDERATUS, CITIUS  
OBIIT DIE V IULII ANNO DOMINI 1772,  
ÆTATIS AUTEM SUÆ 65.  
  
FRANCISCUS CONSTANTIUS CAMPION DE MONT POIGNANT,  
VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ FRANCLÆ EQUES, PATERNA MATERNAQUE  
20 STIRPE CONSANGUINEUS EIUS, IN ÆTERNAM  
SUI AMORIS ET BENE FACTORUM MEMORIAM HOC  
MONUMENTUM FIERI CURAVIT.

### To God, Supreme and Almighty

Under this marble slab lie the ashes and bones of Frà Alexandre Eleonor Count of Le Metayer de la Haye, descending from an ancient and distinguished family of Normandy, Knight of the Venerable Priory of France, Commendator of Villedieu-les-Poêles and Villedieu-les-Baileul. He spent his life in religious as well as in military duties of his Order, governed the Sacred Hospital for six years with the utmost devotion, honourably commanded for several years a ship of the Sacred Jerusalemite Religion, he was truly meritorious for his gifts of the mind and his generosity to the many, dear, esteemed, appreciated by everyone, he died before long on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of July in the Year of the Lord 1772, barely at the age of 65.

François Constantine Campion de Mont Poignant, Knight of the Venerable Tongue of France, his blood-relative by paternal and maternal lineage, arranged for this slab to be made for the eternal memory of his affection and good works.

### 30 - Gilbert Montaignac Bord and Gabriel de Montaignac Chauvance

DEO UNI TRINO  
FRATRI GUALBERTO MONTAIGNAC BORD,  
ANTIQUA ARVERNORUM FAMILIA,  
DOLÆ ET SELLES EQUITI COMMENDATARIO,  
5 INTER HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS PROCERES ADSRIPTO,  
MARESCALLI AMPLISSIMO MUNERE ORNATO  
IN VICTORIÆ SOLLEMNIS DE MORE CELEBRANIS,  
EMINENTISSIMI MAGNI MAGISTRI EMMANUELIS PINTO  
VICE HONORIFICENTISSIME FUNCTO,  
10 QUI IN MAXIMA DIGNITATE ET COPIA  
MODERATIONE AC BENEFICENTIA USUS.  
QUAM FUERIT CARUS ORDINI ET CIVIBUS  
LACRIMIS ET MOERORE FUNERIS INDICATUM EST.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXXVIII, MENSES XI, DIES VIII.  
15 OBIIT NONIS DECEMBRIBUS, ANNO REPERATÆ SALUTIS MDCCLXXII.

FRATER GABRIEL DE MONTAIGNAC CHAUVANCE,  
EQUES HIEROSOLYMITANUS, COMMENDATOR SANCTI POL ET ARBOIS,  
MAGNUS ALVERNÆ PRIOR,  
GERMANO FRATRI BENEMERENTI,  
20 QUOCUM CONJUNCTISSIME VIXERAT,  
MONUMENTUM SIBIQUE COMMUNE SEPULCRUM VIVENS POSUIT.

OBIIT DIE XIX APRILIS ANNO MDCCLXXIX,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXXI, MENSES IX.

To the Lord, One of Three.

For Frà Gilbert Montaignac Bord, from an old family of the Auvergne, Knight Commendator of Dola and Selles, included among the Notables of the Order of Jerusalem, honoured with the most distinguished rank of Marshal in the solemn celebrations of victory according to custom, serving most honourably as the Lieutenant of His Most Eminent Grand Master Emmanuel Pinto, who used moderation and kindness with the utmost dignity and ability. How dear he was to the Order and the citizens was shown by the grief and sorrow at the funeral. He lived for 78 years, 11 months and 8 days. He died on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December, in the Year of Our Redemption 1772.

Frà Gabriel de Montaignac Chauvance, Knight of Jerusalem, Commendator of Saint-Pol and Arbois, Grand Prior of the Auvergne, placed while still alive this slab as a common grave for his meritorious brother, with whom he had lived most closely together, and for himself.

He died on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of April, in the year 1779, at the age of 81 years and 9 months.

### 216 - Emmanuel Pinto da Fonseca

FRATER DOMINUS EMMANUELI PINTO,  
HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS MAGNUS MAGISTER,  
REXIT ANNOS XXXII,  
UIXIT ANNOS XCII,  
5 OBIIT MDCCLXXIII.

AMOR GRATE POSUIT

Frà Don Emmanuel Pinto, Grand Master of the Jerusalemite Order, ruled for 32 years, lived for 92 years, died in 1773. Affection placed this monument in gratitude.

## 6 - Didaco Mario Gargallo

CÆTERIS PARCE RAPTIS

FRATER DIDACUS MARIUS GARGALLO,  
PATRICIUS SYRACUSANUS,  
ORDINIS MILITARIS  
5 SANCTI JOANNIS IN HIERUSALEM  
BAJULIVUS AD HONORES,  
PIETATE, JUSTITIA, SOBRIETATE  
COMMENDABILIS,  
QUI  
10 AUGUSTAE QUAESTORIS AERARII  
MESSANAE PRIORATUS OFFICIIS  
MILITARIBUS ET CIVICIS  
IN CONVENTU PERFUNCTUS,  
ANNO SALUTIS HUMANAЕ MDCCLXXIV,  
15 AETATIS SUAE LXXII,  
PERCULSUS MORTIS ICTU,  
JACET HIC CONDITUS,  
PERFECTIONEM EXSPECTANS.

Have mercy upon those others, carried off by force

Frà Didaco Mario Gargallo, a Syracusan nobleman, Honorary Bailiff of the Military Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, worthy of praise for his observance, justice, sobriety who punctiliously fulfilled in the Convent the military and civil duties of Treasurer of the Priory of Venerable Messina. He was struck by the blow of Death in the Year of Redemption 1774, at an age of 72. He lies buried here, waiting for his perfection.

## 5 - Ludovico Marescotti

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
DUM INGREDERIS,  
ORA PRO ANIMA  
5 FRATRIS LUDOVICI MARESCOTTI,  
DOMINI MONTIS ALBANI,  
PATRICII SENENSIS,  
BAJULIVI AD HONOREM  
SACRÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ.  
10 OBIIT ANNO MDCCLXXIV, DIE 28 FEBRUARIJ  
VIXIT ANNOS LXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

As you are passing by, pray for the soul of Frà Ludovico Marescotti, Seignior of Montalbano, a Sienese nobleman, Honorary Bailiff of the Religion of Jerusalem. He died in the year 1774, on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of February. He lived for 68 years.

### 397- Kaspar Fidel von Schönau

SERVANDÆ  
DIGNÆ ÆTERNITATE MEMORIÆ  
EQUITIS INCLYTI  
ORDINI GENTIQUE CARISSIMI  
5 FRATRIS GASPARIS FIDELIS  
E BARONIBUS DE SCHONAU A WERH  
QUI, CLARUS TITULIS  
BAJULIVUS AD HONORIS COMMENDÆ SANCTI JOANNIS BASSEL ET DORLISHEIM  
CRON WEISSEMBOURG ET BRUYALL,  
10 MAGNI ITEM BAIULIVI MAGNIQUE DACIÆ PRIORIS,  
CONDECORATUS OFFICIIS  
ET PRO SACRA CESAREA MAJESTATE ET PRO AUGUSTA  
REGINA APOSTOLICA APUD ORDINEM LEGATI  
ALIISQUE CONUENTIBUS PER ANNOS XL MULTIS ET EGREGIIS,  
15 AMABILIS DEMUM  
INDOLIS SUAUITATE, ANIMI HUMANITATE,  
MORUM PROBITATE,  
AMPLORIBUS DIGNITATIBUS SIBI OCCURRENTIBUS  
SUMMO OMNIUM MCERORE EREPTUS EST III IDUS NOVEMBRIS  
20 ÆTATIS ANNOS LXXV REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCLXXIV.

The precious memory of this illustrious Knight, most dear to the Order and Gentry, ought to be preserved for eternity. Frà Kaspar Fidel from the Barons of Schönau from Wehr who, illustrious for the titles of Honorary Bailiff of the Commandery of Saint John in Basel and Dörlisheim, Wissembourg and Bruchsal, similarly of Grand Bailiff and Grand Prior of Dacia, was adorned with the offices of envoy on behalf of both the Sacred Caesarean Majesty and for the Venerable Apostolic Queen to the Order, and many other and distinguished covenants during 40 years. Finally, appreciated for the pleasantness of his nature, kindness of his heart and integrity of his character, when more exalted graces were presented to himself, he was, with the deepest grief of everyone, carried off on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November in the Year of Salvation 1774, at the age of 75.

## 258 - Carlo Farrugia

FRATRI CAROLO FARRUGIA, IURIS CANONICI DOCTORI MELITENSI,  
VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ITALIÆ PRESBYTERO COMMENDATO,  
MAGNORUM MAGISTRORUM FRATRUM EMANUELI PINTO ET FRANCISCI XIMENEZ  
AUDITORIS ET AB EPISTOLIS MUNERIBUS  
5 PER ANNOS XXX EGREGIE FUNCTO,  
IN AGENDIS EQUITUM ORDINIS SUI CAUSIS  
IURISPRUDENTIA, ERUDITIONE ET FACUNDIA  
PRÆSTANTISSIMO,  
SPIRITUS PRÆSENTIA ALIISQUE ANIMI DUTIBUS  
10 ORNATISSIMO  
QUI, GRAVI ET PERTINACI MORBO CONFECTUS,  
MAGNUM SUI DESIDERIUM OMNIBUS RELIQUIT  
III NONAS FEBRUARII ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCLXXV,  
FRATER VINCENTIUS BOSIUS, ORDINIS EIUSDEM  
15 AC LINGUÆ PRESBYTER,  
AVUNCULO PIENTISSIMO  
ET BENEMERENTI MONUMENTUM POSUIT.

For Frà Carlo Farrugia of Malta, Doctor of Canon Law, a priest enjoined to the Venerable Tongue of Italy, excellently performed during 30 years the duties of Auditor and Secretary of Grand Masters Frati Emmanuel Pinto and Francesco Ximenez, he was most supreme on account of his jurisprudence, erudition and eloquence in processing claims of the Knights of his Order, most richly adorned with presence of mind and other gifts of intellect who, consumed by a serious and chronic disease, left behind great regret for his absence in everyone on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February in the Year of Salvation 1775. Frà Vincenzo Bosio, Priest of the same Order and Tongue, placed this slab for his most dutiful and meritorious paternal uncle.



## 114 - Johann Baptist von Schauenburg

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ET MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ  
FRATRIS JOHANNIS BAPTISTÆ DE SCHAVVENBURG,  
LIBERI BARONIS AB HERLESHEIM,  
5 QUI,  
IN HIEROSOLYMITANUM ORDINEM ANNO MDCCIV COOPTATUS,  
MILITÆ GRADIBUS EMENSIS,  
MAGNUS BAJULIVUS,  
MOX MAGNUS PRIOR, SANCTI ROMANI IMPERII PRINCEPS IN HEITERSHEIM,  
10 HAMBACHII, BUBIGHEIM ET NEVVENBURG DYNASTES  
AC SUPREMUS IN GERMANIA MAGISTER EFFECTUS EST.  
PER ANNOS ETIAM XVIII INTER TRIREMIUM IV VIROS PRIMUS  
CLASSIS PRÆFECTUS DESIGNATUS  
A MAGNO MAGISTRO PINTO, COMMENDATOR DE VILLINGEN RENUNTIATUS  
15 AC ÆRARIJ CURATORIBUS EST ADSRIPTUS,  
PLURIBUS MUNERIBUS CUM LAUDE FUNCTUS  
IN SUMMA DIGNITATE ET AMPLITUDE.  
DE INTERITU COGITANS,  
VIVENS SIBI LOCUM PARAVIT  
20 ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCLXXIII, ÆTATIS LXXII.  
OBIIT DIE VI MARTIJ ANNO MDCCLXXV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty, and to the eternal memory of Frà Johann Baptist von Schauenburg, Baron of Herrlisheim, who was admitted to the Jerusalemite Order in the year 1704, and passing through each and every rank of the Militia, he procured the dignities of Grand Bailiff soon after Grand Prior, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, the dynasties of Heitersheim, Hambach, Bubikon and Neuchâtel, and Supreme Master in Germany. Besides, he was during eighteen years the President of the Commission of Four of the Galleys, chosen by Grand Master Pinto as the Captain-General of the fleet, announced as the Commendator of Villingen and received among the Curators of the Treasury, admirably carrying out these numerous duties with the greatest distinction and excellence. Reflecting on his death, he prepared his grave when he was still alive in the Year of Salvation 1773, at the age of 72. He died on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of March 1775.

## 285 - Miguel Doz

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
MEMORLÆ ÆTERNÆ  
MICHAELIS DOZ,  
MAGNI AMPOSTÆ CASTELLANI,  
5                      QUI  
AVITUM GENUS PRÆCLARISSIMIS  
ANIMI DOTIBUS SUPERAVIT  
IN SUMMA AMPLITUDE  
RARA VIRTUS ET INCORRUPTA FIDES.  
10                      ORDINI SUO QUOAD VIXIT ADDICTUS,  
SEDULA OPERA ATQUE STUDIO  
OMNIA OFFICIA PRÆSTITIT,  
JUSTUS, INTEGER, RELIGIOSUS,  
MAGNANIMUS  
15                      ET SINE FASTU BENEFICUS,  
BONIS OMNIBUS  
SUI DESIDERIO RELICTO,  
ACQUIEVIT IN PACE  
III KALENDAS MAJI ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXXVI,  
20                      ÆTATIS LXXI, MENSES I, DIES XXI.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

To the eternal memory of Miguel Doz, Grand Castellan of Amposta, who surpassed his ancestral birth with his supreme gifts of the mind, rare virtue and unblemished faith, to the highest extent. He was devoted to his Order as long as he lived. He showed, and that with zeal, painstaking toil at all his duties, just, pure, pious, generous and beneficent without disdain, leaving behind regret for his absence in all noble men. He rested in peace on 29<sup>th</sup> April, in the Year of the Lord 1776, at the age of 71, 1 month and 21 days.

## 261 - Giuseppe Reitano

FRATER JOSEPHUS REJTANO, VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ITALLÆ, SANCTÆ RELIGIONIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ  
PRESBYTER CONVENTUALIS, PER TREDECIM ANNOS  
DICTÆ VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ A SECRETIS, COMMENDATOR SANCTORUM EGIDII,  
5                      CYPRIANI ET GENESII IN MAGNO PRIORATU URBIS,  
NEC NON SANCTI JOSEPHI, PLATLÆ, MAZZARENI ET  
BUTERÆ IN MESSANENSI, HUIUS POSTREMI  
MAGNI PRIORATUS, VICARIUS GENERALIS  
IN SPIRITUALIBUS ET TEMPORALIBUS  
10                      ET EMINENTISSIMIS MAGNIS MAGISTRIS XIMENES DE TEXADA  
ET DE ROHAN AUDITOR,  
IN HAC LACRIMARUM VALLE NATUS  
8 IUNII 1697, ET 9 DECEMBRIS 1776  
DISCESSIT AB EA.  
ORENT PRO EO.

Frà Giuseppe Reitano, of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, Conventual Priest of the Sacred Jerusalemite Religion, was for 13 years the Secretary of the said Venerable Tongue, Commendator of Saint-Gilles, of San Cipriano and San Geneso in the Grand Priory of Rome, and also of San Giuseppe, Platania, Mazzarino and Butera in the Messinian Grand Priory, then of the latter Grand Priory itself. Vicar-General in spiritual and Auditor in secular matters for both the Most Eminent Grand Masters Ximenez de Texada and De Rohan. He was born in this valley of tears on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June 1697, from which he departed on the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1776. Let them pray for him.

## 197 - Barthélemy de Bar

AU FEU, AU FEU

AD TE LEVAVI ANIMAM MEAM

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO

BAJULIVUS FRATER BARTHOLOMAEUS DE BAR,  
STIRPE ANTIQUISSIMA ORTUS BITURIGENSI  
5 ALTERO AB HINC SÆCULO IN NIVERNIENSI PROVINCIA COMMEMORATIONE,  
AC RERUM PATRIÆ SCRIPTORUM CONSENSU,  
AB LOTHARINGIÆ ET BARRI DUCUM NATU MINORIBUS PROGNATA  
AMPLISSIMISQUE IN GALLIA COGNATIONIBUS PRÆCLARA,  
10 PLURIBUS EJUSDEM REGNI ILLUSTRUM CAPITULORUM CANONICIS  
AC HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITIÆ EQUITIBUS INTER ARVERNOS EXORNATA,  
QUI, MAJORUM GLORIAM ÆMULATUS,  
SUB CHRISTIANISSIMI REGIS AUSPICIIS  
PER ANNOS XVIII STIPENDIA MERUIT,  
15 EQUITATUS PRÆFECTUS, MULTIS OBSIDIONIBUS  
PRÆLIISQUE STRENUE INTERFUIT,  
LEGIONE OBLATA, MALUIT ORDINI SUO OFFICIA PRÆSTARE,  
ANNO MDCCLXI  
AD MELITENSIS CLASSIS PRÆFECTURAM DELECTUS,  
20 BIENNIO MAXIMO OMNIUM PLAUSU EGREGIE FUNCTUS EST,  
A MAGNO MAGISTRO EMINENTISSIMO PINTO COMMENDATOR DE LA CROIX MUNERATUS,  
ALTERA DE CHANTRAINE SUO JURE NACTUS,  
TOT RERUM GESTARUM GLORIA CLARISSIMUS,  
HUMANÆ CADUCITATIS MEMOR,  
25 VIVENS NOVISSIMA COGITANS,  
PROPRIIS CONDENDIS EXUVIIS LOCUM PARAVIT  
ANNO REPARATÆ SALUTIS MDCCLXXVII.

Fire, fire!

I have elevated my soul to You

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Bailiff Frà Barthélemy de Bar, descending from a very ancient lineage of Bordeaux, the other lineage from the area of Nevers, since time immemorial, and in agreement with the historians of the fatherland, a lineage derived from the secondary branch of the Dukes of Lotharingen and Bar and famous for the lineage of most distinguished kinsmen in France, embellished with numerous Canons of the eminent Chapters of the same Kingdom and with Knights of the Jerusalemite Militia among the Auvergnians. He emulated the glory of his ancestors, served for eighteen years in the military under the patronage of the Most Christian King, as the Marshal of the Cavalry, tirelessly took part in many sieges and battles, and although he was offered the command of a legion, he preferred to perform his duties for the Order. In the year 1761 he was promoted to the Captain-Generalship of the Maltese fleet, functioning exceptionally well during those two years, with the unanimous approval of everyone. After he was awarded the Commandery of La Croix by the Grand Master, the Most Eminent Pinto, he obtained the other of Chantraine by his own right, most distinct with the glory of so many achievements, mindful of human transience, when still alive, he reflected upon the Last Things, he prepared this grave for storing his own remains in the Year of Salvation 1777.

## 212 - Charles Pierre de Saint Pol

ABSIT GLORIARI NISI IN CRUCE

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC JACET QUI JACERE VOLUIT.  
FRATER CAROLUS PETRUS DE SAINT POL  
HUNC LOCUM ADHUC VIVENS  
ELEGIT UT RECUMBERET  
CUM FRATRIBUS  
IN SPE RESURRECTIONIS.

DUX PRÆTORIÆ TRIREMIS ANNIS 1735 ET 1736,  
ET POSTEA LOCUMTENENS MAGNI HOSPITALARII  
ANNO 1774, NATUS ANNO DOMINI 1696, 18.7, OBIIT ANNO 1777.

May one abstain from priding one's self, except in the sign of the Cross

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies he who wished to rest. Frà Charles Pierre de Saint Pol, chose this grave while still alive, in order to rest with his brothers in the hope of resurrection. He, Captain of the Flagship in the years 1735 and 1736 and afterwards deputising for the Grand Hospitaller in the year 1774, was born on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, in the Year of the Lord 1696, he died in the year 1777.

## 328 - Claude de Saint Simon

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER CLAUDIUS EX DUCIBUS DE SAINT SIMON,  
MELITENSIS CLASSIS PRAEFECTUS  
AD UTRIUSQUE SICILIAE REGEM LEGATUS,  
CONTIACENSIS PRINCIPIS  
IN MAGNO GALLIAE PRIORATU  
VICE HONORIFICENTISSIME FUNCTUS,  
AD LUDOVICUM XVI, GALLIAE REGEM CHRISTIANISSIMUM,  
SUI ORDINIS ORATOR,  
QUATUOR COMMENDIS AUCTUS  
TOTQUE CONSPICUIS MUNERIBUS  
SUMMA CUM LAUDE PERFUNCTUS,  
PIE DECESSIT ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXXVII,  
AETATIS LXXXIII  
AMICUS AMICI MEMORIAM VENERATUS,  
CENOTAPHIUM PONI CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Claude, from the Dukes of Saint Simon, Captain-General of the Maltese fleet and envoy to the King of both Sicilies, most honourably deputised for the Prince of Conti in the Grand Priory of France, his Order's envoy to Louis XVI, the Most Christian King of France, honoured with four Commanderies. After he punctiliously had performed, with the highest merit, so many notable duties, he died piously in the Year of Salvation 1777, at the age of 83. A friend, paying homage to the memory of his friend, arranged for this cenotaph to be placed.

### 340 - Antoine de Blacas d'Aups

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI ANTONIO DE BLACAS AUPENSI,  
EQUITI HIEROSOLYMITANO PRÆFECTO TRIREMIS,  
MAGNA CRUCE ORNATO,  
5 NATURÆ ARTIUM, REI AGRARIÆ  
STUDIOSISSIMO,  
INGENUO, PROBO, LIBERALI,  
QUI VERE AETATIS LXXVII, OBIIT ANNO MDCCLXXVII.  
FRATER EUGENIUS DE SEYTRES CAUMONT, EQUES HIEROSOLYMITANUS  
10 GALlico REGI A NEGOTIIS GERENDIS,  
MAGNO MAGISTRO A SECRETIS,  
GRATISSIME MOERENS SUA IMPENSA  
AMICO OPTIMO MONUMENTUM POSUIT ANNO MDCCCLXXX.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Antoine de Blacas d'Aups, Knight of Jerusalem, Captain of a galley adorned with the Grand Cross, most devoted to natural science and agriculture, noble, upright and generous, died at the age of 77, in the year 1777. Frà Eugène de Seytres Caumont, Knight of Jerusalem, acting as a negotiator for the King of France and secretary to the Grand Master, placed, from his own purse, this slab in mourning, in the year 1780, in great respect for his best friend.

### 19 - Franz Christoph Sebastian von Remchingen

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ILLUSTRISSE CERTAM CVI MORS INCERTA RUINAM  
MOLIRIS, SUPEREST UNICÆ PETRÆ DOMUS,  
AT PRÆVISA, MINUS FERIAN'T UT TELA PHARETRAM  
5 ULTIMA PETRA TUAM. PRÆVENIENDO JACET  
FRATER FRANCISCUS CHRISTOPHORUS SEBASTIANUS,  
LIBER BARO DE REMCHING,  
SACRI ORDINIS SANCTI JOANNIS JEROSOLIMITANI  
MAGNUS PER ALEMANIAM PRIOR  
10 AC SACRI ROMANI IMPERII PRINCEPS,  
NATVS XX JANUARI ANNI MDCLXXXIX.  
OBIIT DIE XVIII AUGUSTI  
ANNI MDCCLXXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Oh most illustrious man for whom you, uncertain Death, are planning a certain ruin, an abode of a single stone remains, yet foreseen, so that the darts at your quiver may fall short of this ulterior stone. Here lies, in anticipation, Frà Franz Christoph Sebastian, Baron of Remchingen, of the Holy Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Grand Prior for Germany and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, born on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of January 1689, died on the 18th of August 1777.

### 366 - Ferdinando Vargas y Castro

VENERANDO BAJULIVO  
FRATRI DOMINO FERDINANDO VARGAS ET CASTRO,  
MAGNO ORDINIS CANCELLARIO,  
COMMENDARUM DE TRESNO Y TOR DE SILLAS,  
5 ET CAMERARIO MAGISTRALIS, DEL VISO ANTISTITI BENEMERITO,  
PRÆTORIÆ TRIREMIS  
MAGISTRALIS PALATII EQUITATUSQUE OLIM PRÆFECTO,  
INTER PRIMARIOS MAGNI MAGISTRI ELECTORES  
SEMEL ATQUE ITERUM ADSCITO,  
10 VIRO  
PIETATE, COMITATE, CARITATE OMNIBUS ACCEPTISSIMO,  
INGENIO, PRUDENTIA, ANIMI MAGNITUDINE  
EQUITI CLARISSIMO,  
CUI  
15 OMNIA FERE, SIVE DOMI SIVE MILITÆ  
RELIGIONIS MUNIA COMMISSA,  
OMNIA PRO DIGNITATE GESTA NOMEN AUXERUNT,  
FRATER DOMINUS RAYMUNDUS CAMAGNO  
PATRONO BENEFICENTISSIMO AMORIS GRATIQUE ANIMI MONUMENTUM POSUIT.  
20 OBIIT X KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXXVII, ÆTATIS LXXIV.

For the Venerable Bailiff Frà Don Ferdinando Vargas y Castro, Great Chancellor of the Order, meritorious Vice-Prior and Magistral Treasurer of the Commanderies of Tresno and Tordesillas, former Captain of the Flagship and Master Equerry, admitted to the company of the distinguished Electors of the Grand Master once and again, a man highly esteemed by everyone for his piety, generosity, charity, a Knight most illustrious for his character, prudence and magnitude of mind, to whom practically all duties of the Religion were entrusted, whether of the House or the Militia, all of which he performed in dignity, increasing his reputation. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, in the Year of Salvation 1777, at the age of 74. Frà Don Raymond Camagno placed this as a memorial of affection and a grateful mind for his most beneficent guardian.

## 213 - Giovanni Battista d'Afflitto

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
COMMENDATORIS FRATRIS JOHANNIS BAPTISTÆ DE AFFLICTIS,  
E COMITIBUS LIZZANELLI, NEAPOLIS ET SCALENSIS  
PATRICIJ, QUIA A CREPUNDIIS SACRO HIEROSOLYMITANO ORDINI  
5 INITIATUS, EXACTO STRENUE NAVALI TYROCINIO,  
DUCIS TRIREMIS, EXIN TRIREMIUM CLASSIS  
IMPERATORIS, LATINÆ CRUCI MUNIIS OPTIME  
IMPLETIS, GRAVIORIBUS SIBI CONCREDEBITIS  
PROVINCIIIS MIRA NAVITATE EXANTLATIS,  
10 TRIBUS COMMENDIS ET INSUBRICA DIGNITATI  
AUCTUS, OPIMUM PARTUM EX ASSIDUO CENSU,  
PECULIUM, PIENTISSIME VITA ACTA, ET  
PIENTISSIME DEFUNCTUS, SACRO ORDINI  
SERVAVIT, VENERANDI PROCURATORES COMMUNIS ÆRARIJ HOC  
15 GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTO HONESTARE  
CENSUERUNT. NATUS KALENDIS FEBRUARIIS  
ÆRÆ VULGARIS ANNI CIOIOCC, OBIIT VII  
E IDUS JUNIAS ANNI CIOIOCCCLXXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Commendator Frà Giovanni Battista Afflitto, from the Counts of Lizzanello, nobleman of Naples and Scalea, because he was admitted into the Sacred Jerusalemite Order at childhood he dynamically brought to an end his naval apprenticeship, and soon became Captain of a galley, thereafter the Captain-General of the fleet of galleys. He fulfilled extremely well the duties of the Latin Cross, committed with wonderful diligence to the more important offices entrusted to him, and promoted to the seigniorial prerogative at Insubria, with three Commanderies, preserving for the Sacred Order a rich inheritance from its regular revenue, his private property. After he had lived his life most piously, he died most piously. Born on the 1st of February in the Year of the Common Era 1700, he died on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June of the year 1778. The Venerable Procurators of the Common Treasury resolved, by this monument of grateful memory, to honour him.

## 153 - Romualdo Doz

DOZ

A XPICTOZ Ω  
F(RATRI) ROMUALDO DOZ,  
PATRITIO TURIASSENSI,  
5 SACRI HIEROSOLYMORUM ORDINIS EQUITI MAGNÆ CRUCIS,  
QUI, MORUM GRAVITATE, SAPIENTIA IN CONSILIIS,  
ET RARA IN REBUS AGUNDIS PRUDENTIA  
SUMMAM VIRTUTIS LAUDEM COMPARAVIT,  
SUIQUE ORDINIS STUDIOSSIMUS,  
10 DIFFICILLIMIS GESTIS NEGOTIIS,  
ET PLURIMIS MUNERIBUS PERFUNCTUS,  
BONA ORDINIS DE VILLALBA ET AZCON SIBI COMMENDATA  
MAGNO SUMPTU AUXIT,  
PRO HISPANIARUM)REGNIS, MAGNO MAGISTRO EMINENTISSIMO ROHANO A SECRETIS  
15 IN COMITIIS GENERALIBUS XVI VIR,  
FIDEM, DEXTERITATEM, PERITIAM  
CUNCTIS MIRIFICE PROBAVIT,  
DUM MAJORA DE SE POLLICEBATUR,  
ANNUM AGENS L ET MENSES VIII,  
20 DIGNA CHRISTIANO MILITE, PIETATE ET CONSTANTIA,  
DECESSIT XI KALENDAS DECEMBRIS CIOICCLXXVIII.  
ACERBO FUNERE AB OMNIBUS COMPLORATO,  
ELATUS EST FREQUENTIA MAXIMA.

ON OI ΦΙΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΘΕΟΙ, ΑΠΟΘΝΗΣΚΕΙ ΝΕΟΣ

Doz

Alpha Christ Omega

For Frà Romualdo Doz, a nobleman of Tarazona, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Holy Order of Jerusalem, who, with dignity of character, wisdom in counsel and rare prudence in conducting his affairs, obtained the highest praise for his excellence. Most devoted to his Order, he dealt with extremely difficult affairs and punctiliously completed numerous duties, and enlarged, with his huge assets, the estates of the Order entrusted to him at Villalba and Ascó. He was the intimate counsellor of the Grand Master, the Most Eminent De Rohan on behalf of the Kingdom of Spain, a member of the electoral committee of sixteen in the general elections, wonderfully approved by everyone for his trustworthiness, dexterity, expertise. While he had promised himself greater things, he died on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1778, at the age of 50 years and 8 months, worthy a Christian soldier, with devoutness and perseverance. He was borne to the grave by a very large crowd in a bitter funeral, mourned by everyone.

He whom the gods love, dies young



### 86 - Pietro Rosselmini

HEIC QUIESCIT IN PACE  
FRATER PETRUS ROSSELMINI, PATRITIUS PISANUS,  
QUI, SINGULIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ MILITÆ GRADIBUS EMENSIS,  
BELLO GERMANICO IN TURCAS,  
5 DEDUCTIS MELITENSIBUS COPIIS AD DANUBIUM,  
STRENUE INTERFUIT.  
MOX BELLICÆ NAVIS PRÆFECTUS  
ET AMPLISSIMO ADMIRATI MUNERE  
ULTRA SEXENNIIUM FUNCTUS,  
10 TITULUMQUE LOMBARDIÆ PRIORATUS VIX NACTUS,  
PIE DECESSIT V NONAS MARTII MDCCLXXIX,  
ÆTATIS ANNOS LXXIII, MENSES V, DIES VI.  
EQUES COMMENDATOR FRATER FRANCISCUS  
MAZZEI, PATRITIUS FLORENTINUS, AFFINI  
15 SUO BENEMERENTI  
GRATO ANIMO POSUIT.

Here rests in peace Frà Pietro Rosselmini, a nobleman of Pisa, who, passing through every single grade of the Jerusalemite Militia, took part tirelessly in the Germanic war against the Turks, when Maltese troops had been led to the Danube. Soon after Captain of a warship, and with the supreme office of Admiral he crowned more than 60 years of service, and after obtaining, with difficulty, the title of the Priory of Lombardy, he piously died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1779, at the age of 73 years, 5 months and 6 days. Knight Commendator Frà Francesco Mazzei, a Florentine nobleman, placed this as a slab of grateful memory for his meritorious relative.

### 388 - Antonio Abreu

HEIC CONDITUS  
ANTONIUS ABREUS,  
EQUES HIEROSOLYMARIUS,  
CLASSIS MELITENSIS  
5 SUPRAEFECTUS,  
MAGNI CRUCIS HONORE  
DECORATUS.  
HUIC  
QUISQUIS ADES,  
10 SECURITATEM ÆTERNAM  
ADPRECATOR.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXXVI, M(ENSES) I, DIES XIX,  
MORTE MELITÆ OBJT ANNO C1D1CCCLXXIX,  
PRIDIE KALENDAS QUINCTILES.

Here lies buried Antonio Abreu, Jerusalemite Knight, Lieutenant General of the Maltese fleet, graced with the honour of Grand Cross. Whoever is standing here, pray for his eternal safety. He had lived for 81 years, 1 month and 19 days, when he met with Death in Malta in the year 1779, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June.

### 232 - Martino de los Rios

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI DOMINO MARTINO DE LOS RIOS,  
EQUITI MAGNÆ CRUCIS HIEROSOLYMITANO,  
AMANTISSIMO,  
DESIDERATISSIMO  
PROPINQUUS MÆRENS  
PONENDUM CURAVIT.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXIII, MENSES XI, DIES VIII.  
OBIIT VII KALENDAS FEBRUARII MDCCLXXX.

5

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Don Martino de los Rios, Knight Grand Cross of Jerusalem, greatly loved, dearly missed. He lived for 63 years, 11 months and 8 days. He died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 1780. A mourning relative had arranged this slab to be placed for him.

### 265 - Alois George Jumeau de Perriers

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ

CINERIBVS ET MEMORIÆ  
LOISI GEORGI IVMEAV DE PERRIERS,  
DOMO SALMVRIQ,  
PRÆFECTI TRIREMIS, MINORIS PRÆFECTI VALETVDINARIO,  
IV VIRI REI NAVALIS PRÆPOSITI,  
DVVMVIRI IVVENTVTIS ITERVM,  
ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI EQVITIS COMMENDATORIS,  
VIRI ANTIQVÆ VIRTVTIS  
ET MANSVETISSIMI INGENII  
QVEM  
SERENISSIMVS EMMANVEL DE ROHAN, MAGNVS MAGISTER,  
ALIIS MVNERIBVS INTEGRE FVNCTVM,  
PRÆFECTVRA BONORVM SVORVM DONAVIT,  
IN QVA DECESSIT XVIII KALENDAS MAI ANNO MDCCLXXX.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXV, MENSES XI, DIES VI.  
RELIGIOSVS, COMIS, BENEFICVS,  
PETRVS MAVLEON DE SAVAILLAN, EQVES EMERITVS,  
AMICO ET SODALI OPTIMO  
FACIENDVM CVRAVIT PIETATIS CAVSSA.

5

10

15

20

Christ

For the remains and memory of Louis George Jumeau de Perriers of the House of Salmurie, Captain of a galley, Deputy-Governor of the Hospital, Chair of the Commission of Four of Maritime Affairs, and further of the Commission of Two of the Noviciate, Knight-Commendator of the Jerusalemite Order. He was a man of traditional virtue and most gentle disposition, performing irreproachably other duties, whom the Most Serene Emanuel de Rohan, Grand Master, entrusted with the treasuryship over his personal assets, in which function he died on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of April in the year 1780. He lived for 65 years, 11 months and 6 days, pious, affable and kind. Pierre Mauleon de Savaillan, Chevalier emeritus, out of piety arranged for this slab to be set up.

Christ

### 402 - Giuseppe Chinzio

IOSEPHO CHINZIO MELITENSI  
ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI E MAGISTRALE OBEDIENTIA PRESBYTERO,  
AD REGENTIS CANCELLARIÆ OFFICIUM PRÆCLARIS  
DUM A SECRETIS INIBI AGERET  
5 VIRTUTE DUCE EVECTO,  
NEC TAMEN AD POPULARIS AURÆ FLATUM ELATO,  
MORUM ÆQUABILITATE AC INTEGRITATE  
BONIS OMNIUM CARO  
FRATRES AMICO DULCISSIMO ET BENEMERENTISSIMO PONENDUM CURAVERE.  
10 OBIIT XIV KALENDAS NOVEMBRIS 1780, ÆTATIS 76, EHEU,  
COLLACRUMENTUR OPTIMI FAUSTAMQUE ÆTERNITATEM  
OLLI PRECENTUR.

For Giuseppe Chinzio, a Maltese, Priest of Magistral Obedience of the Jerusalemite Order, raised by his virtue as spiritual guide to the office of the Chancellery for the Noble Governors while he acted as the Secretary in that place, nevertheless, he did not rise to haughtiness by the breeze of popular favour, dear to noble men for the fairness and integrity of the whole of his character. He died on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1780, at the age of 76. Behold! Let the noble weep together and pray for his favourable eternity. Brothers arranged for this slab to be placed for their most affectionate and most meritorious friend.

### 393 - Francisco Guedes de Magelhaes

FRATRI FRANCISCO GVEDES DE MAGALHÆS,  
EQVITI HIEROSOLYMARIO,  
MAGNA CRVCE ET PRO-CANCELLARI MVNERE ORNATO,  
INGENIO, DEXTERITATE, SOLLERTIA  
5 RERVVM SVI ORDINIS PERITIA,  
IMPERIO BENE GESTO  
QVOD EI EMMANVEL PINTO MAGNVS MAGISTER  
MORITVRVS COMMISERAT  
EXTRAORDINARIO ET ORDINARIO AD REGEM NEAPOLITANEM LEGATIONE,  
10 VIRO ILLVSTRI.  
EMMANVEL GVEDES DE MAGALHÆS,  
EQVES HIEROSOLYMARIVS,  
MAGNA CRVCE INSIGNITVS,  
FRATRI OPTIMO ET SIBI MOERENTISSIMVS PONENDVM CVRAVIT  
15 ANNO CIOCCCLXXXII.  
VIXIT ANNO LXIV, OBIIT ANNO CIOCCCLXXXI.

For Frà Francisco Guedes de Magelhaes, a Jerusalemite Knight, honoured with the grace of Grand Cross and Vice-Chancellor, an illustrious man with natural talent, dexterity, resourcefulness, expertise on his Order's affairs. He exercised his authority rightly, by virtue of which Emmanuel Pinto, the Grand Master, on his deathbed, entrusted him with the duty of Ambassador Extraordinary and Resident Ambassador at the court of the Neapolitan King. Emanuel Guedes de Magelhaes, Jerusalemite Knight, distinguished with the rank of Grand Cross, arranged, while in mourning, for this slab to be placed for his noblest brother and for himself in the year 1782. He lived for 64 years and he died in the year 1781.

## 281 - Francisco Zurita

VENERABILIS BAJULIVI  
FRATRIS DOMINI FRANCISCI ZURITA,  
PRO MAJESTATE CATHOLICA  
APUD ORDINEM DELIGATI,  
5 HEIC OSSA QUIESCUNT,  
VIRI  
GENERE, INDOLE, MUNERIBUS  
PRAESTANTISSIMI,  
CUJUS VITAM ANIMI CANDOR,  
10 AGONEM EGREGIA PIETAS,  
MORTEM DEMUM BONORUM LACRYMAE  
ADEO EXORNARUNT,  
UT SUPERIS CARUM  
HOMINIBUS IMITANDUM  
15 REDDIDERINT.  
OBIIT III IDUS MAJ ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXXXI,  
ÆTATIS LXVII.

Here lie to rest the remains of the Venerable Bailiff Frà Don Francisco Zurita, handpicked from among the Order and sent on its behalf to the Catholic Majesty, a man superior by birth, innate qualities and duties. The purity of his mind adorned his life, his exceptional piety adorned the agony of death, and finally, the tears of noble men adorned his death so much that they delivered a man dear to Heaven, imitable for men. He died on 13<sup>th</sup> May in the Year of Salvation 1781, at the age of 67.

## 297 - Antonio de Ribas y Castellbell

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
ANTONIUS DE RIBAS ET DE CASTELLBELL,  
EX MARCHIONIBUS DE ALFARRAS,  
MAJORUM INSTAR EQUES HIEROSOLIMITANUS,  
5 IN CASTRIS REGIS CATHOLICI DUX,  
CENSUUM DE TORRES DE SEGRE ET DE VILLAFRANCA  
ADMINISTRATOR,  
IN CATALAUNIA SUI ORDINIS DIUTIUS QUAESTOR,  
MILITIAE MELITENSIS TRIBUNUS, LYCAEO PRAESES,  
10 ARCI RICASOLAE ET CONCILIO BELLICO PRAEFECTUS,  
MONETAE PRAEPOSITUS  
AERARII ET REI PUBLICAE  
EX SELECTORIBUS VIRIS,  
BAIULIVUS ANTEA OB OFFICIA PRAESTITA AD HONORES,  
15 INDE PER AETATEM BALEARICUS,  
SUB ROHANO PRINCIPE SENESCALCUS,  
HAEC MISERA ET BREVI OMNIA INTERITURA  
PRAENOSCENS,  
HANC SUO CINERI SEDEM  
20 FRATRUM PIETATEM ADHUC VIVENS IMPLORATURUS  
PRÆPARAVIT.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXX, MENSES VIII, DIEM I.  
OBIIT ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS MDCCLXXXI,  
DIE XI MENSIS AUGUSTI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Antonio de Ribas y Castellbell, from the Marquisses of Alfarras, a Jerusalemite Knight resembling his ancestors, Field Marshal of the Catholic King, Administrator of the estates of Torres de Segre and Villafranca, for a long time Treasurer of his Order in Catalonia, Tribune of the Maltese Militia, Governor of the Lyceum, Governor of Fort Ricasoli and President of the War Council, placed in charge of the Treasury's and the Republic's Mint from the company of the electable men, previously a Bailiff, on account of performance in his offices thenceforth an honorary Majorcan, Steward under the Prince De Rohan, yet anticipating that all these humble positions would end shortly, prepared this abode for his remains in order to implore the compassion of his Fraternity while still alive. He lived for 70 years, 8 months and 1 day. He died in the year 1781 since the Delivery by the Virgin, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of August.

## 257 - Charles de Guast

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CAROLO DE GVAST, EQVITI HIEROSOLIMITANO,  
EMENSIS AB ÆTATE PRIMA SACRÆ MILITLÆ  
MVNERVM CVRRICVLIS,  
5 MOX PRVDENTER AC PROSPERE PER ANNOS XVIII  
GAVDOS GVBERNANTI,  
SVPREMIS DEIN, TVM FABRVM, TVM EQVITVM  
PRÆFECTVRIS NAVITER FVNCTO,  
10 POSTREMO INTER PRIMARIOS MAGNÆ CRVCIS PROCERES  
ADLECTO,  
PRO CAPTIVIS E TVRCIS REDIMENDIS PRÆFECTVRA  
DONATO  
QVI, INTEGER, RELIGIOSVS AD COMES  
FACILITATE SVA, SE SEMPER CVM INFERIORIBVS  
15 EXÆQVAVIT,  
AMICI CVM LACRIMIS POSVERVNT MONVMENTVM  
HOC.  
EIVS PIENTISSIMÆ ANIMÆ PACEM ET REQUIETEM  
ADPRECATOR ÆTERNAM,  
20 QVI LEGIS.  
OBIIT XV AVGVSTI 1781, ÆTATIS SVÆ LXXV,  
MENSES SEX, DIES XXVII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
For Charles de Guast, Jerusalemite Knight. He passed through his course of duties for the Sacred Militia from the beginning of his childhood, soon after prudently and successfully governed Gozo for 18 years, then diligently performed the supreme command not only of the engineering corps, but also of the mounted troops, finally, admitted to the company of the distinguished Nobles of the Grand Cross, bestowed with the Prefecture for ransoming captives from the Turks. Sound, devout towards his companions through his courteousness, always regarded himself equal to his subordinates. You, who are reading this, address a prayer for the eternal peace and repose of his most pious soul. He died on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1781, at the age of 75, 6 months and 27 days. Friends, in tears, placed this slab.

## 228 - Ramon de Souza da Sylva

TRIREMIS PRÆFECTVRA,  
MINISTERIO REI BELLICÆ  
ALIISQVE MVNERIBVS ORDINIS  
EGREGIE FVNCTVS,  
5 ARCIVM PRÆSIDIO QVOTANNIS  
AVGENDO,  
PROVENTV NON MEDIOCRI  
PARATO,  
10 COMMVNIS ÆRARII SVBSIDIO  
MVLTA GAZA CONGESTA,  
NONAGENTA QVINQVEN MAJOR  
PIE QVIEVIT  
FRATER DOMINVS RAIJMVNDVS DE SOVZA  
DA SIJLVA MAGNVS LESÆ BAJVLIVVS,  
15 IDIBVS JANVARIIS MDCCLXXXII.

Frà Don Ramon de Souza da Sylva, Grand Bailiff of Leça remarkably fulfilled the Captain-Generalship of the galleys, the Office of War Affairs and other duties for his Order by strengthening the defence of the stronghold every year, with not insignificant resources at hand, accumulated many riches for the relief of the Common Treasury, died piously, older than 95, on the 13<sup>th</sup> January 1782.

## 8 - Corrado Arezzo

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO.  
FRATRI CONRADO ARETIO,  
VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ITALLÆ EQUITI,  
AB EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO  
5 FRATRE FRANCISCO XIMENEZ  
DE TEXADA  
INTER BAJULIVOS ADSCITO,  
INGENII ACUMINE,  
RERUM GERENDARUM SOLERTIA  
10 AC VITÆ INTEGRITATE  
SPECTATISSIMO.  
OBIIT SEXTO KALENDAS JULIJ,  
ANNO CIOICCLXXXII,  
VIXIT ANNOS LXIII,  
15 MENSES IV, DIES VII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
For Frà Corrado Arezzo, Knight of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, admitted to the company of Bailiffs by the Most Eminent Grand Master Frà Francisco Ximenez de Texada. The acuteness of his mind, his probity in conducting affairs and the integrity of his life made him a most considerate man. He died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June in the year 1782. He lived for 63 years, 4 months and 7 days.

## 235 - Giovanni Zarzana

VENERABILI BAJULIVO FRATRI DOMINO JOHANNI ZARZANA,  
EQUITI, SIVE FORIS ANIMI VIRTUTE,  
SIVE DOMI ZELO AC INTEGRITATE  
5 DE ORDINE, OPTIME MERITO  
VIRO RELIGIONE, CONTEMPTU SUI,  
LIBERALI IN PAUPERES MISERICORDIA,  
DEO ET HOMINIBUS CARO,  
BAJULIVUS FRATER DOMINUS PETRUS PAULUS ZARZANA PONENDUM  
CURAVIT  
10 GERMANO FRATRI OPTATISSIMO  
III KALENDAS QUINTILIS MDCCLXXXIII EREPTO,  
HEIC POST FATA CONJUNGENDUS  
QUI ET OBIIT DIE 25 NOVEMBRIS 1784.

To the Venerable Bailiff Frà Don Giovanni Zarzana, a Knight, most meritorious be it abroad for virtue of his opinion, be it at home for his zeal and integrity regarding to the Order, dear to God and his fellows on account of his Religion, disregard of himself, his generous compassion towards the poor. Bailiff Frà Don Pietro Paolo Zarzana arranged for this slab to be placed for his dearly missed brother who died suddenly on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1783. He was re-united with him here afterwards by destiny, when he died on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of November 1784.

## 214 - Jean Battiste de Thaon de Revel

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
MEMORLÆ  
JOANNIS BAPTISTÆ DE THAON DE REVEL,  
EQVITIS HIEROSOLYMITANI, ARCINENSIS COMMENDATORIS,  
5                      CRVCE MAGNA EXORNATI  
                    QVI, RELIGIONE, DOCTRINA,  
                    P1ETATE IN PAVPERES,  
                    FIDE, BENIGNITATE, IN OMNES  
                    EXEMPLARI VIRTVTVM,  
10                      TRISTE DESIDERIVM SVI RELIQVIT.  
                    VIXIT ANNOS LXXV, MENSES VI, DIES VII,  
                    OBIIT IDIBVS IANVARIIS)CIC1OCCLXXXIV.  
ILLVSTRIS FRATER DOMINVS VILLAGES, EQVES HIEROSOLYMITANVS,  
AMICO CARISSIMO BENEMERENTISSIMO,  
15                      FECIT.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

For the memory of Jean Battiste de Thaon de Revel, Jerusalemite Knight, Commendator of Arcis, adorned with the Grand Cross, who, with reverence and doctrine, with Christian love towards the poor, with faith, courtesy, the ideal of virtue to everyone, left behind a sad regret for his absence. He lived for 75 years, 6 months and 7 days. He died on the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 1784. The Illustrious Frà Don Villages, Knight of Jerusalem, arranged this slab for his most beloved, most meritorious friend.

## 349 - Nicolas de Cabre Roquevaire

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
NOMINI PERQUAM OBSERVANDO  
5                      FRATRIS NICOLAI DE CABRE ROQUEVAIRE,  
MAGNI OLIM COMMENDATORIS, BAJULIVI MANOASCÆ  
                    QUEM  
                    ANIMI VIRTUS, MORUM INTEGRITAS,  
                    SUMMA RELIGIO,  
10                      DEXTERITAS, ITEM MODESTIA, FIDES  
                    USQUE CUMULARUNT,  
ET ADOLESCENTEM CLASSIS REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI  
                    ADDICTUM OBSEQUIO,  
ET VIRUM QUAESTURÆ SUI ORDINIS  
15                      OFFICIO PRAEPOSITUM,  
                    ET SENEM PRAECLARIS TITULIS  
                    AC DIGNITATIBUS AUCTUM.  
A DIE OBIT III KALENDAS FEBRUARII MENSIS VESPERE,  
ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXXXIV.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For the continuity of the name of Frà Nicolas de Cabre Roquevaire, once Grand Commander, Bailiff of Manosque. The virtue of his mind, the integrity of his character, the highest observance, dexterity, likewise his modesty, faith, continuously refined him. On reaching manhood, he was assigned to the service of the Most Christian King's fleet and as an adult, placed in command of his Order's Public Treasury, and as a senior, exalted with splendid titles and dignities. He died in the evening of the 30<sup>th</sup> day of January in the Year of Salvation 1784.



## 229 - Giovanni Battista Amalfitani

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HOC LATET MARMORÆ  
FRATER JOANNIS BAPTISTA AMALFITANI,  
TITULO SANCTÆ EUFEMIÆ BAJULIVUS, SANCTÆ MARLÆ TEMPLI CASALIS  
5 AC VERONÆ COMMENDATARIUS, GENERE CLARUS, DOCTRINA CLARIOR,  
HONORIBUS CLARISSIMUS, INTER TRIREMIUM PUGNAS CUM BARBARIS  
DUX STRENUUS, INTER ABSTRUSIORA ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI  
MUNERA PRUDENS, ÆQUUS, ASSIDUUS  
10 QUEM, NATUM DIE IV DECEMBRES ANNO MDCCXX, ANIMO AC PIETATE  
INTEGRUM, PODAGRICIS DOLORIBUS FRACTUM, DEFICIENTIBUS  
VIRIBUS, EREPTUM DIE XXVII MAII MDCCLXXXIV,  
LUGENT MUSÆ, PROBITAS, VIRTUS, LUGENTQUE NEPOTES, AMICI,  
EIUSDEM MEMORIÆ SACRUM HOC MONUMENTUM  
PONENTES ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXXXIX.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà Giovanni Battista Amalfitani lives on in concealment of this marble, by appellation Bailiff of Sant'Eufemia, Commendator of the church hamlet of Santa Maria and of Verona, famous for his lineage, more famous for his doctrine, most famous for his honours, a tireless Captain in the course of battles of galleys with the Barbary, diplomatic, just, unremitting in the course of most discreet duties of the Jerusalemite Order. He was born on the 4th day of December 1720. With his mind and piety intact, but otherwise weakened by gouty pains, he suddenly died, when his strength folded, on the 27<sup>th</sup> day of May 1784. Muses, honesty, virtue mourn him, and nephews, friends mourn him, while placing this blessed slab in the Year of the Lord 1789 for the memory of the same man.

## 379 - Ramon Caamano

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EQUITI  
INGENUO, COMI, OPTATISSIMO  
FRATRI DOMINO RAIJMUNDO CAAMANO,  
5 COMMENDARUM DE CALASPARRA  
ET DE VADILIO PRÆCEPTORI,  
EMINENTISSIMI DE ROHAN AULICO  
ET PRO CATHOLICO MAIESTATE  
APUD ORDINEM AGENTI  
10 CELERI, EHEU, NIMIS FATO  
BLANDIENTI FORTUNÆ  
BONORUM SPEI,  
OMNIUM AMORI SUBLATO,  
INSOLABILIS AMICITIA  
15 TRISTE MONUMENTUM POSUIT.  
OBIIT KALENDIS FEBRUARII ANNO SALUTIS MDCCLXXXV,  
ÆTATIS XLII.

For a Knight, noble, courteous, most desired Frà Don Ramon Caamano, Receptor of the Commanderies of Calasparra and Vadillo, courtier of the Most Eminent De Rohan and efficacious representative for His Catholic Majesty at the Order. Oh! too fast he was hurried to his death, to his enticing destiny, the hope of all noble men, stealing everyone's affection. Inconsolable friendship placed this sorrowful inscription. He died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, in the Year of Salvation 1785, at the age of 62.

## 21 - Giovanni Domenico Mainardi

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MEMORIAE ETERNAE  
IOHANNIS DOMINICI MAINARDI  
TAURINENSIS,  
5 MAJORIS ECCLESIAE SANCTI IOHANNIS HIEROSOLYMITANI ANTISTITIS,  
QUI  
AMPLISSIMAM DIGNITATEM ANIMI MAGNITUDINE,  
VITAE INTEGRITATE ET MORUM ELEGANTIA  
MIRIFICE AEQUAVIT  
10 AD DIVINI CULTUS MAJESTATEM  
ET SACRORVM REVERENTIAM,  
NULLUM SEDULI PRAESULIS OFFICIVM  
PRAETERMISIT,  
QUUM MODERATIONE, COMITATE ET BENEFICENTIA  
15 OMNIUM SIBI ANIMOS DEVINXISSET.  
SERVATA AD EXTREMUM CONSTANTIA,  
PIE DECESSIT XI KALENDAS MARTII CI-I-CCLXXXV,  
AETATIS ANNOS LXXXI, MENSES III, DIES X,  
PRAESULATUS SUI ANNOS AMPLIUS XXVI,  
20 ET IN SEPULCRO, QUOD VIVUS SIBI ELEGERAT,  
DEPOSITUS IN PACE CHRISTI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

To the everlasting memory of Giovanni Domenico Mainardi of Turin, Grand Prior of the Conventual Church of Saint John of Jerusalem, who, extraordinarily equalled his most distinguished grace with intensity of spirit, integrity of life and refinement of morals, did not neglect any task of a dutiful prelate regarding prominence of the divine worship and reverence of sacred rites, with his moderation, courtesy and kindness, had endeared himself to the hearts of everyone. Although he had preserved his steadfastness to the end, he piously passed away on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1785, 81 years, 3 months, 10 days of age, spent over 26 years at his Grand Priorship, and was laid, in the peace of Christ, in the grave, which he had chosen for himself while living.

## 204 - Charles Ignace Dessalles

QUA HORA NON PUTATIS. LUCA XII  
  
ICI REPOSE FRERE  
CHARLES IGNACE DESSALLES,  
5 CHEVALIER GRAND CROIX  
DE L'ORDRE DE SAINT JEAN DE JERUSALEM,  
COMMANDEUR DE PONTAUBERT,  
ANCIEN CHAMBELLAN DE SA  
MAIESTE IMPERIALLE ET DE SON  
10 ALTESSE ROIJALE, LE GRAND  
DUC DE TOSCANE.  
DECADÉ LE III MAJ, MDCCLXXXV.  
PASSANT PRIEZ DIEU  
POUR SON AME.

You do not reckon that hour. Luke 12(12)

Here lies Frà Charles Ignace Dessalles, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Comendator of Pontaubert, former Great Chamberlain of His Imperial Majesty and His Royal Highness, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1785. As you are passing over, pray to God for his soul.

### 243 - Gabriel de Freslon

GABRIELI DE FRESLON RHEDONICO,  
EQVITI HIEROSOLYMARIO,  
MAGNA CRUCE EXORNATO,  
PROBO, PRVDENTI, DOCTO, LIBERALI,  
5 NON SINE BENIGNITATE IVSTISSIMO,  
LEGATIONE FVNCTO PRO PROVINCIA SVA  
AD EMMANVELEM DE ROHAN, MAGNVM MAGISTRVM ORDINIS RENVNCIATVM  
GRATVLATIONIS CAVSSA,  
PRAEFECTO EQVITATVS MELITAE,  
10 TRIBVNO MILITVM APVD GALLOS ET MELITENSES  
QVEM, PARENTEM PAVPERVM,  
ET DISCIPLINA MILITARI CONSTITVTVA,  
CVSTODEM TRANQVILITATIS PVBLICAE,  
OMNIS POPVLVS CVM LVCTV PROSEQVVTVS EST IN FVNERE.  
15 ALEXANDER DE FRESLON, EQVES HIEROSOLYMITANVS,  
PATRVO CARISSIMO,  
ANTONIVS DE LIGONDEZ ITEM EQVES  
AMICO OPTIMO,  
AMBO MOERENTISSIMI  
20 POSVERVNT ANNO MDCCLXXXVI.  
VIXIT ANNOS LIV.

For Gabriel de Freslon of Rennes, Jerusalemite Knight, invested with the Grand Cross, principled, sensible, learned, charitable, most just, but not without mercy, fulfilled an embassy to Emanuel de Rohan to extend the congratulations on behalf of Provence on his election as Grand Master of the Order, Marshal of the mounted troops in Malta, Military Commander among the French and the Maltese whom, a father of the poor, and after inspiring military discipline, the guardian of public tranquillity, the whole population escorted with grief his funeral procession. Alexandre de Freslon, a Jerusalemite Knight, for his most beloved paternal uncle, Antoine de Ligondez, likewise a Knight, for his best friend, both placed this slab in deep mourning in the year 1786. He lived for 54 years.

### 283 - Francesco Silvestri

XPICTOC  
FRATER FRANCISCVS SILVESTRI LILIBÆTANVS, SACRI HIEROSOLYMITANI ORDINIS PRESBYTER  
CONVENTVALIS, SANCTI ÆGIDI COMMENDATARIVS,  
AD MELITENSEM EPISCOPATVM NOMINATVS ET SERENISSIMO EMMANVEL DE ROHAN, MAGNO  
MAGISTRO ELEEMOSYNARIVS,  
VITA PIE HONESTISSIMEQVE PERACTA, DECESSIT V KALENDAS JANVARI, MDCCLXXXVII, ANNVM  
AGENS LXXXVII, MENSES IX, DIES XIV.  
5 FRATER ANGELVS SILVESTRI, COMMENDATARIVS PESCAROLÆ, EX FRATRE NEPOS, PATRVO  
AMANTISSIMO ET BENE MERENTI MONVMENTVM POSVIT.

Christ

Frà Francesco Silvestri from Marsala, Conventual Priest of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, Commendator of Saint-Gilles, nominated to the Maltese Bishopric and almsgiver to the Most Eminent Emanuel de Rohan, Grand Master. He, living his life piously and most honestly, died on 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1786, at the age of 87 years, 11 months and 14 days. Frà Angelo Silvestri, Commendator of Pescaroli, nephew on his brother's side, placed this slab for his most beloved and meritorious paternal uncle.

### 266 - Silvio Vincentini

XPICTOZ  
HIC SITVS EST  
SILVIVS VINCENTINI,  
EQVES HIEROSOLYMARIVS,  
5 CRVCE MAGNA DONATVS,  
ORDINI SVO  
SEMPER VTILISSIMVS ET OBSEQVENTISSIMVS.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXX, MENSES I, DIES XVII.  
DECESSIT DIE XXIX IANVARI ANNI MDCCLXXXVII.  
10 QVI ADES, PRO EO FVNDITO PRECES.

Christ

Here lies buried Silvio Vincentini, Jerusalemite Knight, bestowed with the Grand Cross, always most valuable and accommodating to his Order. He lived for 70 years, 1 month and 17 days. He died on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of January of the year 1787. You, who are near, pour forth prayers in abundance for him.

### 399 - Emmanuel Ballesteros

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EMMANUELI BALLESTEROS,  
MAGNO ORDINIS HIEROSOLIMITANI CANCELLARIO,  
IN CASTRIS REGIS CATHOLICI ET  
5 MELITENSI REPUBLICA  
ÆQUE INLUSTRI,  
QUI  
PAUPERRIME MATRITI PENES CAPUCCINOS  
TUMULARI VOLUIT,  
10 NE VIR OPTIMUS ET DESIDERATISSIMUS  
SEPULCRI HONORE CARERET,  
CHARI MÆRENTISQUE AMICI PIETAS POSUIT.  
OBIIT NONIS MAJ MDCCLXXXVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Emmanuel Ballesteros, Great Chancellor of the Jerusalemite Order, in like manner illustrious in the Royal Courts of the Catholic King and in the Maltese Republic, who most humbly wished to be buried in Madrid with the Capuchins. Should a most noble and dearly missed man remain without the honour of a sepulchre, the loyalty of a dear friend, and in mourning, placed this slab. He died on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1788.

### 236 - Hubert Louis de Culant

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
HIC SITVS EST  
HVBERTVS LVDOVICVS DE CVLANT,  
EX PROVINCIA BVRGVNDIA,  
5 ANTIQVA NOBILITATE EQVESTRI CLARISSIMVS,  
EQVES HIEROSOLYMITANVS FVNDIS BONCVRIENSIBVS TVENDIS,  
CRVCE MAGNA EXORNATVS,  
MAGNI THESAVRARII ORDINIS SVI  
MVNERE VICARIO DE FVNCTVS,  
10 PIVS IN DEVM, BENIGNVS IN EGENOS.  
DECESSIT PRIDIE KALENDAS APRILES ANNI MDCCLXXXIX.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXIX, MENSES VI, DIES V,  
OB ANIMI CANDOREM ET LENITATEM  
CARVS OMNIBVS.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

Here lies buried Hubert Louis de Culant, most famous, descending from ancient equestrian nobility, from the Burgundy region, Knight of Jerusalem, upholding the estate of Boncourt, after he was adorned with the Grand Cross, he performed the duty of substitute of the Grand Treasurer of his Order, pious towards God, bounteous towards the needy. He died on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March of the year 1789. He lived for 69 years, 6 months and 5 days. Dear to everyone for the purity of his mind and his lenience.

### 317 - Pasquale Gennaro Sarriano

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
HEIC CONDUNTUR EXUVIÆ  
FRATRIS PASCHALIS IANUARI SARRIANO,  
EX DUCIBUS CASALDUNENSIS,  
5 SANCTORUM GULIELMI ET DAMIANI TICINI  
COMMENDATarii,  
QUI SUPREMA MARIS PRÆFECTURA  
EGREGIE FUNCTUS  
ET SANCTÆ EUPHEMIÆ BAJULIVI  
10 AMPLISSIMAM DIGNITATEM ADEPTUS,  
PRÆCOCI FATO SUBLATUS,  
ANNUM AGENS LXV PIE DECESSIT  
XII KALENDAS APRILIS ANNO SALUTIS MDCCXC.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

Here are buried the remains of Frà Pasquale Gennaro Sarriano, from the Dukes of Casalduni, Commendator of San Guglielmo and San Damiano in Ticino, who excellently fulfilled the supreme rule of the sea and obtained the most illustrious dignity of Bailiff of Sant'Eufemia. He died piously, carried away by a premature fate, at the age of 65, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, in the Year of Salvation 1790.

## 98 - Emmanuel Pereyra

VIXIT SI SATIS SIBI NON SUIS.

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
EMMANUEL PEREYRA,  
5 LESAE BAJULIVUS,  
OMNIBUS ACCEPTISSIMUS,  
MOERORE OMNIUM OBIIT  
VIII KALENDAS APRILIS ANNI MDCCXCII, AETATIS LXXXII.  
ARAM HISPANIARUM APOSTOLI  
10 MARMORIBUS EX INTEGRO  
PRORSUS ORNAVIT.  
COETERA FRATRES, CIVES, PAUPERES  
IN AEVUM NARRABUNT.

He lived long enough for himself, but not for his own people.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Emmanuel Pereyra, Bailiff of Leça, most dear to all, died to the sadness of everybody on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March of the year 1792, at the age of 82. He dressed the altar of the apostle of Spain entirely anew with marble. As for the rest, Brothers, citizens, the poor, they will speak about it for all time.

## 324 - François Giache de Calan

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATER FRANCISCUS GIACHE DE CALAN,  
BAJULIVUS ET TEMPLI DE MAULION COMMENDATOR  
5 EQUES, MAJORUM SUORUM  
DISCIPLINÆ VIRTUTISQUE STRENUUS ÆMULATOR,  
COMMISSIS SIBI MUNERIBUS  
PRÆSIDIS VICTORIOSÆ ARCIS  
ATQUE GRASSANTE MESSANENSI CONTAGIO,  
10 LITTORALIS CUSTODIÆ PRÆFECTI  
AC OPERIS PRÆSIDIARIJ GENERALIS INSPECTORIS  
CAMERÆQUE MAGISTRALIS ETIAM QUÆSTORIS  
EGREGIE FUNCTUS,  
SEMET VIRUM EXIBUIT PRÆSTANTISSIMUM  
15 QUI,  
MAGNI HOSPITALARIJ DIGNITATEM CONSEQUITUS,  
DUABUS MISSIS IN TEMPLI HUIUS SACELLO  
PRÆSCRIPTIS  
20 OMNIBUS DOMINICIS FESTISQUE DIEBUS CELEBRANDIS,  
IN PACE SENEX QUIEVIT VII DECEMBRIS 1793.  
VIXIT ANNOS LXXXVIII, MENSES XI.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Frà François Giache de Calan, Bailiff and Knight Commendator of the Church at Mauléon, energetic emulator of discipline and virtue of his ancestors, excellently fulfilled the tasks he was entrusted with, Governor of the fortification at Vittoriosa. When a contagious infection was carried from Messina, he was made Captain of the Coast Guard. He was also the Inspector-General of the fortifications' requirements and Treasurer of the Magistral Treasury. He showed himself a most outstanding man who, on obtaining the dignity of Grand Hospitaller, ordered two Masses to be celebrated on every Sunday and feast day in this chapel of the church. As an old man, he came to rest in peace on the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1793. He lived for 88 years and 11 months.

## 11 - Garsia Xarava Castro

REY DE CASTILLA

BEATAM IN CHRISTO SPEM  
ET ADVENTUM EIUS  
PRÆSTOLATUR HEIC  
5 FRATER GARSIAS XARAVA CASTRO,  
RELIGIOSI MILITIS LAUDIBUS  
CUM PAUCIS COMPARANDUS,  
CUM CONSERVATOR CONVENTUALIS,  
OPERUM TUM CURATOR ET PTOCHOTROPHI PRÆSES,  
10 MAGNI DEMUM CANCELLARII LOCUM TENENS,  
CUM UNIVERSO SE PROMISSET ORDINI,  
ORDINEM SIBI DEVINXISSET UNIVERSUM,  
PRIMATUS SUI JURE  
CENSUM DE CALASPARRA INDEPTUS,  
15 ET INTER EQUITES ORDINIS PRESBYTER COOPTATUS,  
BONIS OMNIBUS DESIDERIO SUI RELICTO  
DECESSIT ANNO SALUTIS C MDCXCIV,  
ANNOS LXXXIV.

King of Castile.

Frà Garsia Xarava Castro, is waiting in this place for the blessed hope of Christ and His advent. He was comparable with only a few regarding his renown as a devoted soldier, not only the Conventual's Conservator, but also the Commissioner of the fortifications and Governor of the poorhouse, finally deputy of the Great Chancellor. When he had vowed himself to the whole Order he had bound the whole Order to himself. By right of his seniority he acquired the property of Calasparra and was chosen priest among the Knights of the Order. He died in the Year of Salvation 1794, 84 years of age, leaving behind regret for his absence in all noble men.

## 154 - Martino Plata

MARTINI PLATÆ,  
NOVEM VILLARUM BAJULIVI,  
COMMENDÆ DE TOZINA PRÆCEPTORIS,  
PRUDENTIA, JUSTITIA, TEMPERANTIA, FORTITUDINE  
CLARISSIMI,  
5 OSSA HEIC RESURRECTIONEM EXPECTANT.  
NOMEN  
IN OMNIUM PRÆCIPUE PAUPERUM MEMORIA  
ÆRE PERENNIVS MANEBIT.  
OBIIT DIE 22 FEBRUARIJ 1794.

10

The bones of Martino Plata, Bailiff of Novillas, Receptor of the Commandery of Tosina, most renowned for his prudence, righteousness, temperance and strength, are here awaiting resurrection. His name, especially in the memory of all the poor, will last longer than bronze. He died on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of February 1794.

### 341 - Antoine de Riqueti Mirabeau

MEMORLÆ IMMORTALI  
FRATRIS ANTONII DE RIQUETI MIRABEAU,  
SANCTÆ EULALLÆ ET BESIES PRÆCEPTORIS,  
POST TRIREMIUM SACRÆ RELIGIONIS IERUSALEM PRÆFECTURAM,  
5 MAGNI TOLOSÆ PRIORIS  
QUI, REGLÆ PRIMUM NAVI,  
TUM AQUIS LUPIIS PRÆPOSITUS,  
CHRISTIANISSIMO REGI  
OBSEQUIA EGREGIE PROBAVIT SUA,  
10 MERITIS DEMUM ET HONORIBUS CLARUS,  
PROBITATE, INNOCENTIA, COMITATE  
ORDINIBUS CUNCTIS DESIDERATISSIMUS,  
OBIIT XIV KALENDAS MAIAS MDCCXCIV,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ LXXII.

To the immortal memory of Frà Antoine de Riqueti Mirabeau, Receptor of Sainte-Eulalie and Besies, after his Captain-Generalship of galleys of the Sacred Religion of Jerusalem, he became Grand Prior of Toulouse who, at first, placed in command of the King's Ship, then of Guadalupe, excellently showing his allegiance to the Most Christian King. Finally, famous for his merits and honours, dearly missed by all ranks for his righteousness, innocence and courtesy, died on 18th April 1794, at the age of 72.

### 390 - Girolamo di Nobili

HEIC IN PULVERE DORMIT  
FRATER HIERONYMUS DE NOBILIBUS,  
CATACIENSIS QUI OMNIBUS  
EQUITIS RELIGIOSI NUMERIS  
5 ABSOLUTUS GRAVISSIMA  
SACRO ORDINI PRAESTITIT  
OBSEQUIA, COMMUNIS DEMUM  
AERARII PERFUNCTUS QUAESTURA,  
ET ALTERA SUO JURE,  
ALTERA MAGNI MAGISTRI LARGITIONE  
10 AUCTUS PRAECEPTORIA,  
INTER PRIMI ORDINIS PROCERES  
FUIT COOPTATUS, AT DIU  
ACERBISSIMO CONFLICTATUS MORBO,  
DECESSIT PRIDIE KALENDAS JULIAS,  
15 A(NNO) REPARATAE SALUTIS CIOIOCCXCIV,  
AETATIS SUAE LXXIX.  
AVE, ANIMA INNOCENTISSIMA.

Here rests in ashes Frà Girolamo di Nobili of Cantazaro, who, when he had completed every rank and duty of a Religious Knight, fulfilling most important services for his Order, finally, performing punctiliously the Treasuryship of the Common Treasury and honoured with one Receptory by right and another by generosity of the Grand Master, was selected among the Notables of the highest rank. Tormented by a most virulent disease for a long time, he died on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June in the Year of Our Salvation 1794, at the age of 79. God bless thee, most innocent soul.



### 374 - Nicola Abri Dezcallar

AQUI DESCANSEN LES CENDRES  
DE  
FRA NICOLAU ABRI DEZCALLAR,  
GRAN PRIOR DE CATALUÑA  
5 COMANDOR DE ESPLUGA CALVA Y DE  
BARCELONA,  
PECADOR MISERABLE,  
MORI ALS 21 NOVEMBRE 1794.

Here are resting the remains of Frà Nicola Abri Dezcallar, Grand Prior of Catalonia, Commendator of Espluga, Calva and Barcelona, he died thus as a miserable sinner, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1794.

### 368 - Ignatius Argote y Guzman

A XPICTOZ Ω  
IGNATIUS ARGOTE ET GUZMAN CORDUBENSIS,  
EQUES NUMERIS OMNIBUS ABSOLUTUS,  
5 OB EGREGIAM IN OBSEQUIIS PRAESTANDIS SOLERTIAM  
UNIVERSO SACRO)ORDINI ACCEPTISSIMUS,  
CATHOLICAE VERO MAIESTATI,  
QUOD EIUS NEGOTIA APUD SACRAM RELIGIONEM  
NAVITER ET PRO DIGNITATE AGEBAT, PROBATISS(IMUS),  
10 OB MORUM ELEGANTIAM BENEFICENTIAMQUE OMNIBUS CARISSIMUS,  
IN SUPREMUM PROCERUM ORDINEM RELATUS,  
VEHEMENTI EHEU CORREPTUS MORBO,  
BLANDIENTI FORTUNAE BONORUM SPEI BIDUO EREPTUS,  
HUC CUM OMNIUM LACRUMIS ELATUS EST  
15 VI KALENDAS IANUARIII CIOIÖCCXCV, AETATIS SUAE LXIII.

Alpha Christ Omega

Ignatius Argote y Guzman of Cordoba, a Knight, pure on all accounts, most valued by the whole Sacred Order for his remarkable expertise in performing his assigned duties, indeed most esteemed by His Most Catholic Majesty because he was diligently and with dignity conducting his affairs at the Sacred Religion, most dear to everyone for the pleasantness and kindness of his character. Alas!, arriving at the highest rank of the Notables, he was seized by a virulent disease and carried off within two days to a more enticing destiny, the hope of all noble men. Here he was carried out for burial with everyone's tears on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December 1794, at the age of 63.

## 118 - Antonio Lores

ANTONIO LORES, MAGNO AMPOSTÆ CASTELLANO,  
QUEM, EQUITUM CONLEGIO AB INFANTIA ADSCRIPTUM,  
OFFICIIS PRÆSTANTIORIBUS PERPETIM DISTENTUM  
IN MAJORIBUS COMITIIS, INTER XVI VIROS REI PUBLICÆ INSTAURANDÆ  
5 LEGISBUSQUE FERENDIS ADLECTUM,  
COMMUNI ÆRARIO PROCURANDO IURIQUE DICUNDO III VIRUM CONSTITUTUM,  
INCORRUPTA FIDE, COMI IUSTITIA SANCTISQUE MORIBUS  
CUNCTIS APPRIME CARUM INVIDO, HEU, FUNERE RAPTUM,  
ANNALIBUS EX EQUITIS, PUBLICA AUCTORITATE SENATUSQUE CONSULTO,  
10 PRÆTER MOREM, OLLI, DECRETIS  
LUGET PARENS OPTIMA.  
FRATER MATTHIAS BENTURA,  
MAGNI CONSERVATORIS LOCUMTENENS,  
CONSANGUINEO BENE MERENTI SIBIQUE  
15 MEMORIÆ ETERNÆ MONUMENTUM POSUIT.  
VIXIT ANNOS PLUS MINUS LXXV. OBIIT PRIDIE  
KALENDAS MAJ MDCCXCV.

For Antonio Lores, Grand Castellan of Amposta, whom, enrolled in the brotherhood of Knights since his childhood, constantly engaged in the pre-eminent duties at the higher Courts, chosen among the sixteen men for restoring the Republic and the proposing of laws, appointed as one of the three men for the governing of the Common Treasury and for the administration of justice, very dear to all for his untainted honesty, courteous righteousness and saintly morals, alas, carried off by envious Death from the Knights' chronicles, public authority, the Senate's college of counsellors. Beyond customary bereavement, his most noble Mother was in mourning for that well known man, for his doctrines. Frà Mattia Ventura, deputising for the Grand Conservator, placed this as a monument of eternal memory for his meritorious relative and himself. He lived for about 75 years. He died on the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1795.

### 387 - Sancho Basurto

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
SANCIVS BASVRTVS, XERÆ IN VANDALITIA NATVS,  
EQVES HIEROSOLIJMITANVS,  
FONTIS DE LA PEÑA ET VILLÆ ESCVSÆ COMMENDATARIVS,  
5 MELITÆ LEMOCOMII ET VALETVDINARII PRÆSES,  
TRIREMIS IN TVNETANA OBSIDIONE RECTOR,  
IN COMITIIS GENERALIBVS ANNI MDCCLXXVI  
BAJVLIVI NOVEM VILLARVM VICES GERENS,  
ALIISQVE TERRÆ ET MARIS BELLI PACISQVE  
10 MVNERIBVS  
PRO ORDINE SVO FVNCTVS,  
PROPE DIEM MORITVRVS,  
DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO ANIMAM COMMENDANS,  
HVNC CINERIBVS SVIS LOCVM PARAT.  
15 PII SODALES HOC TEMPLVM INGRESSI  
PIAS PRO EO PRECES FVNDITE.

OBIIT DIE 24 APRILIS 1797.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

Sancho Basurto, born at Jerez, Andalusia, Jerusalemite Knight, Commendator of Peña and Villaescusa, in Malta Governor of the Poorhouse and of the Infirmary, Captain of a galley in the siege of Tunis, deputising for the Bailiff of Novillas in the Chapter-General of the year 1776 and fulfilling other duties for his Order on land and at sea, in war and peace; close to the day of his approaching death, entrusting his soul to God, Supreme and Almighty, he prepared this grave for his remains. Dear companions, on entering this temple, pour out pious prayers for him. He died on the 24<sup>th</sup> day of April 1797.

### 322 - Emanuel de Rohan

OPTATO PRINCIPI,  
BENEFICIO EGENTIVM PATRI,  
EMINENTISSIMO MAGNO MAGISTRO FRATRI EMMANUEL DE ROHAN  
5 QUI,  
PER XXI ANNOS  
ARDUIS TEMPORIBVS PRUDENTER,  
ADVERSIS STRENVE  
REMPUBLICAM GESTANS,  
10 NOVUM DECUS SACRI ORDINIS ATTULIT,  
NECNON,  
DUM REVOLVUNTUR REGNA,  
ABUNDANTIA PACEM, JUSTITIA FIDEM,  
PIETATE AMOREM  
15 POPULORUM  
OBTINUIT.  
OBIIT DIE XIII JULII 1797, ÆTATIS SUÆ 72.

To a chosen Prince, his benefaction a father of the destitute, the Most Eminent Grand Master Frà Emanuel de Rohan who guided the Republic through 21 years, prudently in times of growth, tirelessly in times of adversity, giving new lustre to the Sacred Order and, in fact, while kingdoms were being overturned, he obtained the people's favour with his generosity, trust with his justice, affection with his Christian love. He died on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of July 1797, at the age of 72.

### 309 - Bartolomeo Arezzo e Valle

A XPICTOΞ Ω  
FRATER BARTHOLOMAEUS AREZZO ET VALLE, PATRITIUS SYRACUSANUS,  
THALASSIARCHI MUNERE EGREGIE FUNCTUS,  
PRIMATUS SUI IURE SANCTÆ EUPHEMIÆ BAJULIVUS,  
5 UT MORTUUS VIVERET FESTUM SANCTÆ CATHARINÆ DIE PONTIFICALI,  
OBITUS SUI ANNIVERSARIUM DIE PIACULARI SACRO  
QUOTANNIS RECOLENDUM, SIBIQUE MORITURUS,  
QUOD SOLUM SUPERERAT, SEPULCRUM PONENDUM CURAVIT.  
DEVIXIT ANNO SALUTIS CIOIOCCXCVII, ANNOS NATUS LXXX,  
10 DIE X AUGUSTII.

Alpha Christ Omega  
Frà Bartolomeo Arezzo e Valle, a Syracusan nobleman, after he had fulfilled excellently the duty of Captain, was made by right of his seniority Bailiff of Sant'Euphemia. In order to live on after death, he arranged that the annual memorial service of his demise would be held on the pontifical feast day of Saint Catherine, and on his deathbed provided arrangements for this slab, the only thing that would remain of himself, on this sacred expiatory day. He died in the Year of Salvation 1797, at the age of 80 years, on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of August.

### 32 - Raymonde Aubin Menville

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
CINERIBUS ET MEMORIAE  
FRATRIS RAJMUNDI ALBINI MENVILLE MELITENSIS  
COMMENDATarii SANCTI IOANNIS DE PRATO COMMENDATARIE  
MAGISTRALIS  
5 SANCTAEQUE MARIAE GRATIARUM  
PRIORATUS PISARUM COMMENDATarii,  
PIETATE IN DEUM REBUSQUE DIVINIS  
SOLERTISSIMI,  
SPECTATAE PROBITATIS PRUDENTIAEQUE VIRI,  
10 QUI,  
ARDUIS RELIGIONIS NEGOTIIS ADHIBITUS,  
INGENIO, DOCTRINA PARI LAUDE AC GLORIA,  
COMMUNIS AERARII ADVOCATUS MUNUS COMPLEVIT,  
SACRIQUE ORDINIS CANCELLARIAE REGENS,  
15 EMINENTISSIMORUM XIMENES ET ROHAN PRUDENS AUDITOR,  
PRO TANTIS EMERITIS INSIGNIQUE GLORIA  
INTER EPISCOPATUS CANDIDATOS RENUNCIATUS,  
MAJORISQUE ECCLESIAE PRIOR DESTIGNATUS,  
FATO MAJOR,  
20 OMNIUM MOERORE AC LACRUMIS OCCUBUIT  
DIE VI MENSE MAJI, ANNO MDCCCL.  
VIXIT ANNOS 86, MENSES 2, DIES 14.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
To the remains and memory of Frà Raymonde Aubin Menville of Malta, Commendator of the Magistral Commandery of San Giovanni di Prato and Commendator of the Priory of Santa Maria delle Grazie of Pisa, astute in his observance to God and of divine matters, a man of respected honesty and prudence who, consulted in difficult matters of the Religion, fulfilled his duties, equally with merit and glory for his natural talent and erudition, as the attorney of the Common Treasury, and while fulfilling the duties of the Chancellery of the Holy Order as the capable auditor of the Most Eminent Ximenez and Rohan, for such great deserts and distinguished glory he was announced to be among the candidates for the bishopric, and elected as the Prior of the Conventual Church. He, elevated to a superior level by destiny, died with the bereavement and tears of everyone, on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of May, in the year 1801. He lived for 86 years, 2 months and 14 days.

### 263 - Gaétan Bruno

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
IN MEMORIA ÆTERNA ERIT JUSTUS.  
IURIS UTRIUSQUE DOCTOR SACERDOS FRATER CAJETANUS BRUNO, ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI,  
INTER CAPPELLANOS CONVENTUALES VENERANDÆ LINGUÆ ARVERNIORUM ADSCITUS,  
5 COMMENDAM SANCTI ROMANI EN GALLES ADEPTUS,  
MUNERE A SECRETIS CANCELLARIÆ SUI ORDINIS PER ANNOS XXXVII PERFUNCTUS,  
A LIBELLIS PRINCIPUM DE ROHAN ET HOMPESC  
INDEQUE REGII HARUM INSULARUM COMMISSARIIS USQUE AD OBITUM.  
SCIENTIA, COMITATE, INGENUITATE, PRUDENTIA, DOCILITATE  
10 DIFFICILLIMIS TEMPORIBUS OMNIBUS ÆQUE CARUS,  
ANIMI FORTITUDINEM EXIMIAM OSTENDIT.  
PUBLICÆ BIBLIOTHECÆ SCUTORUM DECEM MILLIUM DOTEM CONSTITUIT,  
ORDINEM SUUM ETIAM PROCUL CONSTANTER AMAVIT,  
PATRIAM DILEXIT, IUSTITIAM PERPETUO COLUIT,  
15 RELIGIONIS ZELO FLAGRANTISSIMO ENITUIT.  
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ SEXAGESIMO OCTAVO MORTE ABREPTUS,  
HEIC CINERES, ANIMIS OMNIUM SUI DESIDERIUM RELIQUIT.  
OBIIT DIE VII MENSIS MAII MDCCCVIII.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

According to his deserts, he will live in eternal memory. Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, Frà Gaétan Bruno of the Jerusalemite Order, received into the company of the Conventual Chaplains of the Venerable Tongue of Auvergne, obtained the Commandery of Saint-Romain-en-Gal, punctiliously carried out the task of Secretary of the Chancellery of his Order for 37 years, was Chancellor of the Princes De Rohan and Hompesch, and thenceforth His Majesty's Commissioner of these islands until his death. He showed extraordinary determination of the mind and in the most difficult of times he remained equally dear to everyone for his knowledge, courtesy, frankness, good sense and piety. He bequeathed a gift of 10,000 *scudi* to the Public Library, loved his Order unconditionally, even when it was far away, he valued his fatherland, always was the guardian of justice, he was the shining example by his most ardent fervour of the Religion. Seized by Death in his 68th year of age, here he left behind his remains, and regret for his absence in everyone's mind. He died on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of May 1808.

### 323 - Louis-Charles d'Orléans

PRINCIPI ILLUSTRISSIMO ET SERENISSIMO  
LUDOVICO CAROLO AURELIANENSI,  
COMITI DE BEAUJOLAIS,  
IN MELITA INSULA,  
5 QUO SE AD REFICIENDUM VALETUDINEM CONTULERAT  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCCVIII,  
DIE MAII VIGESIMA NONA  
DEFUNCTO,  
ET IN HAC SANCTI JOANNIS ÆDE  
10 INTER SUMMOS MELITENSIS ORDINIS MAGISTROS  
CONSEPULTO,  
HOC MARMOR  
PIÆ RECORDATIONIS MONIMENTUM  
DICAVIT  
15 FRATER AMANTISSIMUS ET DILECTISSIMUS  
LUDOVICUS PHILIPPUS, FRANCORUM REX,  
ANNO DOMINI MDCCCXLIII.

For the Most Illustrious and Most Serene Prince Louis-Charles d'Orléans, Count of Beaujolais, who died on the island of Malta where he himself Louis-Philippe had brought him in order to recover his good health in the Year of the Lord 1808, on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of May, and was buried in this temple of Saint John among the Greatest Masters of the Maltese Order. His dearest and most beloved brother, Louis-Philippe, King of the French, dedicated this marble statue as a monument of pious remembrance, in the Year of the Lord 1843.

## 244 - Stefano Aijroldi

EXCELLENTISSIMUS EQUES HIEROSOLYMITANUS  
DOMINUS STEPHANUS, MARCHIO AJROLDI,  
TRIBUNALIS REGNI SICILLÆ PRÆSES,  
NATUS PANORMI DIE V JANUARIII MDCCXXIV,  
OBIIT MELITÆ DIE XII JULII MDCCCIX.

5

The most distinguished Jerusalemite Knight Don Stefano, Marquis of Aijroldi, President over the Courts of Justice of the Kingdom of Sicily, born in Palermo on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of January 1724, died in Malta on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of July 1809.

## 246 - Joaquín Navarro

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
FRATRI JOACHIM NAVARRO  
MELITENSI,  
SACERDOTI CONVENTUALI ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI,  
QUI  
PUBLICÆ BIBLIOTHECÆ  
ANNOS XL  
EXIMIA LAUDE DILIGENTIÆ  
AC SCIENTIÆ PRÆFUIT,  
CONSOBRINO CLARISSIMO,  
HOC AMORIS MONUMENTUM  
VINCENTIA VICTORIA DEBONO  
ÆRE PROPRIO PONENDUM CURAVIT  
ANNO MDCCCXVIII.  
OBIIT KALENDIS IANUARIII MDCCCXIII,  
ÆTATIS ANNUM AGENS LXV.

5

10

15

To God, Supreme and Almighty

For Frà Joaquín Navarro of Malta, Conventual Priest of the Jerusalemite Order, who presided over the Public Library during 40 years with his excellent reputation for diligence and expertise. Vincenza Vittoria Debono arranged this monument of affection to be placed at her own expense in the year 1818 for her most famous cousin, He died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1813, at the age of 65.

## 260 - Angelo Grognet

FRATRI ANGELO GROGNET,  
SACERDOTI CONVENTUALI SACRI ORDINIS IEROSOLYMITANI,  
COMMENDATARIO DE PESCAROLA  
NEC NON ET COMMENDÆ SANCTÆ ELISABETH  
5 QUAM IN RUSSLÆ PRIORATU EX GRATIA MAGISTRALI OBTINUIT,  
EJUSDEM ORDINIS SUI IN HAC INSULA PROCURATORI  
QUI OBIIT X APRILIS MDCCCXIV,  
ÆTATIS SUÆ ANNOS LXXIV,  
CAMILLA GROGNET, EJUS SOROR, LACRYMANS  
10 HOC MONUMENTUM INDICI CURAVIT.  
CHRISTI FIDELES, PRO EO PRECES FUNDITE.

For Frà Angelo Grognet, Conventual Priest of the Sacred Jerusalemite Order, Commendator of Pescaroli and also of the Commandery of Sant'Elisabetta which he obtained from the Priory of Russia on account of Magistral Grace, Procurator of the aforesaid Order on this island who died on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1814, at the age of 74. Camilla Grognet, his mourning sister, arranged in tears for this slab to be displayed publicly. Faithful of Christ, cast your prayers for him.

## 245 - Pierre Henri Petit

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
HIC IACET  
FRATER PETRUS HENRICUS PETIT MELITENSIS,  
MATERNO CAXARO SANGUINE CLARUS,  
5 ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI CAPELLANUS CONVENTUALIS  
LINGUÆ ET PRIORATUS FRANCIÆ,  
QUI  
COMMENDAM DE BOURGOULT NUNCUPATAM  
PROPRIO IURE ADEPTUS,  
10 COMITATE ET MORUM CANDORE  
OMNIUM AMOREM SIBI PROMERUIT.  
OBIIT KALENDIS IANUARIII MDCCCXVII,  
ÆTATIS ANNUM AGENS LXXVI.  
IOANNES ANDREAS PETIT, FRATRIS FILIUS,  
15 LAPIDEM HUNC  
IN GRATI ANIMI MONUMENTUM  
MOERENS PONENDUM CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty

Here lies Frà Pierre Henri Petit of Malta, famous by his maternal blood-lineage of Caxaro, Conventual Chaplain of the Jerusalemite Order of the Tongue and Priory of France, who, obtained the Commandery named Bourgoult by his own right, gained everyone's affection for himself by his courteousness and pleasantness of character. He died on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1817, at the age of 76. Jean André Petit, son of his brother, in mourning, arranged for this slab to be placed as a monument of grateful memory.

#### 40 - Francisco Carvalho Pinto

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO  
MEMORLÆ  
FRATRIS FRANCISCI CARVALHO PINTO,  
SACRIS ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI VICE CANCELLARIUS,  
5       BAJULIVI DE LANGON ET LESÆ,  
          MAGNI HIBERNIÆ PRIORIS,  
          QUI,  
          MAJORI HUIC TEMPLO SEMPER ADDICTUS,  
          LICET MORTALES EIUS EXUVIÆ,  
10       UT EI IN VOTIS ERAT, HEIC NON CONDANTUR,  
          LAPIDEM HUNC ERIGI VOLUIT,  
          ANIMÆ SUÆ EXPIATIONEM  
          FIDELIUM PRECIBUS COMMENDANS.  
          OBIIT DIE VIII SEPTEMBRIS MDCCCXVIII,  
15       ÆTATIS ANNOS LXXII.  
          ALEXANDER PATRITIUS SPITERI,  
          DEFUNCTO IN AMICITIIS DIU JUNCTUS,  
          EX EJUSDEM VOLUNTATE, PONENDUM CURAVIT.

To God, Supreme and Almighty  
To the memory of Frà Francisco Carvalho Pinto, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Order of Jerusalem, Bailiff of Langon and Leça, Grand Prior of Aragon, who was always devoted to this Conventual Church, although his mortal remains, as he had vowed to Him, do not lie buried here. He wished this stone to be erected, entrusting the purification of his soul to the prayers of the faithful. He died on the eighth day of September 1818, at the age of 72 years. The nobleman Alessandro Spiteri, joining in friendship with the deceased for a long time, arranged to place this slab according to his wish.

#### 284 - Joseph Lauron

IOSEPH LAVRON, PRESBYTERO MELITENSI, IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORI,  
CANONICO ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS, COMMENDATORI ORDINIS HIERUSALEM,  
OLIM MAGNO MAGISTRO AB EPISTVLIS LATINIS, CONCILIO A DECRETIS,  
HEIC SEPVLTQVI, RELIGIONE, SVIMET NEGLECTV, ERVDITIONE,  
5       SPECTATVS MIRA SVAVITATE MORVM, LARGITATE IN EGENOS,  
          BENEFICENTIA IN OMNES, FIDE IN AMICOS, OMNIVM ORDINVM  
          AMICOS SIBI DEVINXIT MORIENSQVE LVCTV AFFECIT.  
          NONNVLLI COLLATA PECVNIA AMICO CARISSIMO MONVMENTVM POSVERE.  
          VIXIT ANNOS LXXIII, OBIIT XI KALENDAS MAII, ANNO DOMINI MDCCCXXIII.  
10       TER DVLCIS LAVRONE, VALE, ÆTERNVMQVE QVIESCAS.

Joseph Lauron, Maltese priest, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, Canon of the Cathedral-Church, Commendator of the Jerusalemite Order, once the Latin correspondent for the Grand Master, Legal Secretary of the Council, is buried here. Esteemed for his piety, disregard of himself, erudition, his admirable pleasantness of character, munificence to the needy, beneficence to everyone, loyalty to friends, bound to himself friends of all social orders, whom he brought sorrow on his deathbed. A number of them collected money and placed this slab for their dearest friend. He lived for 73 years, he died 21<sup>st</sup> April, in the Year of the Lord 1823. Farewell, dearest Lauron, and may you rest forever.



## 182 - Giuseppe Nicola Zamitt

A                      ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ                      Ω  
HEIC CONDITI SVNT CINERES  
IOSEPHI NICOLAI ZAMITT  
MELITENSIS,  
5 IVRIS CIVILIS ET PONTIFICII CONSVLTI,  
EQVITIS BENEFICIARII  
ORDINIS BRITANNICI SANCTORVM MICHAELIS ET GEORGII  
QVI,  
ILLVSTRIS INGENIO  
10 ET LEGVM MORVMQVE BRITANNICORVM  
SCIENTISSIMVS,  
ANGLIS IMPERANTIBVS  
A NEGOTIIS PVBLICIS ANNOS X FVIT  
IVRIDICVS STLITIBVS, NEGOTIIS IVDICANDIS  
15 COGNITOR IVDICIORVM  
ET ADLECTVS IN CONSILIVM  
IVDICIIS ITERVM COGNOSCENDIS,  
VIVENS MAGNO IN HONORE HABITVS,  
POST MORTEM  
20 STATVA PVBLICE DONATVS EST.  
VIXIT ANNOS LII, MENSESIV, DIES II.  
OBIIT IDVS VII SEPTEMBRIS ANNI MDCCCXXIII.  
CALCIDONIVS AZOPARDIVS ZAMITT  
EX NVMERO PRIMORVM MELITENSIVM,  
25 VIRO SPECTATISSIMO, AVO SVO MATERNO,  
PIETATIS CAVSSA MONVMENTVM POSVIT,  
ANNO MDCCCLXXV.

Alpha                      Christ                      Omega

Here are buried the remains of Giuseppe Nicola Zamitt, a Maltese, lawyer of civil and pontifical law, beneficiary Knight of the British Order of Saint Michael and Saint George who, illustrious for his natural qualities and expert on British laws and customs, was during the time of the English rule judge in disputes arising under public and administrative law for ten years, magistrate examining cases for settlement, and appointed to the Court of Appeal. Held in great esteem during his lifetime, he was publicly honoured with a statue after his death. He lived for 52 years, 4 months and 2 days. He died on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September of the year 1823. Calcedonio Azzopardi Zamitt, from the ranks of the most noble Maltese, placed this slab on account of piety for a most respected man, his grandfather on his mother's side, in the year 1875.

## 267 - Emanuel and Giuseppe Borg

SANGVINE ET VOTO FRATRES,  
COMMENDATORII EMMANVEL ET JOSEPH  
BORG  
HIC IACENT  
5 MORTVORVM RESVRRECTIONEM  
EXPECTANTES.  
MDCCCXXI.

Brothers by blood and by vow, the Commendators Emanuel and Giuseppe Borg lie here, awaiting resurrection from the dead. 1831.

### 376 - Stefano Libreri

QVIETI ET MEMORIAE  
FRATRIS STEPHANI LIBRERII IVRIS VTRIVSQVE DOCTORIS,  
PRESBYTERI CONVENTVALIS SACRI ORDINIS HIEROSOLYMITANI,  
VIRI PRVDENTIA ANIMIQUE CANDORE ORNATI  
5 QVI, OFFICIO PATRONI FISCO PERPVNCTVS,  
PROCERIBVS  
ADIVDICANDIS EQVITVM SPOLIIS PRAEPOSITIS  
CONSILIARIVS ADSEDT,  
DIRIMENDISQVE LITIBVS  
10 GRAVATORVM AERE PVBLICI AERARII  
IVDEX RENVNTIATVS,  
DIGNVM DELATIS MVNERIBVS SE PRAEBVIT,  
VIXIT ANNOS LXII, MENSES I, DIES XII.  
OBIIT PRIDIE KALENDAS DECEMBRES MDCCCXXXIV.  
15 IOSEPH SESINO  
AVVNCVLO SVO BENEMERENTISSIMO  
POSVIT.

To the peace and memory of Frà Stefano Libreri, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, Conventual Priest of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, a man endowed with prudence and purity of the mind who, when he was performing the duty of tax-proctor, sat in council as an advisor assigned to the Notables, put in charge of Knights' inheritances, and elected judge of the Public Treasury for settling lawsuits on debts, showed himself worthy of those duties conferred on him. He lived for 72 years, 1 month and 12 days. He died on 31<sup>st</sup> November 1834. Giuseppe Sesino placed this slab for his most meritorious maternal uncle.

### 247 - Paolo de Bertis Portughes

FRATRI PAVLO DE BERTIS PORTVGHES  
MELITENSI,  
VENERANDÆ LINGVÆ ITALIÆ PRIORATVS, PISARVM  
COMMENDATARIO,  
5 QVI, IMPROBO LABORE  
SINGVLA CENOTAPHIA AC TOTVM PAVIMENTVM  
HVIVS MAGNIFICENTISSIMI TEMPLI  
GRAPHICE DESCRIPSIT TYPISQVE  
MANDARI SATEGIT,  
10 CVIVS ELOGIVM MEMINIT  
VICECOMES L. F. DE VILLENVEVE BARGEMONT,  
IN OPERE CVI TITVLVS  
MONVMENS DES GRANDS  
MAÎTRES, PAGINÆ 274 ET 339.  
15 VIXIT ANNOS LXXXV, MENSES XI, DIES X.  
OBIIT XIV KALENDAS IVNII MDCCCXXXV.  
SIT IN PACE LOCVS EIVS.

For Frà Paolo de Bertis Portughes of Malta, of the Priory of the Venerable Tongue of Italy, Commendator of Pisa who, with enormous effort gave an exact account of each cenotaph and the whole floor of this most magnificent church and greatly occupied himself to commit it to print, whose eulogy Viscount L.F. de Villeneuve Bargemont recalls in his work titled *The Monuments of the Grand Masters*, on pages 274 and 339. He lived for 85 years, 11 months and 10 days. He died on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 1835. May his grave be at peace.

### 351 - Papal letter in marble of Pope Gregory XIII

GREGORIVS EPISCOPVS, SERVVS SERVORVM DEI, AD FVTVRAM REI MEMORIAM, OMNIVM SALVTI  
PATERNA  
CHARITATE INTENTI, INTER TAM MVLTÀ PIETATIS OFFICIA QVÆ NOS PRO MVNERE NOSTRO CONVENIT  
EXERCERE,  
SACRA INTERDV M LOCA SPECIALI PRIVILEGIO INSIGNIMVS, VT INDE FIDELIVM ANIMARVM SALVTI  
AMPLIVS  
CONSVLATVR, QVOCIRCA VT ECCLESIA SANCTI IOANNIS BAPTISTÆ, MELIVETANSIS HOSPITALITATIS  
SANCTI IOANNIS HIEROSOLYMITANÆ, VIGINTI SACER-  
5 DOTIBVS EIVSDEM HOSPITALITATIS IBI CONTINVO DIVINIS MINISTERIJS INCVMBENTIBVS ORNATA,  
NEC SIMILI VSQVE ADHVC PRIVILEGIO  
DECORATA, ET IN EA ALTARE, SITVM IN CAPPELLA SANCTÆ CRVCIS, SVBTVS ALTARE MAIVS, HOC  
SPECIALI DONO ILLVSTRE-  
TVR, AVCTORITATE NOBIS ADNON TRADITA, CONCEDIMVS VT QVOTIES MISSA DE FVNCTORVM AD  
PRAEDICTVM ALTARE  
CELEBRABITVR PRO ANIMA CVIVSCVMQVE FIDELIS QVÆ DEO IN CHARITATE CONIVNCTA, AB HAC  
LVCE MIGRAVERIT,  
IPSA DE THESA VRO ECCLESIAE INDVLGENTIAM CONSEQVATVR, QVATENSVS DOMINI NOSTRI IESV  
CHRISTI ET BEATISSIMÆ VIRGINIS  
10 MARIE, BEATORVM APOSTOLORVM PETRI ET PAVLI ALIORVMQVE SANTORVM OMNIVM MERITIS  
SVFFRAGANTIBVS, A  
PVRGATORIJ PCENIS LIBERETVR. DATVM ROMÆ APVD SANCTVM PETRVM ANNO INCARNATIONIS  
DOMINICÆ MDLXXIX,  
KALENDIS OCTOBRIS, PONTIFICIS NOSTRI ANNO OCTAVO. MANV DATARIVS IBI BROVHE.  
CÆLI GLORIER IVS.

We Gregory, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for future memory of this altar, considering mercifully the salvation of everyone by God's Grace, We have decided to exercise our right, among so many other services of piety in accordance with Our Ministry, to honour sacred places with a special privilege on occasion, to thenceforth take care of the Salvation of the souls of the Faithful in a greater number. For this reason the Church of Saint John the Baptist, of the Maltese Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, not adorned with a similar privilege until now, shall be complemented with twenty priests from the aforesaid Hospital, who will there fulfil their Divine Ministry without interruption. Accordingly, the altar situated in the Chapel of the Holy Crucifix, underneath the main altar, may be adorned by this special grant. We concede to, by the authority granted to Us, that as often as a Mass for the Dead will be celebrated on the afore-mentioned altar for the soul of any Faithful, sharing in God's Mercy, after departing from this earthly light, the aforesaid soul may be given indulgence from the Church's profusion, so that this soul, through suffrages petitioned of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and of all saints, may be released from the chastisement of Purgatory. Issued in Rome at Saint Peter's, in the Year of Incarnation of the Lord 1579, on the 1<sup>st</sup> October, in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of our Pontificate. Thereupon, this letter is to be delivered by hand. Let Us glory of the Law of Heaven.

## Appendix II

### First Rule of Raymond du Puy (summarised)

#### **1. How the brethren should make their profession:**

Chastity, obedience, poverty. Reason: God will require this at the Last Judgment.

#### **2. What the brethren should claim as their due:**

They cannot claim more than bread, water and clothing. Clothing should be humble, because we are humble servants of Our Lord's poor, and they go naked.

#### **3. Concerning the conduct of the brethren and the service of the churches and the reception of the sick:**

Conduct in church must be decorous. Clerics, deacons and sub-deacons should serve the priest at the altar in white vestments. There should be a light every day in the church, day and night. The priests shall go in white vestments to visit the sick. Acolytes should process before, carrying a lantern with a lit candle and a sponge with the holy water.

#### **4. How the brethren should go abroad and behave:**

When brothers go to the cities and castles, they cannot go alone but with two or three. They shall not go there with persons of their choice but with those selected by the Master. During travel they must remain united in conduct and dress. Their manner should be inoffensive to anyone, and reveal their holiness. When in a church, a house or in any other place where there are women, they should guard their own modesty. Women should not be allowed to wash their heads or feet, or make their beds. May Our Lord keep guard over them.

#### **5. By whom and how alms should be sought:**

Let religious persons, both clerical and lay brethren, go out and seek alms for the holy poor. When they seek lodging, they should go to the church or to some suitable person and ask them for food, for the sake of charity, and they should buy nothing else. But if they cannot find anyone who will give them alms, they may buy one meal daily, on which they shall live.

#### **6. Concerning the alms obtained and concerning the produce of the houses:**

Those who collect alms cannot acquire land or security with them, as they must be delivered directly to the Master, with a receipt. The Master must record these alms with a description in writing and make them available to the poor in the hospital. The Master should receive from all those in the House a third part of the bread and wine and of all food. All that is surplus shall be added to the alms, which must be distributed in Jerusalem among the poor, with his own account in writing.

#### **7. Who and in what manner they should go abroad to preach:**

No brother, of whatever House may go to preach or to make collections, except those whom the Chapter and the Master of the Church shall send. Those same brethren, who shall go to make collections, must be received immaterial of their House, and ought to receive such food as the brothers have ordained for themselves, and let them demand any other thing. Also let them carry with them a light, and in whatever house they shall be lodged, let them hold the burning light in front of them.

#### **8. Concerning the clothing and food of the brethren:**

We prohibit the brothers to wear at any time brightly coloured cloth, animal furs or fustian. They cannot eat more than twice a day and they cannot eat meat on Wednesdays or Saturdays, or from Septuagesima until Easter, except those who are sick or weak. They are not allowed to sleep naked, but dressed in shirts or linen or wool, or in other similar garments.

#### **9. Concerning brethren guilty of fornication:**

Should any of the brothers, and may such a thing never happen, through sinful passion shall engage in fornication, then, if he sinned in secret, he must do penance in secret, and let him impose upon himself suitable penance. If it has become well known and proved absolutely for certain, then in that town in which he committed that sin, on the Sunday after Mass, when the people shall have left the church, let him be severely beaten and flogged with hard rods or leather thongs in the sight of all by his Master or by other brothers instructed by the Master. He shall then be expelled from our midst. If afterwards Our Lord shall make him see the light, and he may return to the House of the Poor, and shall confess himself to be guilty and a sinner and a offender of God's laws. And on promising to amend his ways, he should be received and for a whole year should be treated as a stranger. The brothers should observe during this period of time whether he is suitable, and afterwards let them do as shall seem good to them.

#### **10. Concerning brethren quarrelling and striking one another:**

Should brothers have a dispute, and the administrator of the House has heard the complaint, the penance should be as follows: the wrongdoer shall fast for seven days, the Wednesday and the Friday on bread and water, and he shall eat sitting on the floor and without a napkin. In case one brother strikes another, the perpetrator shall fast for forty days. Should a brother willfully take his leave from the House without permission of the Master under whose authority he resides, on his return shall eat for forty days sitting on the floor on the ground, and shall fast on Wednesdays and Fridays on bread and

water; and for as long a time as he has been absent, let him be treated as a stranger, unless this time was of such a length that the Chapter should think proper to modify this period.

**11. Concerning the silence of the brethren:**

At table one eats in silence, and one should not drink after Compline. The brothers must keep silence in their beds.

**12. Concerning brethren misbehaving:**

Any misconduct shall be admonished and corrected by his Master or by any other brethren twice or thrice. Should he, prompted by the Devil, not amend his ways or refuses to obey, he shall be sent to us on foot with a written report of his sin. A small allowance should always be given to him in order to enable him to come to us, and we will correct him. No brother should strike a sergeant under his command for any fault or sin he may have committed. In such an event, the Master of the House and the brothers will exact vengeance in the presence of all. The justice of the House always prevails.

**13. Concerning brethren found with private property:**

Should any brother have willed private property at his death, it is deemed that he has concealed this from his Master. If this private property is found upon him, that money shall be tied round his neck and he is led naked through the Hospital of Jerusalem, or through the other houses where he lives. He should be severely beaten by another brother and then do penance for forty days. He shall fast on Wednesdays and Fridays on bread and water.

**14. What office should be celebrated for the deceased brethren:**

For all brothers who die at their House, thirty Masses should be celebrated for the soul of each. At the first Mass each of the brothers who are present, shall offer one candle with one Denier. Which Deniers, as many as there shall be, should be given to the poor for God's sake. The priest celebrating the Masses, if he is not of the House, shall be provided for in the House on those days. On completion of the office, the Master should render charity to the said priest, and let all the garments of the deceased's brother be given to the poor. The brother priests, who celebrate the Masses, shall pray for his soul to Our Lord Jesus Christ. Each of the clerics shall sing the Psalter, and each of the lay brothers recite for 150 times the prayer of Pater Noster.

**15. How the things here detailed are to be firmly maintained:**

All these things, just as we have detailed them above, we command and ordain in the Name of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Mary, and of the Blessed St. John, and of the poor, that these same things should be kept with the utmost strictness.

**16. How our Lords the Sick should be received and served:**

When the sick or poor man arrives at the House, let him be received as follows. First, he partakes of the Holy Sacrament, having confessed his sins to a priest. Afterward he is brought to a bed, and there, as if he were a Lord, each day he shall eat before the brothers have their meal, let him be refreshed with food charitably according to the ability of the House. On each Sunday, let the Epistle and the Gospel be chanted in that House, and let the House be sprinkled with Holy Water at the procession. Any brother, who belongs to another House in a different country, coming to any secular person offering allegiance and giving him the money of the poor, in order that those persons should cause the said brothers to go against the Master, let such brethren be cast out of all the company.

**17. In what manner brethren may correct brothers:**

When brothers are together, and one of them conducts himself outrageously be evil living, the others should not denounce him to the people nor to the Prior, but first let him chastise him by himself. When failing to do so, other brothers should do it for him. If he has amended his ways, they should rejoice. Should he not be willing to amend his ways, then let a brother write down the guilt of the brother, and send it to the Master privately for his perusal.

**18. How one brother should accuse another brother:**

Let no brother accuse another brother unless he is well able to prove it. Should he accuse a brother and unable to prove it, he is not a true brother.

**19. That the brothers bear on their chest the sign of the cross:**

All brothers of all the Houses who now and hereafter offer themselves to God and to the Holy Hospital of Jerusalem, shall bear on their chest the cross, on their cassocks and on their mantles, to the honour of God and the Holy Cross that God by that banner and through faith and works and obedience, may guard and defend us in soul and in body, with all our Christian benefactors from the power of the Devil in this world and the next. Amen.

## Appendix III

### The *Miracula*

#### *Gerard's miraculum and miraculous appointment*

With regard to the miraculous stories of Gerard, one is more a supportive story to show the strength and resolve of Gerard, while the other is the 'real' *miraculum*. In addition, in the third *miraculum* of the Hospital, Gerard is appointed as the successor of the Christ-inspired miraculous founders of the Hospital, namely, Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Melchior, the high priest of Jerusalem, the prophet Zachary, father of St John the Baptist and Julian, the Roman envoy. Finally, St Stephen is added to this list.<sup>1</sup> The first story of Gerard, in one of William of Tyre's accounts, is related to the situation in Jerusalem in 1098, when the Egyptians had recaptured the city from the Seljuks. Less than a year later, the Egyptians needed to start preparing for the imminent arrival of the First Crusade. Walls were repaired and provisions were stored. To win popularity and loyalty with the other inhabitants, the Egyptians paid them handsomely and exempted them forever from tithes and customs duties. In order to compensate for their generosity, the losses were recuperated by demanding 14,000 gold pieces, *quatuordecim aureorum millia*, of the remaining Christians, to be paid by the Greek patriarch and the monasteries in and around the city. These could not raise the entire sum and the patriarch travelled to Cyprus to seek remedy. After the Egyptians had received their tribute, also by means of confiscating Christian properties and resorting to torture, they expelled most of the Christians from the city. Gerard was managing his hospital, lodging and caring for the poor and pilgrims. The Egyptians thought he had a treasure hidden away and that he posed a threat to them when the Crusaders would arrive. They took him to prison, beat him and tortured him so terribly that 'the joints of both his hands and feet were wrenched apart and his limbs became practically useless.'<sup>2</sup> It is not illogical that the Egyptians thought that there was money at the hospice, as the city's authorities had been redistributing the alms collected at the gate to Gerard's hospital after all for years before the Seljuks took over. They must also have had a clue that people left them gifts and that donations arrived from overseas. It is to Gerard's credit that he did not give up his secrets under torture, as surely there must have been funds available for buying food, medicine and other overheads. This story as such is not so much miraculous, after all, many people have been tortured in an attempt to reveal their secrets and prevailed in their silence. Nonetheless, Gerard, now reputedly severely physically challenged, continued with his hospitaller work. This kind of perseverance forms a backbone of Hospitaller character.

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1 Demurger, 2013, 40.

2 Babcock and Krey, 1943, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 7, chapter 23.

The second miraculous story of Gerard, the *miraculum* of Gerard, is as follows: In William of Tyre's work, the identity and fame of Gerard gets a boost when the Crusaders are close to Jerusalem and besiege the city. Gerard, notwithstanding his serious disabilities, decides to help the starving pilgrims and Crusaders. He fills his mantle with bread, three or four times daily, and hurls these down from the city walls as if they were stones. Soon enough, Gerard gets caught and was brought before the authorities. He was searched, but the bread had indeed turned into stone. He was then ordered by the Egyptian authorities to continue hurling 'stones'. After the dust had settled following the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, these rewarded Gerard for his assistance with many properties in Jerusalem, in honour of the hospital.<sup>3</sup>

In the time of Gerard, donations had never ceased to come in. He seemed to have been able to, even when under Muslim rule, to hammer out some agreements with them. This was in the advantage of the faithful who came to Jerusalem, able to find a roof in the hospice directed by Gerard, and not just any hospice, since this was the house of Christ. As a result, the holy hospital symbolically became the shelter of Christendom in the widest sense possible in Jerusalem, where the pilgrim could find refuge near the tomb of the Lord. From sources it appears that there was some form of cooperation, as in the twelfth century the hospice sustained the tradition of admitting non-Christians into their wards.<sup>4</sup>

Another passage of William of Tyre narrates the lot of pilgrims at the door of Jerusalem and the miserable and the poor have to remain at the gate, in the greatest pain, with hunger, thirst and naked, until at last being given the right to enter the city, in change for money. Possibly part of these entrance fees into Jerusalem were redistributed by the Egyptians to the hospice, for the sake of the non-Christian patients. William of Tyre writes that it was thanks to the alms given by the Saracens that Gerard had been able to serve the poor before the arrival of the Crusaders. This cooperation sounds better than it probably was, referring back to the above passage of Tyre regarding the extortion of entrance fees from miserable pilgrims.<sup>5</sup>

#### *The miracula of the hospital foundation*

Besides the *miraculum* of Gerard, the origins of the Hospital became surrounded by its own *miracula*

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3 Demurger, 2013, 55.

4 Riley-Smith, 2012b, 19.

5 Babcock and Krey, 1943, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 18, chapter V.

as foundation legends by unknown contributors. According to Demurger, these *miracula* were, as it is presumed, composed by or on behalf of the Hospital of St John the Baptist or the Hospitaller Order between 1140 and 1150,<sup>6</sup> while Beltjens proposes a later date, between 1160 and 1170, after the demise of Raymond du Puy.<sup>7</sup> Riley-Smith proposes even a later date still, from the early thirteenth century onwards.<sup>8</sup>

Once Gerard had established the connection between St John the Baptist and the hospice, there was no stopping anyone developing and deepening this topic. Gerard, in this case, can be regarded as a real person managing the Hospital, while his successors, real persons as well, had a larger organisational structure behind them to run the Hospital and a military Order. In other words, the successors of Gerard, had presumably a large think-tank of a different kind incorporated, originating from nobility with a chivalric background.

The *miracula* are known through four manuscript copies from the fourteenth century. Such miracle stories were continually evolving and the oldest copy is of 1307, reproduced in a translated version from Latin into Anglo-Norman, from a lost Latin original from the 1180s.<sup>9</sup> A Papal Bull of Pope Celestine III, *Quot et Quantum*, dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1191 accepts the *miracula* as foundation acts. Pope Innocent IV re-affirms the *miracula* in his own bull.<sup>10</sup>

Such miraculous foundation legends are short stories linking the Hospital conceptually to the Scriptures and anchoring the Hospital firmly in Biblical places and time. Overall purpose was to create a belief that the Hospital was founded during the reign of Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 BCE), a Greek occupier of the city.<sup>11</sup> These stories confirm that the cradle of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John the Baptist, the shelter of the poor, sick and pilgrims in Jerusalem, was established by means of three miracles performed by Christ, before his Incarnation, through three intermediaries living in the time of Caesar and the said Antiochus. All three were charged with the governance of the house and Hospital in Jerusalem. Each of the three had a vision of Christ during their sleep.<sup>12</sup>

In the first *miraculum*, Melchior, the high priest of Jerusalem, had seized a treasure from the tomb of King David, for which Antiochus was going to prosecute him. But during the night, both had a vision of the Lord who ordered them to build a house for the poor in His name

and to use the stolen treasure for this purpose. Melchior repented and dedicated his life's work to this Hospital. Donations and alms poured in, among which a gift from Prince Judas Maccabeus to the poor.<sup>13</sup>

In the second *miraculum*, the last days of Melchior have come and the story introduces the prophet Zachary, the father of Saint John the Baptist. Christ appears during Zachary's sleep, urging him to continue the said Hospital of the poor after Melchior's death, until a Roman envoy, Julian, arrives, Christ has selected Julian, sent to Judea on order of Julius Caesar, to take charge of the Hospital.<sup>14</sup> The third *miraculum* concerns this Julian. Before he arrives, he becomes the sole survivor of a shipwreck when sailing to the Holy Land. Christ reveals Himself to Julian and leads him to Jerusalem: 'I am the Son of God and I have made you a Hospitaller and brother of the house. Now is the time for me to dwell in this Hospital in person, together with my apostles and disciples.' Jesus gathered the apostles there several times and it was the place where they hid from persecution at the time of the crucifixion. The house of the Hospital was the site where Jesus manifested himself to his disciples after his Resurrection, and encouraged doubting Thomas to put his finger in the wound at the side of Jesus (caused by the Holy Lance aforementioned). When Thomas did so, he recognised the Master, who said: 'You saw me and therefore you believed. But blessed are those who will not see me and still believe in me!' This *miraculum* also connects with Judas Maccabeus, the Jewish priest and the leader of the Maccabean revolt. In an absolute sense, it refers to all the Western military orders in the Holy Land, with the notion that this reference is not only about Judas's military abilities but also his charitable qualities. The foundation miracles construct the idea of continuity of the house and Hospital from Biblical times onwards. As the *miracula* developed further over time, St Stephen, the proto-martyr is added to these early guardians of the house. Gerard, either named the institutor, rector, *preceptor*, *servus pauperum* or *Magister domus Hospitalis* is thus suggested to be their successor.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Variations on the foundation miracula and the locus sanctus*

Duchesne provides, besides a number of variations on these *miracula*, also a likewise account of Antiochus and Melchior. In this version, they are building a house for the poor when miracles occur, *e.g.* Zachary, John the Baptist's father, was instructed to manage the house until Christ and the Disciples would appear, fulfilling the prophecy that his father Zachary would instantly be cured when John was born, an ingredient which suited very well the pilgrim's hospital situated in the middle of

6 Demurger, 2013, 41.

7 Beltjens, 1995, 34.

8 Riley-Smith, 2012b, 18-20.

9 Demurger, 2013, 41.

10 Beltjens, 1995, 34.

11 Riley-Smith, 2012a, 32.

12 Le Goff, 1990, 177: In medieval times, these kind of visions were thought to be real, coming to the recipients as dreams or visions, the *somnia*;

13 Demurger, 2013, 40.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

the most holy place for Christians.<sup>16</sup> Yet another version of this *miraculum* reports that St John the Baptist was born and raised by Zachary and Elizabeth on exactly the spot where the Hospital now stands.<sup>17</sup>

Zachary witnessed Jesus meeting his disciples at the hospital. Christ was a regular visitor and during the Passion the hospital offered shelter to Our Lady and the apostles. Later on, Christ returned to the hospital after His Resurrection. Elizabeth, the mother of St John was also reportedly working at the hospital, serving the poor and the sick, while Christ himself frequently visited the hospital to perform miracles.<sup>18</sup> Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, has played an enormously important role in the history of the Order. She is most prominently present at places of healing (e.g. Lourdes, Fatima, Knock), for consolation, identity and fulfilment. This may have found a basis by some accounts that the Virgin had also chosen her home at the site of the Hospital in the three and a half years that followed the Passion of Christ. The Virgin Mary thus ascended into Heaven from the very place of the Hospital.<sup>19</sup> Even Raymond du Puy, the later Master of the Hospital is mentioned in the *miracula*, saying that Christ would speak to Du Puy on Judgement Day.

During a considerable time the search for respectable roots turned into myth making before reality returned. Much grander origins were invented, going deep into the mist of times, not necessarily by the hospital itself but rather by a large number of staunch supporters. People repeated such legends and they increased in strength, finally to collapse under their own weight in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

The Monastery of St John, restored with funds made available by St John the Almoner, was given the status of *locus sanctus* when the Hospital of St John was seeking important narratives to give a solid foundation to their endeavour of raising status and cementing identity. Riley-Smith grants a few aspects of these stories an actual historical basis; the custodianship of Zachary of the small church dedicated to St John the Baptist is probably based on a tradition that it was indeed the birthplace of St John the Baptist.<sup>21</sup> By means of these foundation *miracula*, St John the Almsgiver, as a possible patron

saint, was *a posteriori* defenestrated and replaced by St John the Baptist,<sup>22</sup> enhancing and empowering the *locus sanctus* aspect. On the other hand, modern researchers, such as Burgtorf, state the opposite and claim that the hospital was never given the status of *locus sanctus*.<sup>23</sup> An opinion which William of Santo Stefano probably would have shared, seeing his hesitation on believing the concerted effort of establishing a continuity regarding the Hospital from Jesus Christ onwards.

Gerard's *miraculum* is then a connecting story, continuing the drive to have the Hospital recognised as a true *locus sanctus* and to associate the continuity and authenticity of the site and the founder with the Scriptures. Riley-Smith seems to allow some leeway here, as the original hostel by Melchior and Antiochus was apparently built on the sites of Κρανίου Τόπος or *Calvariae Locus*, Calvary (a.k.a. Golgotha, the place of the skull) and King David's tomb just outside the walls of Jerusalem. Near this place, Constantine would build his Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>24</sup> The idea of a *locus sanctus* may then also apply to the idea of extending the sacredness of the Holy Sepulchre to the neighbouring area, since the whole Christian quarter; and the other three quarters of the whole ancient inner city of Jerusalem, qualify as a *locus sanctus* for all the religions and denominations involved.

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16 Duchesne, 2008, 45-6.

17 Pringle, 2007, 192. Pringle quotes: Vincent and Able 1914: 642-6; Caoursin c. 1480a: 431; c, 1480b: 434: cf. *de Primordiis*, v RHC Occ. V. 429.

18 Demurger, 2013, 40.

19 Nicholson, 2007, 3-5.

20 *Eadem*, 3-5. By 1160 the provost of Reicherberg, Gerhoh, claimed that the hospice had been in existence since apostolic times and by 1180 the local province of the Order of St John in England wrote in its Rule that the hospital's founders were Bishop Melchiazar and King Antiochus of Jerusalem, although the latter lived in the third century B.C.

21 Riley-Smith, 2012b, 32.

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22 Beltjens, 1995, 32. Beltjens writes, rather poetically, that: '...ils justifient a posteriori la defenestration du premier patron de leur misère et son remplacement par le Précursor.'

23 Burgtorf, 2008, 29-30.

24 Bahat, 1976, 27.



## Appendix IV

### Historical context

#### Hospitaller memoria and self-image in the making

In the following sections, a brief discourse is given of some general occurrences in medieval Europe and in the Middle East which may be regarded as additional basic building blocks for the formation of the first hospice in Jerusalem and the later Order of St John. This flows into a concise overview of the history of the Hospitallers, offered as headlines. Subsequently, the gaze is focussed on the primary shifts in Hospitaller *memoria* and self-image, from the beginning in Jerusalem in c. 1050 to the arrival in Malta in 1530. Since these aspects are occurring explicitly and implicitly in the Malta period covered by the *corpus*, both as real history, art and in sepulchral narratives, this overview, in a thematic approach, provides a deeper understanding of the reasons and necessities of these shifts.

#### Prelude to the Hospitaller era in the Holy Land

This section presents the context to the early hospice of St John in Jerusalem and Blessed Gerard, in the latter half of the eleventh century. To understand his time and *Zeitgeist*, leading to the first profile of a hospitaller self-image and hospitaller memory, a brief introduction is given of some of the essential matters regarding the normative thinking of that time, painted in broad brushstrokes. The early history and memory of the hospital are not mentioned *per sé* in the *corpus*, although the weight of the past is noticeable. However, at St John's and other buildings for which the Order in Malta commissioned art, there is a continuous dynamic to confirm and underpin the Order's grand reputation and standing in the world from old. Both at St John's and at the Grand Masters' Palace there are numerous paintings and frescoes relating to the nostalgia of the distant past.

#### *What was it about Jerusalem?*

For the early period of the hospice of St John, Jerusalem was indispensable for its formation. In Jerusalem, developing through over historical periods,<sup>1</sup> there is a doctrinal relationship between the consecutive monotheistic religions, all bundled into a small space. Jerusalem was and is for the three incumbent monotheistic religions a place of worship and a pilgrimage destination. The city and pilgrimage have been inseparable partners for millennia.

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1 Bahat, 1976. It has seen Canaanite, Jebusite and Israelite epochs, the Romans, the life and times of Jesus, the Byzantines, a first Muslim rule, Crusader interlude, a Mameluke phase and the Ottoman period, before going into the modern era.

For the Hebrews, one of the many reasons why the city is of the utmost significance for them, is that the city was founded on the very spot where Abraham nearly sacrificed his son Isaac. Various Christian denominations and traditions see the city as the centre of their religion,<sup>2</sup> the place of the crucifixion, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, embodied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Calvary Hill.<sup>3</sup> When Caliph Umar I conquered Jerusalem in 637,<sup>4</sup> it was regarded as a prophecy of Mohammed fulfilled. Jerusalem had become the third most important city for the new Muslim religion, one of the main reasons being that the prophet Mohammed had a vision while in Jerusalem. In his *Night Journey to Heaven*, he reportedly ascended in spirit to the seven heavens and met with many prophets and God himself.<sup>5</sup>

#### *From xenodochium to hospice*

Wolfensberger has convincingly shown the progression from the Classical *xenodochium* or *xenodichion* (the 'inn'), to the Christian medieval hospice and hospital. *Xenodochia* existed all over the Greco-Roman world and parts of Asia, providing a paid service to travellers, while the Christian hospices and hospitals provided personal care by communities under the Benedictine rule<sup>6</sup> and the Augustinian Rule,<sup>7</sup> with free admission and assistance

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2 Reader, 2015, 39. At present, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is shared between the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches and main stakeholders, although three smaller stakeholders also were given rights, such as the Egyptian Coptic, the Syriac and the Ethiopian Churches.

3 MacCulloch, 2009, 195. The Orthodox Christians call this church *Anastasis*, Resurrection.

4 *Idem*, 260.

5 Bahat, 1976, 31. The importance of Jerusalem for Islam, with the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock speaks for itself. The Dome of the Rock was originally not intended as a place of worship; it was intended as a shrine to protect the Foundation Stone on which Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Isaac.

6 Fry (ed.), 1998, xv-xviii. The Benedictine Rule, written in c. 529, regulated communal life indoors, with an abbot in charge. Benedict lived in uncertain times. The central Roman administration had collapsed in 476 during Gothic invasions and Italy was largely in the hands of the Goths. Justinian I, a Byzantine Emperor, tried to invade Italy and take it back; the result was a twenty-year civil war. Thomas Fry tells us that Benedict studied at that time in Rome and did not like the paganism of the Goths. He decided to withdraw from the world and went live in a cave as a hermit, where he wrote his Rule.

7 Clark, 1984, 482. The Augustinian Rule is the

for the poor and pilgrims.<sup>8</sup> Care in early Christianity was inspired by the spiritualisation of human care within Judaism and its works of mercy, meaning that it was not enough to cure a disease, one needed also a holistic approach in healing. This should include cure and care for body, mind and spirit.<sup>9</sup> The hospice of St John in Jerusalem was also known as a *xenodocium* (but later became known as the *Domus Dei*).<sup>10</sup> Next to the words *HOSPICE*, *HOSPITALE* and *HOSPITIO*, both *NOSOCOMI* and *XENODOCHII* appear several times in the *corpus* in various orthographical variations.<sup>11</sup>

From the beginning, the monasteries were seriously engaged in this task of free hospitality and soon enough this principle became embedded in, among others, the Benedictine Rule. The virtue of Christian charity included, in principle, welcoming the pilgrims, washing, nurturing and clothing them, providing shelter for the night and against the elements. Along busy roads, the capacity of the monasteries was soon exhausted and large guest halls were built from the eighth century onward. As a result, at a certain distance from the monasteries, independent hospices flourished along the pilgrim roads, managed by monks or canons.<sup>12</sup> Well-to-do pilgrims were a source of income and occasionally created new infrastructure. Ansgot of Burwell, an English landowner, was so pleased with the charity and love he had received from the monks of Sauvre Majeure near Bordeaux on his return from Santiago, that on his landed property in Lincolnshire he built a priory, the Burwell Priory, for them in 1110.<sup>13</sup>

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oldest (c. 400 AD), and forms a short treatise for religious community life out in the world.

8 Wolfensberger, 1998.

9 Later on, there appeared Christian inspired works of mercy too, based on Christian ideals and adaptations of Jewish social principles and, of course, guided by the Scriptures, such as Psalm 146, Isaiah 58, Ezekiel 18, Matthew 25, Romans 12:13 and Genesis 24. These biblical injunctions covered issues like feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, quenching thirst, taking in the homeless and providing hospitality to strangers. Other issues were to visit the sick and to bury the dead, while prisoners and their families would be visited, comforted and ransom would be collected to liberate the imprisoned. Cure and care for body, mind and spirit exactly represent the approach of the Hospitaller Order at present, when it takes patients and pilgrims to Lourdes in France every year, trying to heal body and soul. And when the body cannot be healed, then at least the mind and spirit should be kept healthy.

10 Demurger, 2013, 18.

11 See: Part III, Appendix III, vol. II, 119, 128, 144.

12 Sumption, 2003, 280-3.

13 Bartlett, 2013, 436. The priory dates from c. 1110.

Pilgrimage led to intensive networking, so characteristic for the later network of hospitals leading to Jerusalem. There was already a very diverse network of dwellings, monasteries, hospices, villages and cities leading to Santiago de Compostela, established from the ninth century onwards by, among others, Benedictine monks.<sup>14</sup> Pilgrimage to Santiago, Rome and other places caused the economy of necessity to create a large number of hospitality stations. Some were managed by religious orders, while others were locally established, out of a sense of duty to traditional monastic hospitality. Various pilgrim ways led to Jerusalem, where the Arab rulers engaged in the economics of accommodating pilgrims. After all, pilgrimage is big business.

### *Pilgrimage*

Pilgrimage to holy sites is an ancient expression of religiosity and it is suggested that Christian pilgrimage, developing its own needs accordingly, was certainly on the move in the fourth century when Christianity acquired a more structured form of pilgrimage.<sup>15</sup> One of the occurring features was the idea of visiting a holy place and one of the first destinations was the Holy Land.<sup>16</sup> However, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem had a different outlook, this city was the holiest site of Christianity, the place of the Lord.<sup>17</sup> An early traveller, in the year 327, to this particular Christian pilgrimage destination was the Dowager Empress Helena (c. 250-330), mother of Emperor Constantine (r. 306-337), who is widely recognised as setting the trend for pilgrimage to the significant places related to Jesus Christ.<sup>18</sup> She also urged her son to build the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,<sup>19</sup> a monumental and absolute centre of

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14 *Ibid.*, 132-3.

15 Brown 1981, Sumption, 2003, Ure, 2006.

16 Elsner, J, 2005, 441-434.

17 MacCulloch, 2009, 193-5.

18 Norwich, 1990

19 Pringle, 2007, 6-7. Pringle quotes St Jerome, in AD 135, Jerusalem was again a Roman colony under Hadrian. The site of the Crucifixion, *Golgotha* or *Calvariae Locus* became the *Aelia Capitolino* and Hadrian had a temple dedicated to Venus or Aphrodite covering the area of the Crucifixion. Eusebius reports that the site was covered deep with soil to erase any traces. This site remained like that for about 200 years. In 324, after Constantine the Great had accepted advice of the Bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius to build a most splendid, basilica, Constantine started his project. He started with the demolishing of the pagan temple and had Christ's tomb excavated. After the groundwork was done, his basilica erected. It seems to have been completed between 333 and 335. Archaeological research has shown that the place where Christ was buried, had been a stone quarry in the Iron Age and subsequently used in the first century AD as a place of burial, where graves were easily cut out of the rock face and slopes. It is reckoned that the grave of Christ was a tomb-chamber cut out the

Christendom within the city of Jerusalem, which would become a pilgrims' attraction and a centre of dispute in later times.

Since early Christianity, worshipping all places where Christ had been or had touched, *e.g.* the sites of Golgotha and the Tomb had become centres of attraction for pilgrimage. Constantine enclosed these holy sites within one building and under one roof, a construction now known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Arbeiter argues in this respect that for modern archaeologists it is rather irrelevant whether these are the true places of Christ's death and burial; what is imperative is that they have identified the *locality* of the pilgrimage tradition.<sup>20</sup>

Although medieval Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem was broadly a hazardous affair, at times it was more hazardous than usual. Going to Jerusalem remained an ambition to many, albeit fewer than before,<sup>21</sup> when the Holy City was no longer in Christian hands after the Muslims wrested the area from the Byzantines in 637. Nonetheless, the safety for Christian pilgrimage within the new Muslim territory improved, as the new Islamic rulers usually did allow Christian pilgrims to practice their religion, albeit not in public. Muslim rulers generally tolerated Christian pilgrimage, because it created income in the form of tolls and taxes and stimulated local economy, although only those pilgrims wealthy enough to satisfy Arab custom formalities, and a plethora of other demands, were able to continue and enter the city of Jerusalem.<sup>22</sup>

east-facing slope; Oosterhout, 1989, 71: When Helena visited Rome, she always stayed in the old Sessorian Palace. Allegedly, Helena allegedly found the true Cross in Jerusalem, Constantine sent a part of it to Rome to the same Sessorian palace which would henceforth be called *Santa Croce in Jerusalemme*. In Jerusalem itself, a rock-cut chapel dedicated to the Invention of the Cross, part of the Holy Sepulchre, became in the fifth century the Chapel of St Helena; Norwich, 1990, 89: Helena provided endowments to the *Scala Santa* in Rome, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Ascension of the Mount of Olives and other sites in the Holy Land, such as Mamre, Hebron, Tyre and Antioch. Her building activities were of great importance for the enhancements of Jerusalem as a Christian pilgrimage site. All these developments left an indelible impression on the pilgrims visiting Jerusalem and the Hospitallers in whose care they were. Jerusalem is then the cradle of the Hospitaller Order as an institution and as the place where its character was initially formed. Rome also represented a place of great religious and spiritual value to the Order and at present, the Eternal City houses the headquarters of the modern Order of St John.

20 Arbeiter, 2011, 7-34. For the archaeologists of today, it is rather irrelevant whether these are the true places of Christ's death and burial. Important is that they have localised the *tradition*.

21 Riley-Smith, 1999, 3.

22 Ure, 2006, 18.

By the end of the tenth century, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was booming again, possibly due to the millennial apocalyptic thought that the Last Day of the world and the return of the Saviour were at hand in the year 1000, and later again in 1033.<sup>23</sup> Around those two dates, it seems that, within the realm of the Fatimid Caliphate, the relationships between the Christians and Muslims were never better, intimate and peaceful. What reflected this was that the Muezzin of the al-Aqsa mosque, the Imam and the Emir of Jerusalem participated in the annual ritual and ceremony of Easter celebrations at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the year 1000,<sup>24</sup> in a show of Jerusalemite Abrahamic union and solidarity.

However, within the period 1004 to 1021, serious upheaval appeared during the rule of the mentally unstable Caliph al-Hakim Bi-amr Allah, ruler of Egypt (r. 996-1021).<sup>25</sup> Al-Hakim came from a mixed Muslim-Christian background, a Ismaili-Melchite denomination,<sup>26</sup> and it would have been in his interest to promote peaceful relationships between Muslims and Christians.<sup>27</sup> Al-Hakim issued a long series of decrees, restricting women's rights, prohibiting alcohol, prescribing strict dietary rules, restricting music, and deciding how non-Muslims should be recognisable as such in public.<sup>28</sup> In 1008, his persecution of Christians reached a new dimension, through the confiscation of monasteries and churches, while damaging and demolishing of churches started in 1009. Additionally, within the light of what is known about the political intrigues and mass executions of Muslims, Christians and

23 Riley-Smith, 1999, 3. The year 1000 was also believed to be the year where the *ultima tuba*, the last trumpet, would sound the end of days. The year 1033 was the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Crucifixion.

24 Krönung, 2011, 139-40.

25 MacCulloch, 2009, 381-2.

26 Montefiore, 2011, chapter 20. The Ismaili-Melchite ideology held that the Fatimid Imam-Caliph was the embodiment of both a worldly and religious leader, a sacred king and 'Living Imam', claiming ancestry from Mohammed's daughter Fatima and Mohammed's successor Ali, his son-in-law, via the Imam Ismail, hence the appellation Ismaili Shi'ites. Holtmann, 2014, 142-5, describes that here is also the root of the century-long conflict between the Shi'ite and Sunni branch of Islam: the Sunnis claim that there can be no successor to the Prophet Mohammed, only a steward or *khalifa* can be appointed, and, as a result, a friction came about regarding the concepts of bloodline or election.

27 Krönung, 2011, 140-42. Al-Hakim aforementioned comes into power as an eleven-year-old boy in 996, after the death of his father Al-Aziz. Ismaili, a Shi'a sect who recognize the Aga Khan as imam; Melchite: Eastern Christian religion in mainly Syria and Egypt, adherents of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy in preference to Monophysitism.

28 *Idem*, 139-58. He also banned the celebration of Easter and the consumption of wine, a decree directly aimed at Christians and Jews.

others, it presents a highly unstable and unsustainable situation.<sup>29</sup> In the spring of 1009, at Easter, al-Hakim had the Church of the Holy Sepulchre largely demolished,<sup>30</sup> and with that most other Christian buildings in Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> In a frenzy, he also demolished the St Mary Church in Damascus in 1009, and went on until 1020, destroying churches and synagogues in Egypt, Syria and Palestine.<sup>32</sup> This caused a halt momentarily in the steady stream of pilgrims to the Holy Land, as for Christians, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the holiest of all holy sites,<sup>33</sup> the centre of the Christian world and thought, just as Constantine had intended it to be. Consequently, the near-levelling of Christ's tomb was the ultimate affront. Returning pilgrims who had witnessed the ruins of the sites dearest to them, brought back stories and interpretations about the persecution of Christians and the wanton destruction of the holiest of Christian sites. Churchmen in Europe, confronted with these reports, started thinking of an armed intervention in the Holy Land, which eventually would lead to the First Crusade of 1096.<sup>34</sup> When Al-Hakim disappeared, abruptly and mysteriously, on 13<sup>th</sup> February 1021,<sup>35</sup> tolerance was mainly restored, allowing pilgrimage to return. As many as 20,000 Muslim pilgrims were recorded to arrive annually on the Temple Mount, instead of making the Hajj to Mecca.<sup>36</sup> One of the Christian pilgrims who returned safely, notwithstanding the difficulties of travel, was Count Dirk III of Holland (982–1039). Dirk III was nicknamed *Hierosolymita*, because he travelled twice as a pilgrim to Jerusalem. Unfortunately, the years in which he peregrinated are not known.<sup>37</sup> He must have found shelter in Jerusalem somewhere and returned to Holland unharmed. To and from Jerusalem, he surely made use of the numerous monasteries, hospices and inns along the way.

A rapprochement with the Byzantine powers also followed, when the grandson of the aforementioned al-Hakim Bi-amr Allah, named Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Mustanşir bi-llāh (d. 10 January 1094) came into power in 1035. Peace talks led to a treaty which allowed the Byzantine Emperor Romanus III to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Byzantine expense. After many years of delay, the next *basileus*, Constantine Monomachus started the work (on-going from 1042 to 1048).<sup>38</sup> It probably had been realised that the

erstwhile destruction of such an important pilgrimage site had kindled Christian indignation. The result of the reconstruction was that, although reflecting the contemporary Byzantine and Romanesque styles, it became a highly unusual church.<sup>39</sup>

### *The essence of Crusades*

The Crusading idea and the First Crusade must be included in this narrative. Usually, a pilgrim went about unarmed, but the idea had grown that it was acceptable to defend one's self on foreign soil, or to defend one's soil against strangers.<sup>40</sup> From this, it was a small step to accompany pilgrims by armed men,<sup>41</sup> a slow, unstructured process, interpreted by as many as those who put it into practice. From there, it was another small step to presume that fighting the infidel was the same as performing a pilgrimage, fusing the concept of justified war by St Augustine with the Christian principles of charity and pilgrimage.<sup>42</sup> Chevedden argues that the origin of the Crusades was a dynamic movement of European liberation and unity, with the purpose to recapture the Mediterranean from the Muslims. He regards it as a rather long drawn out historical process, with roots in the Spanish *Reconquista*.<sup>43</sup> From the

29 *Ibid.*

30 Nicholson, 2007, 2.

31 Riley, 2012b, 16.

32 Krönung, 2011, 139–58.

33 Miller, 2010, 759–776.

34 MacCulloch, 2009, 381.

35 Krönung, 2011, 148.

36 Montefiore, 2011, chapter 20.

37 De Boer and Cordfunke, 2015, 76.

38 Oosterhout, 1989, 66–78. Constantine IX Monomachus, a Byzantine emperor paid for the reconstruction of this church (c. 1042–48) on a different plan. Alain Beltjens gives a different time frame, 1048–63, see: Beltjens, 1995, 23–5, 66.

39 Kühnel, 2011, 35–56.

40 Madden 2005, 121. This form of Christian holy war was preceded by a few hundreds of years of Spanish Reconquista and attempts of earlier popes, such as Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–85) to come to the aid of the Byzantines, appealing participants to fight a war for the remission of their sins.

41 Montgomery Watt, 1987,<sup>50</sup> First imprint of this book appeared in 1972.

42 Langan, 1984, 19–38. St. Augustine's just war theory involves some principles, related to the right to go to war, *Jus ad Bellum*, and the right conduct in war, *Jus in Bello*. The principal elements of *Jus ad Bellum*: 1. Just Authority: A punitive conception of war; 2. Just Cause: Assessment of the evil of war in terms of the evil of attitudes and desires, instead of Might is Right; 3. Right Intention: a search for authorisation for the use of violence; 4. Last Resort: All other means are exhausted, so that there is no other option than war. The principal elements of *Jus in Bello*: 1. Proportionality, the degree of force allowed; 2. Distinction between combatants and non-combatants. The latter cannot be attacked; 3. Responsibility for collateral damage can be waived when the military intervention had the intention to comply with the above, collateral damage was not intended and the good effects must outbalance the bad effects.

43 Riley-Smith, 2012b, 19. Urban was seriously impressed by the progress the Spanish had made in the re-occupation of their territory after the Muslim conquest of 711. He actively encouraged and authorised for instance Count Berenguer Raymond of Barcelona to retake the lost territory. In order to expedite this development, the powerful argument of indulgences was

first initiative of the Crusades, popes were in charge of Crusades, while indulgences, vows, the Cross and Crusader privileges of the participants, the *crucesignati* (all those who were marked with the sign of the cross), were introduced.<sup>44</sup> Urban II claimed that he acted on behalf of Christ himself, and based on this authority, inspired by divine orders, he was preparing 'Christ's own war of liberation.'<sup>45</sup>

Motivations for the First Crusade were certainly both religious and political. Of great importance was the previously mentioned destruction of holy sites most dear to Christians by local Muslim governors of Jerusalem and the perceived maltreatment of pilgrims at the Holy Land.<sup>46</sup> Many accounts of gruesome incidents were circulating, whether true, half-baked or hyped-up. Notwithstanding the question of reliability, the power of narratives were used as a means to an end.<sup>47</sup> Such stories were acknowledged and used by Pope Urban II and his predecessors as tools to arouse emotion and religious sentiments, as they firmly believed the very roots of Christianity were in danger: Jerusalem and the Jerusalem-bound pilgrimages. He devised a dual goal of liberation of Christ's patrimony, to assist the Byzantine Eastern Christians against the threats of invasion by the Turks,<sup>48</sup> and to free the city of Jerusalem from the Muslim oppression. It was also argued that Jerusalem belonged to Christendom, for two reasons. First, it was a site of Jesus' words, deeds, his suffering and resurrection and secondly, the European Christians were the heirs of the Roman Empire while very large parts of that former empire were in submission to Islam.<sup>49</sup> To achieve this deliverance of people and of

the holiest sites of Christianity,<sup>50</sup> armies ought to be sent out in a justified war of liberation. This defensive response to provocation,<sup>51</sup> was necessary to create Christian frontiers to protect and serve Christendom. The Hospitallers always understood themselves in this manner, as always being at the frontiers of Christianity, the *fronteria Barbarorum*.<sup>52</sup>

The growing influence of the mendicant orders had great effect on the medieval public. Preaching also became a vehicle for Crusading propaganda, enabling Franciscan and Dominican friars to spread the message fast and efficiently, both far and wide. This phenomenon of the *ad cruce signatos* sermon has been regarded as a mass social medium of the medieval ages.<sup>53</sup> Reason is that the mendicant orders both knew that the technical structures shaped memory and that sermons were key to form memory. They emphasised on biblical interpretation and the liturgical year to configure the Christian doctrine, focussing on Crusader events and Salvation. Their audiences were stimulated through the repetition of verses, prayers, narratives and the contrast between vices and virtues to strengthen their faith. In their sermons, the mendicants played on people's consciences and urged them to confess and remember their past sins.<sup>54</sup> Christian history was presented as a linear progression, starting at the Creation and leading to the Last Day, illustrated by recapturing Jerusalem and the conversion of all peoples, wrapped in the intricacies of God's plan. Jessalynn Bird states that the grey areas of hagiography, history and biblical exegesis were exploited so that memory of specific individuals and their commemoration could be used to cultivate, among others, Crusader propaganda.<sup>55</sup>

### Headlines of the Hospitaller image history

The Christian developments in the Holy Land cannot be regarded in isolation, as these followed the same developments occurring in Europe. Pilgrims and hospices have had a long history and certain religious reforms and changes also reached Palestine. Roughly, it seems that the Hospitallers in Jerusalem and the Holy Land went through four distinctive periods.

In period 1, the founding phase in the Holy Land c. 1050-1291, Beltjens offers an initial four-phase development, of which I have gratefully made use to fine-tune these phases according to the creation of Hospitaller memory and self-image.<sup>56</sup>

*Knighthood, a History of the Order of the Temple.* Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2007.

50 Brundage, *Annales*, 1962, 18.

51 Bird, 2017, chapter 2.

52 Dalli, 2006. Part of the book title.

53 Maier, 2003, 7-8.

54 Bird, 2017, chapter 2.

55 *Ibid.*

56 Beltjens, 1995, 190, distinguishes four phases: the first phase comprises of the hospice and chapel, dedicated to St John the Almoner, built around the years

introduced to assist the participants in the cause with 'penitence and for the remissions of sins.' On the other hand, Urban II had been requested by the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus (r. 1081-1118) to discuss both the issue of the schism between the Eastern and Western version of Christianity and, more importantly, the Muslim threat. There were arguments circulating that the Muslims had stolen Jerusalem and other holy sites from Christianity and that it was justified to take them back.

44 Chevedden, 2013, 1-46, here 1-2.

45 Riley-Smith, 2012a, 16-7.

46 O'Shea, 2006, 151-2.

47 Brundage, *Annales*, 1962. One of these events was the pilgrimage of Günther, Bishop of Bamberg, who went to Jerusalem in 1064-5 with a cohort of between 7,000 and 12,000 German and Dutch pilgrims. During their voyage, they had continuously been harassed and robbed of their conspicuously displayed wealth. On Good Friday 1065, near Caesarea, they were attacked by Bedouins, who killed a large number of pilgrims and robbed them of their goods. Montefiore, 2011, chapter 20 states that during this event, 5,000 pilgrims were killed.

48 Tyerman, 2007.

49 Nicholson, 2010; Riley-Smith, *Hospitaller, the History of the Order of St John* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1999); Malcolm Barber, *The New*

1) The initial period in the Holy Land can be thus divided into four parts:

a) The inception period runs from c. 1050 onwards to c. 1070. Although there were, and had already been, hospices in Jerusalem, the Amalfitans were looking to add to their trading post a closed compound, exclusively for Amalfitans. They also had their own quarters in Constantinople and a trading post in Albania. The prominent Amalfitan merchant Mauro di Pantaleone a.k.a. Mauro de Comitaurone a.k.a. Mauro di Comitauroni (an acquired name to indicate their Byzantine noble status), was the patron of the Benedictine community at Monte Casino, close to Amalfi.<sup>57</sup>

As indispensable trading partners along the Mediterranean coast, they were allowed to create trading posts and hostels for their own use at e.g. Antioch and in Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> With regard to religion, their freedom was restricted. Usually, Christians and Jews were tolerated as long as they kept quiet and did not worship in public. Although the Amalfitans had recourse to prayers at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the aforementioned rebuilt version by Constantine Monomachus), they had no permanent residence in Jerusalem. To remedy this omission, they had sent envoys to the Caliph in Cairo in the first half of the eleventh century, requesting his permission to extend the Amalfitan trading post in Jerusalem into a closed compound within the Latin Quarter of the city.<sup>59</sup> After the request was granted, the Amalfitans received some land in the northwest of the Latin Quarter, south of the main entrance of the Church

of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>60</sup> They constructed a monastery and a church dedicated to Our Lady, St Mary of the Latins, and the religious functions were carried out by a Benedictine abbot and monks from Monte Casino.<sup>61</sup> Since the Amalfitans represented the Benedictines, each of their monasteries was expected to have a guesthouse. Two guesthouses were built, one for men and one for women, which also functioned as a hospice, and may have been in operation in the early 1060s. Initially, the set up was meant to cater exclusively for traders, associates and pilgrims from Amalfi.<sup>62</sup> As Cuzzo has pointed out, Mauro di Pantaleone received pilgrims at his home in Salerno, who were to embark for Jerusalem and gave them everything they needed,<sup>63</sup> as well as his annual donation to support the monastery,<sup>64</sup> hospice and guesthouse he was founding.<sup>65</sup> Later on, they opened the hospice for male and female visitors, the local poor and non-Amalfitan, Christian pilgrims of both sexes.<sup>66</sup> Riley-Smith writes that a guesthouse for ladies, a subsidiary nunnery and a church dedicated to St Mary Magdalene (later known as St Mary the Great), were established to provide shelter for female pilgrims. These were probably built between 1063 and 1070,<sup>67</sup> and became known as the hospital of Jerusalem or the *xenodochium*, guesthouse for foreigners or *the hospital for the poor [pilgrims]*, managed by a certain Blessed Gerard or Geraldus.<sup>68</sup> In this charitable institution, the sick and the poor found a new kind of mercy, proclaims de Vertot.<sup>69</sup> A modest chapel or altar, *oratorium modicum* was present within this *xenodochium*, so wrote William of Tyre,

1060-1 by the monks of St Mary of the Latins by means of donations by Mauro or the Amalfitans. The second phase is between 15<sup>th</sup> July 1099 and 5 February 1113, the enlargement by Gerard, the institutor or founder. Gerard probably built different houses/buildings/extensions to the hospital. Gerard also (re-)built the Church of St John the Baptist. This compound is what is covered in the bull of Paschal II of 1113. The third phase is by Raymond du Puy, between 1130 and 1140, enlarging the hospital to at least 2,000 beds, as John of Würzburg describes it. The fourth phase is establishing the constitution and statutes of the Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem

57 Skinner, 2013, 218-9. At his life's end, Mauro entered the community of Monte Casino. He and his son Pantaleone had paid for a new set of bronze doors for a rebuilt church at the monastery of Monte Casino (p. 105). Their later relationship with the Benedictine community at Monte Casino was not one of only religion, the monks purchased silk panels from them, and other gifts were mutually exchanged. It also may explain the later drive to independence, as the connection with Amalfi became financially unstable and politically undesirable after the Norman takeover in 1073 and the Norman-French and Provençal French influences in the post-First Crusade period in Jerusalem.

58 Sire, 1996, 3.

59 Demurger, 2013, 44.

60 Boas, 2001, 83.

61 Demurger, 2013, 44.

62 Demurger, 2013, 44; Sumption, 2003, 234 and 280-1.

63 Nicholson 2005, 93. The name 'Pantaleone' in this context can hardly be coincidence. St Pantaleon was a pious physician who treated the sick for free.

64 Perta, 2016b, 891. The source is Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni*. The date is unclear but must have been before 1071 when Mauro died. This narrative stops with Roberto di Capua, who died in 1078.

65 Cuzzo, 2009, 83-114.

66 Some authors make a distinction of the hospice in Jerusalem. Demurger would prefer hospice or hospital written with a lowercase when discussing the Amalfitan initiative of the eleventh century, while written with an uppercase, the Hospital, would mean the institution as it developed after the papal bull of 1113. Demurger, 2013, 17.

67 Riley-Smith, 2012b, 33.

68 Stewart, 1896, chapter LXIV, Jacques de Vitry, *Historia*, Riley-Smith, 2012b, 49. For Gerard, see also Appendix II, p. 3: The *Miracula*.

69 De Vertot, 1728, vol. I, book 1, 8.

Jacques de Vitry,<sup>70</sup> and William of Santo Stefano,<sup>71</sup> and was dedicated to St John the Almsgiver.<sup>72</sup> In any case, the whole of the Amalfitan complex must have been finished before 1071, because of the invasion and occupation of Jerusalem by the Seljuks in that year and the Normans taking control over Amalfi in 1073.<sup>73</sup> It would have been very doubtful whether these invaders would have allowed the building of such a complex.<sup>74</sup> Also, in 1071 Mauro retired to the abbey of Monte Casino, where he lived shortly as a monk and died later in the same year.<sup>75</sup> In line with the developments of hospices in Europe, part of the early identity and self-image excludes that it was a hospital for medical care in the modern sense. It was rather, irrespective of what they were called at that time, hospice, hospital of *xenodochium*, an asylum and a place where one could rest, be nurtured, die peacefully or regain strength again, receiving care rather than cure.<sup>76</sup> Nonetheless, it is assumed that the Amalfitans possessed knowledge of medicine and treatment.<sup>77</sup> When the Amalfitans set up their hostel in Jerusalem, the Benedictine influence and medical knowhow were without doubt pillars of its foundation and would later

become part of Hospitaller trademark. 'Care is cure' is still a hospitaller motto used by the Order's volunteers when accompanying pilgrims to Lourdes.

b) Between 1070 and 1099 is the formation period of the hospice under the new management of a man called Gerard, or, Blessed Gerard. He acquired funding independently of the Amalfitans, structured the hospice and concluded agreements with consecutive Muslim rulers of the city. The Amalfitan trading post is no longer heard of and the Amalfitans slowly fade away from the hospice's image. Gerard also started building a network of hospices along the various routes towards Jerusalem. In this period, some of his innovative ideas came about, externalised in modifying the Benedictine Rule of the Amalfitan hospice to fit the realities of Jerusalem. In the initial phase of the Jerusalem hospice, the Hospitallers stood for the care and cure of Jerusalem-bound Western Latin Christian pilgrims at their hospice. Mallia-Milanes says that the Hospitallers in this period were representing the 'quintessence of the self-denial in Christianity.'<sup>78</sup>

c) From 1099, the year the First Crusade arrived in Jerusalem, to his death in 1120, is the period where Blessed Gerard introduced great changes in the functioning of the hospice, brought about innovations and created the Hospitaller identity under his guidance. Gerard was not the founder of the military Order it would later become, as such orders were created later on in the twelfth century. Significant changes took place with the advent of the First Crusade. It resulted in total independence from the Benedictines and the Amalfitan side of the matter, causing a changeover from a closed Benedictine monastery to an open convent, while a definite patron saint was established. Papal support was forthcoming and new ways of funding the Hospital came about. The new self-image and the idea of an open convent, reaching out to the world, also caused active participation of armed escorts for pilgrims, while the functions of the Hospital and inn were operating on a larger scale. There was also a change of identity, both of the Hospital and of Gerard, from Italian-Amalfitan to Provençal-French. He had also to deal with the income and expenditure. Income would arrive from grateful expatriates and pilgrims, while local taxes had to be paid. By securing papal bulls which recognised the Hospital as an independent institution under direct tutelage of the Pope, *i.e.* total autonomy, episcopal influence was held at bay. Gerard and his fraternity decided to wear a regular habit and live according to a Rule, adjusted to their contemporary reality. A Rule, or *regula*, contains the basic principles, while the *consuetudines* and *statuta* translate to basic principles in regulations, practical rules and guidelines.<sup>79</sup> Gerard also needed to deal with the competition in the form of a group of knights who had first been part of his Hospital, but later, known as the Templars, had found a home in the complex of the Church

70 *Idem*, vol. I, book 1, 4, reproducing part of *Jacoby Vitriaci, Ex Historia Hierosolymitana, cap. 74. ' & loci apud Dominum protectorum beatum Joannem Eleemons devotissime venerantes & ipsum dominum & advocatum suum confitentes.'*

71 Pringle, 1993, 193.

72 Riley-Smith, 1976, 34–37; Miller, 1978, 727–28; Sire, 1996, 3–4; Nicholson, 2007, 1–4.

73 Riley-Smith, 1976, 218–9.

74 *Idem*, 2012b, 33.

75 Demurger, 2013, 46.

76 Buttigieg, 2010, 95–106.

77 Nasser Kaadan and Angrini, 2013–2014, n.p.;

Kreutz, 1996, 261, adds that the fame of the doctors at Salerno, close to Amalfi, was widely known.

The interesting aspect of the South Italian medical scene was its international environment in the late ninth and tenth century. There was a certain Shabbethai Donnolo (c. 913–982), a famous Jewish doctor, and a certain Surano, an Arab physician, while people went to Arab dominated Palermo to consult a doctor. At the Benedictine monasteries of Monte Casino and Benevento there were monastic officials who were also medical doctors, probably of Byzantine origin. In the late tenth century, Jewish doctors were practising medicine in Salerno, where an eclectic approach to medicine was carried out. The Amalfitans imported large amounts of spices from the East, and with this import also arrived the knowledge for their use in medicine. It is very likely that the teaching of medicine at Salerno profited from the knowledge brought home by Amalfitan spice traders. Salerno had both male and female students and was heavily influenced by Islamic and Jewish medicine and medicinal practice from Sicily and North Africa. Moreover, the library of Monte Casino contained a wealth of Arabic medical books and Greek translations thereof, possibly supplied by the Amalfitan merchants.

78 Mallia-Milanes, 2003, 63–76.

79 Fonseca, 2009, 17–26.

of the Holy Sepulchre, a truly sacred site. The Hospitaller site was close to hallowed ground, but not quite, as William of Tyre writes, *quantum vix lapidis jactus est*, a stone's throw away.<sup>80</sup> Gerard presumably initiated armed escorts to accompany pilgrims through hostile territories surrounding Jerusalem to the Holy City itself.

d) In the fourth phase, after the death of Gerard, his successor Raymond du Puy, a.k.a. Blessed Raymond du Puy led the changeover from a Hospital to a Hospitaller Order, also adding the full military aspect to the identity package. Raymond du Puy was conscious of the temporality of the Crusader forces and gave an impetus to the Order's armed escorts to shape a standing army in the Holy land. Castle management and construction became a new enterprise for the Knights Hospitallers. In this period the miraculous provenance of the Hospital was developed and also the *miracula* surrounding the Blessed Gerard appeared. From there onwards, until the final loss of Acre, and the Holy Land in 1291, the Hospitaller Order of St John continued to grow and develop its existence and self-image under the duress of continuous war and threats.

The other three periods, in which the Order experienced a distinct change of character, are the following:

2) After the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, the Knights Hospitallers move to Cyprus, together with the Templars. In Cyprus, they rapidly transformed from a land army to a navy, with the initial goal of recapturing the Holy Land by sea. When this appeared to be impossible, the fight continued at sea. The Hospitallers narrowly escaped the same fate as the Templars, a total dissolution, and decided to move further away from the grasp of politics.

3) The Hospitallers found independence in Rhodes and created their own state, the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat*. In view of the military orders, the first usage of the word *Ordensstaat*, lies within the realm of the *Deutschritterorden* or the Teutonic Knights,<sup>81</sup> when they settled in north-eastern Europe after all the Christian orders had been evicted from the Holy Land in 1291.

From Rhodes, the Knights Hospitallers started policing the Mediterranean, with the objective of curbing the Ottoman expansionism. The Hospitaller policy was to control piracy and turn it into their advantage as a regulated privateering system, complying with the goal of policing the Mediterranean. The Order engaged in serious fortification building. After losing the Ottoman Siege of Rhodes in 1523, the Hospitaller Order was expelled.

4) From 1530 to 1798, the Hospitaller *Ordensstaat*, having matured in Rhodes, was settled in Malta. They had to deal with an island that had suffered at the hands of the North African and Ottoman pirates and had, as an answer, developed its own piracy to defend the island from the

sea. After a period of hesitation, the Order decided to stay in Malta, the catalyst being the 1551 Ottoman razzia. The Order imported to Malta also their own issues with the Ottomans, and Malta became the pivot in trying to stop the Ottoman expansionism into the Western Mediterranean and thus to southern Europe. In Malta, especially after surviving the Great Ottoman Siege of 1565, the Order blossomed artistically and, with Baroque as the Counter-Reformation vehicle, created endless fortifications, palaces and engaged in commissioning the best artists available to externalise the Hospitaller ethos and pathos. Notwithstanding their increasing wealth, the Knights Hospitallers never forgot their core business, charity. A state-of-the-art hospital, numerous smaller hospices and care homes, a medical school, an academy for anatomy and the University of Malta were founded in this period. The two mottos of the Order, *Tuitio Fidei* and *Obsequium Pauperum*, were observed and expressed in art as never before. In summary, in Malta the Order created a complex society with intricate foreign relationships within Christendom and the realm of Islam.

5) Napoleon Bonaparte, who shared the view of many other sovereigns in Europe that the Order was a representative of the by now anachronistic body of Roman Catholic nobility, made an end to the *Ordensstaat* in Malta in 1798, instead of the Ottomans as one might have expected. He evicted the Order from Malta, without the Order putting up any resistance. A very difficult period followed during which the Order's restoration saw many missed opportunities. Between 1814 and 1834, no core activities such as hospitaller work occurred. Even the Order's headquarters was declared bankrupt. Re-establishment of the Order through local associations started in the 1830s in Italy, Spain, Bohemia and France, rekindling the united spirit of chivalric, aristocratic charity.<sup>82</sup>

80 Babcock and Krey, 1943, William of Tyre, *Historia*, book 18, chapter 5.

81 Militzer, 2005, 63ff.

82 Sire 1995, 247-253.



## Appendix V

### Minutes of the Council meeting of the delegates of the Province of Zeeland. A.O.M 2198, ff. 354 and additional note f.378

A.O.M. 2198, ff. 354<sup>r</sup>

Extract uyt de notulle van de Edle Mogende Heeren Staeten van Zeeland den 22 8bris 1663.

Waer na om reedenen bij de hant genomen sijnde / het thiende point vande beschrijvinge, sprekende / vande bewuste pretensien bij die van de Ordre / van Malta over verscheidene remarcable parthijen / van goederen, inde respective Provintien gelegen, / werden gemoveert, is wel bij al de Leedenen / nochmaal gesustineert dat, om die fundamentele / consideratien dien aengaende voor dezen gededuceert, / de selve pretentien peremtoirlijcken behoorde te / worden afgewesen. Doch niet te min bij die / Heeren van Zirckzee, Goes, Thoelen, Vlissinge / ende Veere geobtaineert, dat om andere respecten / van staet sij soude connen lijden, dat door de / Heeren Ordinaris Gedeputeerden ter generaliteijt / inclinatie, ende genegenheit soude mogen werden / getoont, om bij gevolg van andere Provincien / daar over met de Heeren Gedeputeerden vande gemelte / Ordre tegenwoordich inden Hage sijnde, te mogen / treden in gespreeck, vande selve ontfangen niet / alleen specificque staet, ende inventaris van / al so daene goederen, als particulierlijck in dese / provincien soude sijn gelegen, maer oock voorslagen / tot een accommodement, ende vervolgens soo / teen als ander herwaerts over te senden, om alhier / ter principaelen nader te mogen werden geresolveert, / confererende ende overleggende met de Gedeputeer- /

f. 354<sup>r</sup>

de van die andere Provintien of [tgein eventueel] / over het bewuste accommodement soude moeten / werden betaalt, niet en behoorde te werden gebracht / tot last vande gemeijne staet ende bij die respectieve / Provincien, naer advenant der selver quota op / voorgaende petitie gefourneert.

De Heeren van Middelbourg verclaerden soover / niet gelast te wesen, hebben den voorschreuen voor- / slach genomen ad referendum, ende aengenomen / tadvis van hare Heeren Principaelen daer op / te sullen brengen op mergen.

Resolutie van de Edle Mogende Heeren / Staeten van Zeeland den 9 9bris 1663.

De Heeren van Middelbourg, naeder gesommeerd / sijnde, hebben haer eijndtlijck met de andere Heeren / geconfermeert betreffende den voorslach bij de / selve op den 22 8bris des verlede maents / gedaen, ten respecten vande bewuste pretentien / vande Ordre van Malta. Ende is dien volgende / conform die extensien ten seluen daegen op de / voorschreue saecke gedaen (daer

toe midts deze / wert gerefereert) met een paericheit van stemmen / geconcludeert, onderstont accordeert / met de voorgeschreue notulle geteeckent

P de Huybert

In the above transcription, the punctuation has been adjusted in an interpretive way. When a 'v' is written as 'u', it is normalised as 'v'.

f. 378<sup>r</sup>

Poste questo principis, che la Religione possa dinuntiare la Guerra alli Hollandesi, si dene vedere, in che moda supossa metter in essecutione unatale resolutione per ottenere il desideration effetto considerando punto per punto, le difficulta di, che visi possone in contrare, accio che il remedio non scapiu perniciose ch'il proprio male, essendo fuer di dubio, che senza effettua dimonstratione di ferra, non si ouerra nientes, che uergogna, e disprezzo della Religione.

Due sono dunque li mode, die fare queste represagli, il primo e arrestare li vascelli Hollandese, che capicano in questo porta a vero assalcar et pigliarli in mare, per mezzo della paleres o corsali.

**Extract from the Minutes of the Estates of Zeeland.  
A.O.M 2198, ff.354<sup>r&v</sup>**

f. 354

Extract from the minutes of the Estates of Zeeland  
First of Octobert 22nd 1663.

The 10th point of the agenda was about the demands by the Order of Malta about several remarkable lot of goods (i.e. immovables). They decided to reject these demands, but the representatives of Zierikzee, Goes, Tholen, Vlissingen and Veere declared to accept it if the other provinces would be willing to enter a dialogue of not only an inventory of all goods at stake would be sent hither, but also a proposal [i.e. by the Order] for an agreement. This, provided that any financial arrangement would be paid through an apportionment of all provinces. Middelburg declared not to have a mandate for such a decision and to need consultation.

On November 9th. Middelburg agree with the proposal, which then was considered to be taken unanimously.

**Extract from the additional note 378<sup>r</sup>**

f. 378

Principally, the Religion could declare war on the Dutch, after consideration of all the difficulties one may face. However, without doubt, less than any effective demonstration of iron, would not achieve anything except shame and disregard of the Religion. There are therefore two courses of action open: to arrest Dutch war ships that either happen to be in a port or take them by force at sea, also by using corsairs.



*finis*

